

This is the second of a series of three volumes which are intended to present a complete Corpus of all the church buildings, of both the Western and the Oriental rites, built, rebuilt or simply in use in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem between the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099 and the loss of Acre in 1291. This volume completes the general topographical coverage begun in Volume 1, and will be followed by a third volume dealing specifically with the major cities of Jerusalem, Acre and Tyre (which are excluded from the preceding volumes).

The project of which this series represents the final, definitive publication has been sponsored since 1979 by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. When complete the Corpus will contain a topographical listing of all the 400 or more church buildings of the Kingdom that are attested by documentary or surviving archaeological evidence, and individual descriptions and discussion of them in terms of their identification, building history and architecture. Some of the buildings have already been published before, while many others are published here for the first time. A feature of the Corpus, however, is the standardized format in which the evidence for each building is presented; this also extends to the plans and elevations, based for the most part on new field surveys, which are drawn to a uniform style and (so far as is practicable) scale. The Corpus will therefore be an indispensable work of reference to all those concerned with the medieval topography and archaeology of the Holy Land, with the history of the church in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, and with the architecture of the Latin East.

The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

II

The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

A Corpus

Volume II

L–Z (excluding Tyre)

DENYS PRINGLE

with drawings by Peter E. Leach



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CONTENTS

<i>List of plates</i>	page	vii	Qasr 'Antar (no. 183)	165
<i>List of figures</i>		xiii	Qatamun	166
<i>Preface</i>		xvii	al-Qubaiba (no. 184)	167
<i>List of abbreviations</i>		xx	Raba	176
Corpus			Rachel's Tomb	176
Lajjun (no. 135)		3	Rafidiya (no. 185)	178
Latrun (no. 136)		5	ar-Ram (no. 186)	179
Lydda (nos. 137–8)		9	Ramain (no. 187)	181
Magdala (no. 139)		28	Ramla (nos. 188–9)	181
Majdal Yaba		28	Rantis (no. 190)	199
Marjama, Kh. al- (no. 140)		29	Rujm al-Mughafir (no. 191)	200
Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya (no. 141)		29	Rumaida, Tall ar- (no. 192)	201
Mi'iliya (nos. 142–3)		30	Rushmiya, Kh. (no. 193)	205
Mimas, Tall (no. 144)		32	Safad (nos. 194–5)	206
Monastery of the Cross (no. 145)		33	Saffuriya (no. 196)	209
Montfort Castle (no. 146)		40	as-Safiriya (no. 197)	218
Mount Abarim (no. 147)		43	Saidnaiya (no. 198)	219
Mount Joy (no. 148)		43	St Chariton (nos. 199–201)	221
Mount of Precipitation (no. 149)		45	St Elias (no. 202)	224
Mount Sinai (nos. 150–54)		49	St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)	226
Mount Tabor (nos. 155–8)		63	St Euthymius, monastery (nos. 204–5)	229
Nabi Samwil (no. 159)		85	St Euthymius, village	237
an-Nabi Yusuf		94	St George <i>de Chaman</i> (no. 206)	238
Nablus (nos. 160–67)		94	St Gerasimus (no. 207)	238
Na'im (no. 168)		115	St Job (no. 208)	239
Nazareth (nos. 169–73)		116	St John the Baptist (no. 209)	240
Old Haifa (no. 174)		150	St John the Evangelist (no. 210)	244
<i>Pain Perdu</i> (no. 175)		152	St Margaret of Carmel (no. 211)	244
<i>Palmaria</i> (no. 176)		153	St Margaret's Castle (no. 212)	248
al-Qabu (no. 177)		156	St Mary of Carmel (no. 213)	249
al-Qadismu (no. 178)		157	St Mary of the Marshes (no. 214)	257
Qaimun, Tall (no. 179)		159	St Mary of the Three Shades (no. 215)	258
Qalansuwa		161	St Sabas (nos. 216–19)	258
Qal'at ad-Dubba		161	St Theoctistus (no. 220)	268
Qal'at Jiddin (no. 180)		162	St Theodosius (no. 221)	271
Qana, Kh. (no. 181)		162	as-Salt (no. 222)	278
Qaqun (no. 182)		164	Sandahanna, Kh. (no. 223)	278
			Sarepta (no. 224)	281

Sebaste (nos. 225-6)	283	Tarafain, Kh. (no. 253)	347
Shafa 'Amr (nos. 227-8)	301	Tekoa (no. 254)	347
Shaubak (nos. 229-30)	304	Tiberias (nos. 255-68)	351
Shaumariya, Kh. ash- (no. 231)	314	Tibnin (nos. 269-70)	367
Shepherds' Field (no. 232)	315	Tin'ama, Kh. at- (no. 271)	368
Shilta (no. 233)	316	at-Tira (nos. 272-3)	369
Shir ar-Rahib (no. 234)	316	Tirun an-Niha (no. 274)	372
Shu'fat (no. 235)	316	'Ulam (no. 275)	372
Sidon (nos. 236-45)	317	Umm Tuta, Kh. (no. 276)	373
Sinjl (no. 246)	329	Wadi Musa (nos. 277-8)	373
Suba (no. 247)	332	Yazur (no. 279)	377
as-Sumairiya (no. 248)	332	Yibna (no. 280)	378
Tabaliya, Kh.	333	Zaita, Kh. (no. 281)	384
at-Tabgha (no. 249)	334	az-Zib (no. 282)	384
at-Ta'yiba (no. 250)	339		
Taf'at ad-Damm (no. 251)	345	<i>Bibliography</i>	386
Tall Yunis (no. 252)	346	<i>Maps</i>	417
		<i>Index</i>	428

PLATES

The photographs are the author's own unless otherwise stated.

page

I	Latrun: triple capital (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 557).	8
II	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): east end (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P611).	16
III	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): east end (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P607).	16
IV	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): from E.	16
V	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): apse of former Byzantine church.	18
VI	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): W end of former Byzantine church.	18
VII	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): W end of N aisle of former Byzantine church.	18
VIII	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): windows in W wall of former Byzantine church.	18
IX	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure to E of former Byzantine church, exterior.	19
X	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure to E of former Byzantine church, interior.	19
XI	Lydda, mosque S of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure to E of former Byzantine church, interior.	19
XII	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): apse.	21
XIII	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): first bay of S nave arcade.	21
XIV	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): first bay of S nave arcade.	22
XV	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): first bay of N nave arcade, base of E respond.	22
XVIA-f	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): capitals.	23
XVII	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): trefoil window head.	24
XVIII	Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): gargoyles in N wall.	24
XIX	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): site of the Tree of the Cross.	35
XX	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): crossing, looking E.	37
XXI	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): S transept.	37
XXII	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): nave, S side, looking W.	38
XXIII	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): nave, N side, looking W.	38
XXIV	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): dome over crossing.	39
XXV	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): mosaic in crossing.	39
XXVI	Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): mosaic in crossing, E border.	39
XXVII	Montfort Castle: from W.	40
XXVIII	Montfort Castle: probable site of chapel (no. 146) in area J.	42
XXIX	Mount of Precipitation: rock-cut apse of chapel (no. 149) and associated structures.	47
XXX	Mount of Precipitation: rock-cut apse of chapel (no. 149).	48

XXXI	Mount Sinai: monastery and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150), from SE.	51
XXXII	Mount Sinai: monastery and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150), from SE.	55
XXXIII	Mount Sinai: monastery church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150), interior (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 2069).	56
XXXIV	Mount Sinai: chapel of St Mary of the Pledge (no. 151).	59
XXXV	Mount Sinai: chapel of St Moses (no. 153) on Jabal Musa, from SW (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 2086).	62
XXXVI	Mount Sinai: chapel of St Moses (no. 153) on Jabal Musa, from NE.	62
XXXVII	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): excavated crypt (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 2869).	72
XXXVIII	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): chevet and SW tower of Ayyubid castle (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5294)	72
XXXIX	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): Byzantine and medieval apses incorporated into modern church.	72
XI	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): mosaic in room 5, S of the church.	72
XII	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): remains of Byzantine transept below S wall.	72
XIII	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): entrance to S passage into crypt.	73
XIII	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): N passage into crypt.	73
XIV	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): steps into crypt from W door.	73
XIV	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): tomb in S chapel.	75
XVI	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): mosaic floor in S chapel.	75
XVIIa-f	Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): capitals and fragments of cornice frieze.	77
XVIII	Mount Tabor, Latin monastery chapel (no. 156): E end.	80
XIX	Mount Tabor, Latin monastery chapel (no. 156): from W.	80
I	Mount Tabor, Greek church of St Elias (no. 157): E end.	83
II	Mount Tabor, cave-church of St Melchizedek (no. 158): façade.	84
III	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): N clearstorey window, exterior.	90
III	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): N side of nave and clearstorey (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 1680).	91
IV	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): N side of nave (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 1679).	91
V	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): nave as rebuilt, looking W.	91
VI	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): crossing seen from N transept.	92
VII	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): N annexe containing entrance to crypt, looking E.	92
VIII	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): crypt, looking W.	93
VIX	Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): elbow-columns on W side of S transept.	93
IX	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): W part of prayer hall (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5326).	98
XI	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): <i>mihrāb</i> in W part of prayer hall, left-hand capital (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 4190).	99
XII	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): <i>mihrāb</i> in W part of prayer hall, right-hand capital (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 4189).	99
XIII	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): E part of prayer hall (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 1768).	100
XIV	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): E part of prayer hall, double capital (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 4148).	100
XV	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): portal (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5323).	101
XVI	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): portal, following destruction in 1927 (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 582).	101

LXVII	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): portal (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P435).	102
LXVIII	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): portal, left-hand capitals (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 4139).	104
LXIX	Nablus, great mosque (no. 161): portal, right-hand capitals (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 4138).	104
LXX	Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): interior looking W (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5311).	105
LXXI	Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): interior looking W.	105
LXXII	Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): N side (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5310).	106
LXXIII	Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): turret projecting from N wall.	106
LXXIV	Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): from S (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5309).	106
LXXV	Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): interior looking E (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5327).	108
LXXVI	Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): interior looking W (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5330).	108
LXXVII	Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: S front.	113
LXXVIII	Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: interior looking W.	113
LXXIX	Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: minaret from SW.	113
LXXX	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): <i>chevet</i> from E (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 12.085).	125
LXXXI	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): inside of N wall (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 12.090).	125
LXXXII	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): fragment of outer arch from W portal.	130
LXXXIII	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): Cave of the Annunciation.	130
LXXXIV	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): structures on top of Cave of the Annunciation.	135
LXXXV	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): rectangular capital, possibly illustrating the Descent of the Virgin.	135
LXXXVI	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): St Thomas capital.	136
LXXXVII	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): St Peter capital.	136
LXXXVIII	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): carved torso of St Peter.	137
LXXXIX	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): carved torso and legs of female or angelic figure.	138
XC	Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): two carved bearded heads (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 2510).	138
XCI	Nazareth, church of St Gabriel (no. 170): chapel containing the spring.	142
XCII	Nazareth, church of St Joseph (no. 173): left side of W door.	150
XCIII	Al-Qabu, church (no. 177): N wall from inside.	157
XCIV	Al-Qabu, church (no. 177): N wall from outside.	157
XCV	Tall Qaimun (Tel Yoqne'am), church (no. 179): pilaster base to left of apse.	161
XCVI	Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): interior of nave, c.1886 (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 145).	173
XCVII	Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): E end as rebuilt in 1902.	173
XCVIII	Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): base of first pier of N nave arcade.	173
XCIX	Rafidiya: wall in village.	179
C	Rafidiya: masonry mark (28–22) on wall in village.	179
CI	Rafidiya: masonry mark (3–16) on wall in village.	179

CII	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): from NW (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 25.957).	191
CIII	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): from SE.	191
CIV	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): nave, looking E (photo R. Pitt, BSAJ).	191
CVa-h	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): nave capitals (photos R. Pitt, BSAJ).	192
CVI	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): second bay of S nave arcade.	193
CVII	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): fourth bay of S nave arcade (photo R. Pitt, BSAJ).	193
CVIII	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): N aisle, looking E.	193
CIX	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): elbow-column to left of apse (photo R. Pitt, BSAJ).	194
CX	Ramla, great mosque, formerly parish church (no. 188): W door (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5344).	194
CXI	Ramla, Greek church of St George (no. 189): W front, from NW.	196
CXII	Ramla, Greek church of St George (no. 189): W front, from SW.	197
CXIII	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): E end (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P1576).	212
CXIV	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): E end.	212
CXV	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): first bay of the nave, looking S.	216
CXVI	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): junction of S nave arcade with apse.	216
CXVII	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): capitals on right-hand side of S apse.	216
CXVIII	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): base moulding below the capitals in pl. CXVII	216
CXIX	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): capital.	217
CXX	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): entrance to room 1, from inside.	217
CXXI	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): chapel or sacristy 2, interior looking SW.	217
CXXII	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): chapel or sacristy 2, vaulting, looking NW.	218
CXXIII	Monastery and church of Our Lady of Saidnaiya (no. 198): from SW.	219
CXXIV	Monastery of St Chariton: view down the Wadi Khuraitun showing remains of tower.	223
CXXV	Monastery and church of St Elias (no. 202): from W.	225
CXXVI	Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): mosaic in S aisle of church (no. 204).	231
CXXVII	Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): S aisle of church (no. 204).	232
CXXVIII	Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): presbytery of main church (no. 204).	232
CXXIX	Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): cemetery chapel (no. 205) from N, with main church (no. 204) behind.	236
CXXX	Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): medieval N gate.	236
CXXXI	St Margaret's Castle: fragment of Crusader tombstone.	249
CXXXII	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) and monastery from the SE.	251
CXXXIII	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) from the SW.	251
CXXXIV	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) from S.	254
CXXXV	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: interior of church (no. 213) looking W.	254
CXXXVI	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): door to bell-tower.	254
CXXXVII	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): S wall, showing door to bell-tower and junction between the two building phases.	255
CXXXVIII	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): phase-two pilaster at centre of N wall.	255
CXXXIX	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: base for triple column.	255
CXL	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: fragment of stone tank or sarcophagus.	255
CXLI	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: W range with first-phase structures to W.	256
CXLII	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: staircase inside W range.	256
CXLIII	Monastery of St Sabas: monastery and church of the Annunciation (no. 216) from E (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P742).	263
CXLIV	Monastery of St Sabas: monastery and church of the Annunciation (no. 216) from SE (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P746).	263

CXLV	Monastery of St Sabas: church of the Annunciation (no. 216) from W.	264
CXLVI	Monastery of St Sabas: church of the Annunciation (no. 216) from S.	264
CXLVII	Monastery of St Theodosius, church of St Mary (no. 221): interior, looking E (photo courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, neg. no. 770/58 (24)).	273
CXLVIII	Monastery of St Theodosius, church of St Mary (no. 221): N side of E end (photo. courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, neg. no. 770/58 (22)).	273
CXLIX	Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): apse from SE.	279
CL	Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): from W (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P1540).	279
CLI	Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): from W (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P525).	279
CLII	Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): from NW (photo courtesy of the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem, neg. no. 8105).	279
CLIII	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): from SW (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P403).	288
CLIV	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): from NW (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P399).	288
CLV	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): nave, looking SE (photo courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund, neg. no. P406).	290
CLVI	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): nave, looking W.	290
CLVII	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): nave, looking SE (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 10.447).	290
CLVIII	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): two western bays of S aisle.	290
CLIXa-f	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): capitals and bases.	291
CLXa-f	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): architectural sculpture.	293
CLXI	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): W front and forecourt.	294
CLXII	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): S wall (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 30.871).	294
CLXIII	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): apse under excavation (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 30.933).	294
CLXIV	Sebaste, Greek Orthodox church of St John (no. 226): from NW.	299
CLXV	Sebaste, Greek Orthodox church of St John (no. 226): interior looking NE.	299
CLXVI	Sebaste, Greek Orthodox church of St John (no. 226): NE bay.	300
CLXVII	Shafa 'Amr, church of St Phocas (no. 228): apse.	303
CLXVIII	Shaubak (Montreal): castle from E.	305
CLXIX	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): from W.	308
CLXX	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): from S.	308
CLXXI	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): nave looking W.	308
CLXXII	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): two W bays of N nave arcade.	308
CLXXIII	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): W bay of S nave arcade.	310
CLXXIV	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): N aisle looking W.	310
CLXXV	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): window in W bay of S aisle.	312
CLXXVI	Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): from N.	313
CLXXVII	Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): interior, looking towards 'E' end.	313
CLXXVIII	Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): crosses scratched on jamb of 'W' door.	313
CLXXIX	Sidon, Sea Castle (photo Hugh Kennedy, 1994).	326
CLXXX	Sinjil, mosque, formerly a church (no. 246): interior looking SE.	330
CLXXXI	Sinjil, mosque, formerly a church (no. 246): capital to left of <i>mihrāb</i> .	331
CLXXXII	Sinjil, mosque, formerly a church (no. 246): base of colonnette to left of <i>mihrāb</i> .	331
CLXXXIII	At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): from SW.	335
CLXXXIV	At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): interior.	338

CLXXXV	Cast of lead seal of the monastic house associated with the <i>Mensa Christi</i> (in the Collection Henri Seyrig, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo courtesy of Professor Jean Richard).	338
CLXXXVI	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): from SW.	341
CLXXXVII	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): W front, from NW.	341
CLXXXVIII	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): interior of E end.	341
CLXXXIX	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): pendentive at SE of crossing.	341
CXC	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): interior of nave, looking W.	343
CXCI	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): baptismal font.	344
CXCII	Tiberias, church of St Nicolas (now St Peter) (no. 264): interior, looking E.	362
CXCIII	Tiberias, church of St Nicolas (now St Peter) (no. 264): exterior of apse, from SE.	362
CXCIV	Tiberias, church excavated in 1981 (no. 268): W end, looking N.	366
CXCV	At-Tira, the smaller church (no. 272): interior looking E (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 3359).	371
CXCVI	At-Tira, the smaller church (no. 272): photograph taken from W, in May 1932 (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 3360).	371
CXCVII	Al-Wu'aira: northern part of castle, looking NW across E ravine, with remains of chapel (no. 277) upstanding.	376
CXCVIII	Al-Wu'aira, castle chapel (no. 277): interior, looking E.	376
CXCIX	Al-Wu'aira, castle chapel (no. 277): upstanding section of E wall to right of apse.	376
CC	Yibna, mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): from SW (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5338).	380
CCI	Yibna, mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): W door (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 27.653).	380
CCII	Yibna, mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): W bay of S nave arcade, from S (photo courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority, neg. no. 27.656).	381
CCIII	Yibna, mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): interior (photo from the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, neg. no. C5340).	381

FIGURES

	<i>page</i>
1 Latrun Castle: plan.	6
2 Latrun Castle: plan of first floor of inner ward, showing possible location of chapel (no. 136).	7
3 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137) and associated structures: plan.	14–15
4 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): elevation of E end.	20
5 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): masonry marks.	26
6 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): distribution of masonry marks.	26
7 Mi'iliya: plan showing castle and location of church of St Mary Magdalene (no. 142).	31
8 Monastery of the Holy Cross, church (no. 145): plan.	36
9 Montfort Castle: plan and section showing location of chapel (no. 146).	41
10 Mount of Precipitation, chapel (no. 149): plan and sections.	46
11 Mount Sinai, monastery church of St Mary (no. 150): plan.	49
12 Mount Sinai, monastery and church of St Mary (no. 150): plan.	50
13 Mount Sinai, map showing location of monastery of St Mary and associated churches and chapels (nos. 150–54).	58
14 Mount Sinai, chapel of St Moses on Jabal Musa (no. 153): plan.	61
15 Mount Tabor: site plan showing location of church of the Saviour (no. 155), chapel (no. 156), church of St Elias (no. 157), cave-church of St Melchizedek (no. 158) and modern chapel of <i>Nemini dixeritis</i> .	67
16 Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): plan at crypt level.	71
17 Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): reconstruction of plan and section.	74
18 Mount Tabor, monastery buildings, including church of the Saviour (no. 155) and chapel (no. 156): plan.	78
19 Mount Tabor, monastery chapel (no. 156): plan.	80
20 Mount Tabor, church of St Elias (no. 157): plan.	82
21 Mount Tabor, cave-church of St Melchizedek (no. 158): plan.	85
22 Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): plan.	88
23 Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): section.	89
24 Nablus: plan of town showing location of the great mosque (no. 161), Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166), Dair al-Bunduq (no. 167), Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165) and Jami' al-Khadra.	96
25 Nablus: great mosque (no. 161): details of portal.	103
26 Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): plan.	106
27 Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): plan.	109
28 Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): section.	109
29 Nablus, Dair al-Bunduq (no. 167): plan.	111
30 Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: plan.	112
31 Nazareth: plan showing location of church of the Annunciation (no. 169), church of St Gabriel (no. 170), church of St Zacharias (no. 171), synagogue-church (no. 172), and church of St Joseph (no. 173).	117

32	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): plan.	124
33	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): reconstructed cross-section.	126
34	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): details of N aisle elevation.	127
35	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): N wall pilasters, reconstruction.	128
36	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): reconstruction of W portal.	131
37	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): Cave of the Annunciation, plan and sections.	132
38	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): Cave of the Annunciation, interpretation of development.	133
39	Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): reconstruction of the House of the Virgin Mary.	134
40	Nazareth, church of St Gabriel (no. 170): plan and section of spring chapel.	143
41	Nazareth, church of St Zacharias (no. 171): plan.	145
42	Nazareth, synagogue-church (no. 172): plan and section.	146
43	Nazareth, church of St Joseph (no. 173): plan.	149
44	'Old Haifa' (Tall Abu Hawam): map showing extent of lands granted to the Holy Sepulchre in 1164-5.	151
45	al-Qabu, church (no. 177): plan.	156
46	Tall Qaimun, church (no. 179): plan.	160
47	Qasr 'Antar, church (no. 183): plan.	166
48	al-Qubaiba, church (no. 184): plan.	172
49	al-Qubaiba, hall: plan.	175
50	Rachel's Tomb: plan.	177
51	Ramla: map showing location of Latin and Greek churches (nos. 188-9) and White Mosque.	186
52	Ramla, White Mosque: plan.	187
53	Ramla, Latin church (no. 188): plan.	189
54	Ramla, Latin church (no. 188): section.	190
55	Ramla, church of St George (no. 189): plan.	197
56	Rantis, church (no. 190): mouldings.	200
57	Safad: Mamluk keep, possibly encapsulating castle chapel of St George (no. 194).	208
58	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): plan.	214
59	Saffuriya, church (no. 196): section.	215
60	Monastery of St Elias: plan of church (no. 202).	225
61	Monastery of St Elias of Carmel: plan of Cave (no. 203).	228
62	Monastery of St Euthymius (nos. 204-5): plan.	231
63	Monastery of St Euthymius: plan of church (no. 204) and burial chapel (no. 205) at basement level.	233
64	Monastery of St Euthymius: plan of church (no. 204) and burial chapel (no. 205) at principal floor level.	234
65	Monastery of St John the Baptist (no. 209): plans.	243
66	Monastery of St Margaret of Carmel: plan of church (no. 211) after Fra Giambattista di S. Alessio (1767).	246
67	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: plan showing location of church (no. 213).	252
68	Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): plan.	253
69	Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), churches of the Annunciation (no. 216) and St Nicolas (no. 217): plans.	265
70	Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), hermitage of St Sophia (no. 218): plan.	266
71	Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), hermitage of St Arcadius (no. 219): plan and section.	267
72	Monastery of St Theoctistus (Dair Mukallik): plan showing location of cave-church (no. 220).	269
73	Monastery of St Theoctistus (Dair Mukallik), cave-church (no. 220): plan.	270
74	Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan showing location of church (no. 221).	274
75	Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan of sixth-century church (no. 221) and cave complex.	275

76	Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan of twelfth-century church (no. 221), hypothetical reconstruction.	276
77	Khirbat Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): plan.	280
78	Sebaste: map showing location of cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225) and Greek church of St John the Baptist (no. 226).	284
79	Sebaste, cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): plan.	289
80	Sebaste, Greek church of St John the Baptist (no. 226): plan.	290
81	Shafa 'Amr, church of St Phocas (no. 228): plan.	303
82	Shaubak (Montreal): plan of the castle, showing location of church (no. 229) and chapel (no. 230).	306
83	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): plan and elevation of N arcade.	309
84	Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): moulding details.	311
85	Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): plan.	312
86	Comparison of the apse cornice mouldings of the chapels at Shaubak (Montreal) (no. 230) and al-Wu'aira, Wadi Musa (no. 277).	314
87	Sidon: plan of town, showing location of Sea Castle (no. 242) and great mosque (no. 245).	319
88	Sidon, Sea Castle: plan showing location of chapel (no. 242).	325
89	Sidon, Sea Castle, chapel (no. 242): plan.	326
90	Sidon, Sea Castle, chapel (no. 242): details.	327
91	Sinjil, church (no. 246): plan.	330
92	Sinjil, church (no. 246): cornice fragment.	331
93	At-Tabgha: plan showing location of church of St Peter (no. 249).	334
94	At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): plan and section.	337
95	At-Taiyiba: plan of village showing location of church of al-Khidr (no. 250).	340
96	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): plan.	342
97	At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): impost moulding.	345
98	Tekoa: site plan.	349
99	Tiberias: plans of city in 1940s and Roman-Byzantine periods, showing location of church of St George (no. 257), Franciscan church of St Peter, formerly St Nicolas (no. 264), and excavated church (no. 268).	353
100	Tiberias, church of St George (no. 257): plan.	357
101	Tiberias, Franciscan church of St Peter, formerly St Nicolas (no. 264): plan and section.	361
102	Tiberias, church excavated 1981 (no. 268): plan.	365
103	At-Tira, church (no. 272): plan.	370
104	Wadi Musa: plan of castle (al-Wu'aira) showing location of chapel (no. 277).	374
105	Wadi Musa (al-Wu'aira), chapel (no. 277): plan.	375
106	Yibna, church (no. 280): plan and section.	382
107	Yibna, church (no. 280): details of door and mouldings.	383

PREFACE

This volume represents the second stage in the publication of a project which began in October 1979, under the auspices of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, with the purpose of compiling a Corpus of all the church buildings known to have existed in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and providing up-to-date surveys of those of which there are surviving remains. The present volume completes the topographical coverage begun in Volume 1 and includes the maps for Volumes 1 and 11; it will be followed by a third volume dealing specifically with the cities of Jerusalem, Acre and Tyre and containing addenda and corrigenda to the first two volumes, besides consolidated indexes to all three volumes.

The project has been sponsored throughout by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, to whose Council and Chairman, Mr P.G. de Courcy-Ireland, CVO, I owe a debt of gratitude. It has also received financial support at various times from the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust and (for work relating to castles) the Royal Archaeological Institute. The completion of the present volume was made possible by a generous grant to the School from the Leverhulme Trust.

Most of the field work for the present volume was undertaken between 1979 and 1984, when I was Assistant-Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and in particular between May and October 1981 and in September 1982, when I was joined there by Peter E. Leach. This work has been supplemented by subsequent shorter visits, notably in August–September 1989 and April–June 1995, when I was assisted in survey work by Matthew Pease. I am also grateful to the archaeologists listed below, who have kindly made available plans of church buildings revealed by excavation. As in Volume 1, all the surveys have been drawn or redrawn for publication by Peter E. Leach.

Part of the present volume was written in draft between September 1984 and December 1985 while I was holding a fellowship in Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C. The completion of the book was made possible through the willingness of my present employer, Historic Scotland, to allow me to be seconded to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem for a year, from July 1994 to July 1995. I am grateful to Professor Bernard Hamilton and Dr Richard Fawcett for reading and commenting on the text in draft, and to Professor Jaroslav Folda for his continuing advice.

Among the owners and guardians of the buildings covered in the present

volume who have generously cooperated by affording us access and permission to survey are: the Carmelite Order, especially Fr Bonifacio Rossi, superior of Stella Maris, Haifa, and Fr John Sullivan, Second General Definitor, Rome, for access to the excavated church of St Mary of Carmel; the Department of Antiquities of Jordan; the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land; the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem; the Islamic Waqf Administrations of Jerusalem and Jaffa; the Israel Antiquities Authority; the Israel National Parks Authority; the Sisters of St Anne, Saffuriya; and the Sisters of Nazareth at Shafa 'Amr.

For access to libraries and archives and for permission to use material or reproduce photographs from their collections I am also grateful to: the École Biblique et Archéologique Française, Jerusalem; the Israel Antiquities Authority (curators of the archives of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, 1918–48); the Palestine Exploration Fund, London; and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (containing the photographic archive of the late Professor K.A.C. Creswell).

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R.D.P.
Edinburgh, July 1995

ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (Bollandiana) Antwerp–Paris–Rome–Brussels (1643–)
Ar.	Arabic
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible (1611)
BSAJ	British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem
Byz.	Byzantine
Cart. des Hosp.	<i>Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris 1894–1906)
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> . Turnholt (1966–)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> (Turnholt 1953–)
Cr.	Crusader
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain 1903–)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> (Vienna 1866–)
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> (Bonn)
DRHC	<i>Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades</i> (Paris 1946–)
ELS	<i>Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum. Documenta S. Euangelii Loca Respicientia</i> , 2nd edn, ed. D. Baldi (Jerusalem 1955)
Fr.	French
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> (Leipzig–Berlin 1897–)
Ger.	German
Gr.	Greek
H.	Horva(t), meaning 'ruin' (Hebrew)
IHC	<i>Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII–XIII)</i> , ed. S. de Sandoli, 4 vols. SBF, Coll. maj., vol. xxiv (Jerusalem 1978–84)
Itin. Ric.	<i>Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi</i>
Kh.	Khirba(t), meaning 'ruin' (Arabic)
Loeb	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i> , London–Cambridge, Mass.
Med.	Medieval
MGH Const	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio IV, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum</i> , ed. L. Weiland (Hanover 1896)
MGH Epist	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Saeculi XIII. e</i>

	<i>Regestis Pontificum Romanorum</i> , selected by G.H. Pertz, ed. C. Rodenberg, 2 vols. (Berlin 1883–7)
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum</i> , ed. G.H. Pertz, T. Mommsen, <i>et al.</i> (Hanover–Berlin etc. 1826–)
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem: Archives of the Dept of Antiquities of Palestine, 1918–48
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund, London
PG	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris 1857–)
PL	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris 1844–64)
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau. (Paris 1907–)
PPTS	<i>Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library</i> , 13 vols. (London 1890–7)
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i> (denotes cross reference)
RCEA	<i>Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe</i> , ed. E. Comb, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet, Institut français d'Archéologie orientale (Cairo 1931–)
RHC	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades</i> .
RHC Arm	<i>Documents arméniens</i> , 2 vols. (Paris 1869–1906)
RHC Lois	<i>Les Assises de Jérusalem</i> , 2 vols. (Paris 1841–3)
RHC Occ	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i> , 5 vols. (Paris 1844–95)
RHC Or	<i>Historiens orientaux</i> , 5 vols. (Paris 1872–1906)
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , 24 vols. (Paris 1738–)
RRH	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck 1893).
RRH Ad	<i>Additamentum</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck 1904).
RS	<i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages</i> (Rolls Series), 99 vols. (London 1858–97)
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version of the Bible</i> (1973)
Rus.	Russian
SSCIE	Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East
SWP	Survey of Western Palestine
var.	variant reading (of a text)

Six- or eight-figure grid references are to the Palestine Grid. References preceded by L are to the Levant Grid, covering Syria and Lebanon. Other sites beyond the reaches of either of these grids are referred to by their degrees of longitude and latitude.

Masonry marks are identified, where appropriate, by the numerical reference system devised by Ch Clermont-Ganneau (1896: 1, 1–47; cf. de Sandoli 1974: xlvii; Pringle 1981a: fig. 4).

CORPUS

LAJJUN

Cr. *Legio, Ligio, Ligum, le Lyon*; Hebr. *H. Kefar Otnay*

The medieval village of Lajjun lay on the borders of Galilee and that part of Samaria which, in the twelfth century, formed the lordship of Caesarea. It occupied the site of the Roman city of Maximianopolis, which had developed from the camp of *Legio VI Ferrata* that had been established by the emperor Hadrian to guard the Wadi 'Ara, a natural line of communication linking the coastal plain with the plain of Jezreel. Its Bronze Age and Iron Age predecessor, Tall al-Mutasallim, identified as biblical Megiddo, stands a kilometre to the north (Avi-Yonah 1940: 31; 1976a: 74; Abel 1967: II, 175–6, 219; Aharoni and Yadin 1977). From the tenth century Lajjun was the centre of a district, and Arab geographers speak of a copious spring and a mosque built on the spot where Abraham had struck the rock and caused water to flow forth (Le Strange 1890: 492; Marmardji 1951: 189–90).

In the twelfth century it seems that a significant Frankish settlement developed at Lajjun. Although John of Ibelin does not include it in his list of places possessing a burgess court, he does record that the community owed the service of 100 sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxxii (RHC *Lois*, I, 427)). A viscount is mentioned in 1187 (RRH, 177–8, nos. 665–6), and a market, ovens and other economic activities in 1161 (Delaborde, 82–3, no. 35; RRH, 98, no. 371). From 1147 we hear of a de Legione (de Lions, de Lyon) family (Beyer 1945: 232–3), though it seems that by April 1168 the village was being held by Payen, lord of Haifa (Strehlke, 5–6, no. 4; RRH, 116, no. 447).

Lajjun was raided by the Muslims in 1182 and fell to Saladin's nephew, Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Amr, in 1187 (Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 37, 99); *de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 228–9); Prawer 1975a: I, 602, 660). It was returned to the Franks in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. majora* (RS, LVII.iv, 142); Beyer 1945: 215, 232–3, 256), but appears to have been effectively lost to Baybars in 1263, for the following January it was raided by a party of Templars and Hospitallers who escorted back to Acre some 300 prisoners of both sexes besides a quantity of animals (Sanudo, III, 12, 7 (ed. Bongars, 222); Prawer 1975a: II, 459 n.22). In the treaty concluded between Qalāwūn and the Franks on 4 June 1283, Lajjun was formally listed as belonging to the sultan (RRH, 378, no. 1450; cf. 337, no. 1446; Prawer 1975a: II, 524). By the fifteenth century, Lajjun, with its fortified khan, was

an important staging post on the postal route between Egypt and Damascus (Abel 1967: II, 219; Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923: 123–4).

Among the ecclesiastical owners of property in Frankish Lajjun may be noted the abbey of St Mary of Mount Sion, which in 1179 possessed two carrucates of land, a mill, two gardens and a house (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 284, no. 113; RRH, 153–4, no. 576).

As most archaeological interest at Lajjun has focussed on the tell, the site of the Roman and medieval settlements has received little attention. A field survey carried out by G. Schumacher in 1903–5 identified nothing diagnostically of the Frankish period, though the pottery that was collected and published includes twelfth- and thirteenth-century types, besides much from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. It is also possible that some of the Mamluk and Ottoman buildings, such as the water-mills, bridge and khan, will have incorporated remains of earlier structures (Schumacher 1904; 1908: 177–87, pl. I; Palestine 1948: 33, 49). In 1948, the village was abandoned and most of its buildings were blown up; today the mosque, a mill and part of a medieval bridge survive, the rest of the site being planted with trees (cf. Khalidi 1992: 334–7).

No. 135 Priory/Parish Church (?)167.220

History

In 1115, Bernard, archbishop of Nazareth, granted to the hospital attached to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat the tithes on Lajjun (*Legio*) and half of the tithes on all other properties that the abbey held in his diocese (Kohler, *Chartes*, 10, no. 6; RRH *Ad*, 6, no. 81a). In 1121, the bishop extended the terms of this grant to include the church of Lajjun, all its tithes and those of the neighbouring village of Ti'innik (*Thanis*), on condition that he and his successors were remembered in prayers (Delaborde, 35–6, no. 9; RRH, 22, no. 97). This grant was included in confirmations of the abbey's privileges made by Pope Anastasius IV in March 1154 (Delaborde, 63–7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70), Hadrian IV in March 1155 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 209–12, no. 72), and Alexander IV in January 1255 (Delaborde, 101, no. 49).

At about the time that Archbishop Bernard was making his grant of the church and tithes of Lajjun, on 1 February 1121, William I of Bures, prince of Galilee, also granted the same hospital 'four carrucates of land in Lajjun and the right to live in the houses (*mansio domorum*) which Engelbert the Monk has constructed in

the same village', besides some other properties near Tiberias (Delaborde, 36, no. 10; *RRH*, 21, no. 92). This grant of secular property was subsequently confirmed by King Baldwin II in 1130 (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18) and by Baldwin III in 1154 (Delaborde, 69, no. 29).

In May 1140, Pope Innocent II took under his protection those possessions of the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat that were specifically intended for the service of the poor, including 'the church of Lajjun (*Ligio*) with the parish and tithes of that place and the tithe of Ti'innik (*Thanis*)', for the token annual payment of an ounce of gold (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 159–60, no. 45). This act was reissued in April 1142 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 166–8, no. 48; Delaborde, 54–5, no. 22; *RRH*, 51–2, no. 207), and again, by Eugenius III, in May 1145 (Delaborde, 58–9, no. 25; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 181–2, no. 59; *RRH*, 52, no. 207 add.).

The need for papal protection is explained in a letter written by Abbot Guy, probably early in 1146 and apparently addressed to Pope Eugenius III. It seems that although the abbey had enjoyed free possession of the church, parish rights and tithes of Lajjun under Archbishop Bernard of Nazareth and his successor, William I (c.1128–32), a dispute had arisen with William's successor, Robert I (1138–53). The new archbishop laid claim to the tithes and, dismissing the letter of Pope Innocent II which the abbot presented to him, gathered a band of his attendants, advanced on the church, broke the bars on the door, and ejected the monks and brothers. On hearing of this, the abbot complained to the patriarch, William I, who duly rebuked the archbishop and restored the *status quo ante*. But peace was to be shortlived, for at this point Pope Innocent II died (24 September 1143). Archbishop Robert thereupon took the opportunity to install his own chaplain in the church to say Mass for the soul of William I of Bures, granting him care of the parishioners and full parish rights, while prohibiting the monks from all the usual parish functions. Evidently the monks disregarded this instruction, for Abbot Guy next records that while one of his brothers was celebrating Mass and was holding the consecrated Host in his hands, a clerk of the archbishop grabbed his chasuble and tugged with such force that if the lay folk had not assisted him he would have been brought to the ground. The abbot again complained to the patriarch, but this time to no avail. Eventually he was forced to agree to pay the church of Nazareth annually on the feast of the Annunciation a mark of gold, a candle and a stick of incense, as well as to provide a day's free hospitality in Jerusalem for the archbishop, his attendants and their horses (Hiestand,

Vorarbeiten, III, 183–4, no. 60; Delaborde, 56–8, no. 24; *RRH*, 60–1, no. 239; Hamilton 1980: 99).

Pope Eugenius III's response to the abbot's letter in March 1151 was to reissue the act placing the church of Lajjun and its tithes under papal protection (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 199–201, no. 66). This action was repeated by his successor, Hadrian IV, in March 1155 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 213–14, no. 73; Delaborde, 70–2, no. 30). It seems, however, that these papal letters had little influence in Nazareth, for in 1160 Archbishop Lethard II formalized an agreement with the abbey that made few concessions. By this the archbishop was to retain the obedience of the chaplains appointed by him and his successors in the church of Lajjun, and receive annually from the abbey a quarter of the tithe in food and refreshment for twenty men and their mounts and four candles on the feast of the Annunciation; in return the abbey retained the parish right, the residue of the tithes and absolute ownership of the fruits of its own work (Delaborde, 82–3, no. 35; *RRH*, 98, no. 37; Hamilton 1980: 99).

This was not to be the end of the affair for the dispute over tithes resurfaced following Lajjun's return to Frankish control in 1241. On 30 September 1262 Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, and Peter, abbot of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, agreed in Acre to submit their differences regarding the tithes of Lajjun and Ti'innik to the arbitration of the papal legate Thomas, bishop of Bethlehem (Kohler, *Chartes*, 80–1, no. 79). On 12 February of the following year, the delegate pronounced in favour of the abbey (Delaborde, 112–15, no. 55; *RRH*, 345, no. 1320; 346, no. 1323), and, on 23 February, the power of levying the tithes was formally remitted to the abbot's procurator and two brothers in the two villages concerned by Albert, prior of St Mary Latin (Kohler, *Chartes*, 81–3, no. 80; *RRH*, 346–7, nos. 1323a, 1323b). The legate's decision was also confirmed by Pope Urban IV in November 1262 (Delaborde, 115–16, no. 56; *RRH*, 346, no. 1323 add.; Hamilton 1980: 294); but by this time, both villages were in the hands of the Mamluks and the church of Nazareth itself destroyed.

Discussion

The ecclesiastical establishment at Lajjun put in place in 1121 with the help of Archbishop Bernard and William of Bures, prince of Galilee, appears to have been a priory including both monks and lay brothers, dependent on the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and intended to provide income for the work of a hospital. It seems possible that it superseded an earlier

attempted monastic establishment, in which the monk Engelbert had played a part. Although the character of the buildings that Engelbert had constructed is unclear, it seems likely that they would have formed the nucleus for the priory. It may be assumed that the church, which apparently also already existed by 1121, would have stood near by. The precise location of these buildings, however, remains uncertain, and it seems unlikely that they will be found until extensive archaeological survey and excavation takes place on the site.

Visited 12.4.95.

Sources

Delaborde, 35–6, nos. 9–10 (1121); 45–7, no. 18 (1130); 54–5, no. 22 (1142); 56–8, no. 24 (1146); 58–9, no. 25 (1145); 64, no. 28 (1154); 67–70, no. 29 (1154); 70–2, no. 30 (1155); 82–3, no. 35 (1161); 101, no. 49 (1255); 112–16, nos. 55–6 (1263); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 159–60, no. 45 (1140); 166–8, no. 48 (1142); 181–2, no. 59 (1145); 183–7, no. 60 (1146); 188–201, no. 66 (1151); 209–14, nos. 72–3 (1155); Kohler, *Chartes*, 10, no. 6 (1115); 80–3, nos. 79–80 (1262–3); RRH, 21, no. 92 (1121); 22, no. 97 (1121); 51–2, no. 207 (1142, 1145); 60–1, no. 239 (1146); 98, no. 371 (1161); 345, no. 1320 (1262); 346, no. 1323 (1263); RRH *Ad*, 6, no. 81a (1115); 86–7, nos. 1323a–1323b.

Hamilton 1980: 98–100, 150, 294; Mayer 1977: 332–40; Rheinheimer 1989: 171–2.

LATRUN

Cr. *Toronum, Turo(nem) Militum, le Toron des Chevaliers, Toron de los Caballeros, Turris militum, Turun as Chivalers*; Med. Ar. *al-Natrūn*

No. 136 Castle Chapel 1485.1375

History

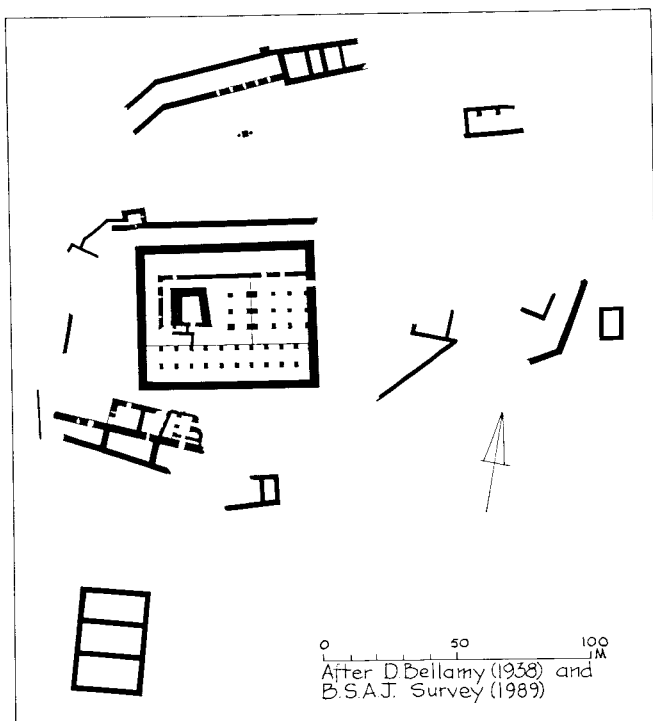
The remains of the castle of Latrun cover the summit of a low hill in the Judaeian foothills lying 1 km south of 'Amwas and commanding the Abbasid road from Ramla to Jerusalem at the point where it prepares to enter the hill country through Bab al-Wad. The earliest mention of it is made by Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71), who although writing in Hebrew calls it in Spanish *Toron de los Caballeros* (trans. Adler, 26n.; trans. Asher, 87; cf. Prawer 1988: 62–3).

The knights in question were evidently the Templars, who in September 1187 surrendered the castle to al-'Adil along with Gaza in return for the release of their grand master, Gerard of Ridefort (*Gesta Henrici II* (RS, XLIX.ii, 23); Ralph of Diss (RS, LXVIII.ii, 56); Heraclius, *Epistola* (ed. Kedar, 121); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 100); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 117); Abū Shāmā (RHC *Or*, iv, 312–13); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (RHC *Or*, i, 697); Abū'l-Fida (RHC *Or*, i, 57); Lyons and Jackson 1982: 272).

On 17 November 1191, Saladin established his camp on a hill beside Latrun ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 354); Lyons and Jackson 1982: 345), but on 2 December, having already destroyed Ramla and Lydda, he gave orders for the castle to be demolished ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 348; Bahā' al-Dīn, cxxiii (PPTS, XIII, 303–4); Ambroise, line 6858; *Itin. Ric.*, iv, 23 (RS, xxxviii.i, 280); Prawer 1975a: II, 83). Latrun was used thereafter as a camp by Richard I at Christmas 1191 and on 9 June 1192 (*Itin. Ric.*, v, 49 (RS, xxxviii.i, 368); Roger of Howden (RS, LI.iii, 174–5; 179); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 354, 379); Bahā' al-Dīn, cLIII–cLIV (PPTS, XIII, 340–1)), and then by Saladin until the signing of the treaty of Jaffa in October 1192 (Bahā' al-Dīn, cLXVII–cLXVIII, cLXXIII (PPTS, XIII, 376, 377, 390); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 386); *Cont. de Guillaume de Tyr* (ed. Morgan, 149)).

In March 1229, as a result of Frederick II's treaty with the Ayyubids, the Templars were once more granted Latrun and its appurtenances, but on condition that they did not fortify it (MGH *Epist.*, i, 292–303, no. 384; Prawer 1975a: II, 200 n.40). In late 1243, however, a letter from the grand master, Armand of Périgord, to the order's preceptor in England made clear that by then the Templars were intending to build a strong castle 'near Jerusalem above Toron' (*prope Jerusalem supra Toronum*) if sufficient help could be obtained from the barons of the kingdom (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 290)). It may be assumed that Latrun was the intended location (cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 309 n.44; Barber 1994a: 144, 361 n.106); but in August 1244 the Khwarizmians sacked Jerusalem and, sweeping through Palestine from Latrun (*a Nirone militum quod viij^{to} miliaris distat a Ierusalem*) to Gaza, combined with the Egyptians to impose such a crushing defeat on the Franks at *la Forbie* on 17 October that no such plan had any chance of being put into effect (Melrose *Chron.* (ed. Stevenson, 157; trans., 70); Prawer 1975a: II, 310–13; Runciman 1951: III, 224–7).

None the less, Joinville tells us that in 1253 King Louis IX considered fortifying a hill between Jaffa and Jerusalem on which there had formerly been a castle at



1 Latrun Castle: plan.

the time of the Maccabees; but he was dissuaded by the barons of the kingdom, who pointed out the difficulty of holding a place five leagues from the sea (Joinville, cvii, 552–3 (ed. de Wailly, 232–3; trans. Shaw, 303–4)). For reasons that will become apparent below, this site also seems likely to have been Latrun. It seems, however, that the castle never was rebuilt after 1191; and in June 1283 Latrun was formally included in the sultan's possessions in the treaty made between Qalāwūn and the Franks of Acre (RRH, 378, no. 1450).

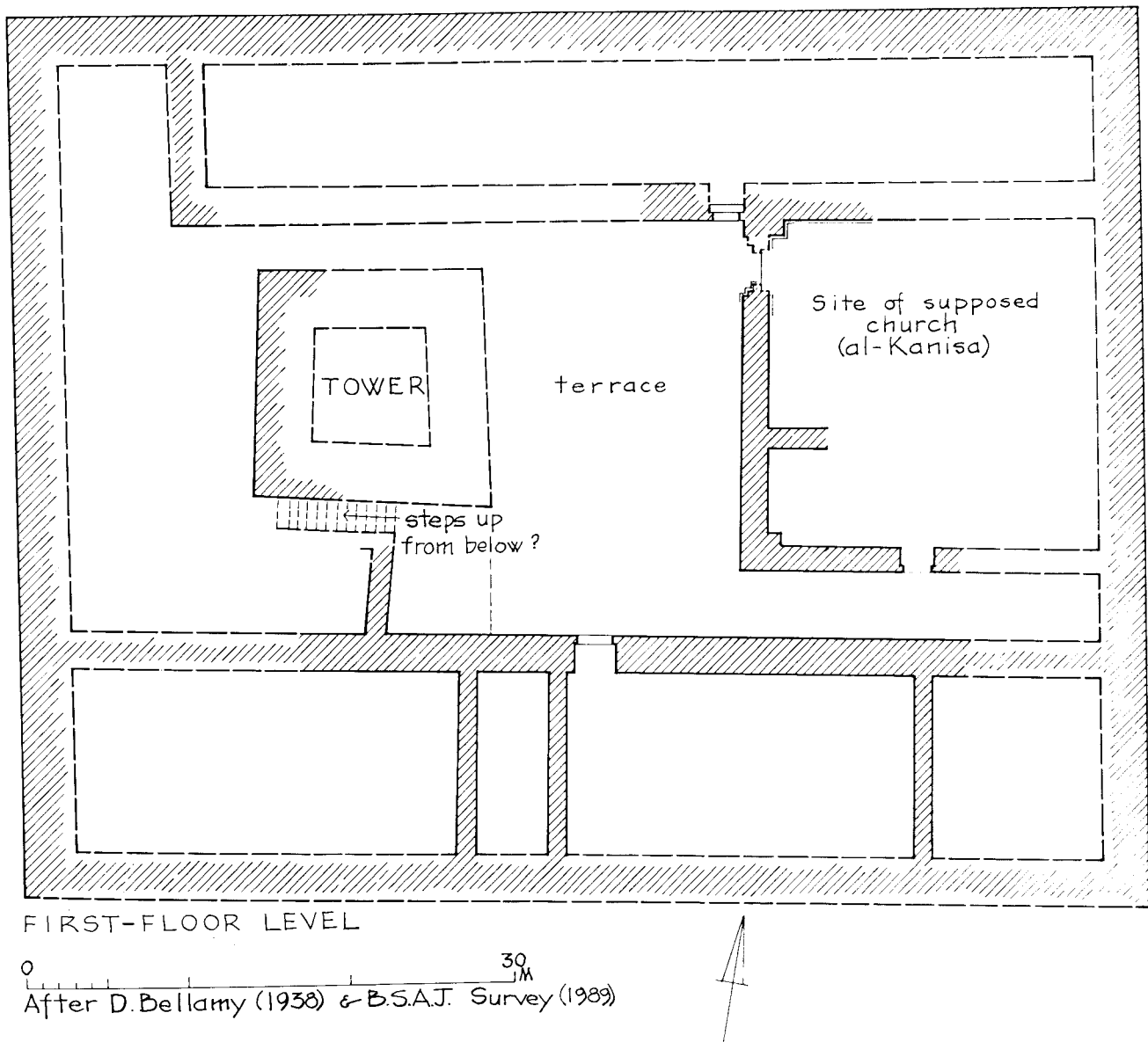
Joinville's allusion to the Maccabees echoes a tradition, found in Latin sources of the early twelfth century, which placed Modein, the city of the Maccabees, in the vicinity of Lydda–Diospolis and Emmaus ('Amwas) (cf. William of Tyre, viii, 1 (CCCM, LXIII, 381); Fulcher of Chartes, i, 25 (RHC Occ, III, 354; trans. Ryan, 115); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xliii (IHC, II, 106; PPTS, v, 44)). The tradition was evidently derived from Jerome, who in 387–9 described *Modeim* as 'a village near *Diospolis* from which came the Maccabees, whose tombs are shown there to this day' (*Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 133, lines 17–19)). But although the site to which Jerome was referring may reasonably be identified with al-Midiya, a village lying 9 km east of Lydda and the same distance north of 'Amwas (Grid ref. 150.149: Abel 1967: II, 391; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 81), it

is uncertain which particular hilltop settlement, if any, the twelfth-century writers had in mind. What is clear is that later texts, probably influenced by the development of an alternative location for Emmaus at Abu Ghosh closer to Jerusalem (see Vol. I, no. 1), preferred to locate the hill, or hills, of Modein (*mons/montes Modin*) in that general area too (e.g. Fretellus (1137), LXIX (ed. Boeren 39); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 1002–3); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5), xxiii (CCCM, cxxxix, 108); Oliver of Paderborn, *Descriptio* (1196–1227), xiv (IHC, iv, 398); Philip of Savona (1283), iv (IHC, iv, 246); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), x (IHC, iv, 202)). Theodoric (1169–72) goes as far as to identify Modein with the site of the hilltop castle of Belmont (Suba), built by the Hospitallers by 1169 between Abu Ghosh and 'Ain Karim (ch. xxxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 184); Harper and Pringle 1988: 101–2).

After the end of the Latin kingdom, although the identification of Modein with Suba persisted as late as the eighteenth century (Oderic of Friuli 1330: 153; Pococke 1743: II, 46; Mariti 1769: iv, 324–6), the earlier and more correct tradition which located it near Lydda also reasserted itself. One site now favoured by Western pilgrims, however, was that of the ruined castle of Latrun. In the fourteenth century Nicolas of Poggibonsi even claimed that the tombs of the Maccabees were still visible there, though in fact, like other medieval writers, he was simply quoting from Jerome (1346–50: 8).

In the seventeenth century, an etymological confusion gave rise to the belief that Latrun was the castle of the Good Thief (*castrum Boni Latronis*) who had been crucified with Christ, though opinion was divided as to whether it was so called because the thief had come from there or because a church had been built there in his honour. Francesco Quaresmi claimed that the remains of a large ruined church occupied the centre of the castle (1626a: II, 12; 1626b: 108–10), and remains of a church are also noted by M. Nau (1679: 45–46); E. Zwinner (1661: 40), P. Mariano Morone (1669: 62) and J. Goujon (1670: 109; cf. Neret 1725: 9). Mariti 1769: II, 263; Bagatti 1979: 147; Buschhausen 1978: 62). An engraving by J. Zvallart (1585a: 113; Dapper 1677; Kootwyk 1619: 142; Buschhausen 1978: pl. 22) is unfortunately too imaginative to allow one to confirm the identification of any church; and by the time that Cornelius van Bruyn produced his more prosaic representation a century later it seems that most of the castle's superstructure had gone (1725: II, 167, 239, opp. p. 239; cf. Schiller 1981).

The castle was dismantled still further by Ibrahim Pasha in the 1830s (de Hamme 1897: I, 123; Bagatti



2 Latrun Castle: plan of the first floor of the inner ward, showing the possible location of the chapel (no. 136).

1979: 147), but in the 1860s V. Guérin was still able to state:

In the midst of the accumulated debris and tall plants that cover this plateau one observes the remains of a church three-quarters destroyed. (1868: I, 309)

In 1910, two triple capitals, finely carved from marble in the so-called 'Temple workshop' style, were discovered in the castle by monks from the nearby Trappist monastery (founded in 1890). Some thirty-five years later, the abbot related to C.N. Johns that

he found them in one of the village dwellings actually loose and not built in, as if they were being hidden until an oppor-

tunity came to sell them; consequently he is not sure that they came from this site but thinks it possible that the peasant who had them may have obtained them from somewhere else in the vicinity. (Johns 1945: 15 Dec. 1945)

The capitals were taken to the monastery for safe keeping, but in 1917 they were removed to Istanbul by the retreating Turks (Boase 1977: 90–91; Buschhausen 1978: 62).

Description

Latrun began as a keep-and-bailey castle, with a central tower (some 14 m square with walls 3–4 m thick)



1 Latrun: triple capital, photographed before its removal to Istanbul in 1917.

enclosed by a quadrangular enceinte with an external *talus* (or *glacis*) (see figs. 1–2). The outer wall measures some 72 m east–west by 55 m north–south, and is about 3 m thick. Against the inside face of the north wall was a continuous barrel-vault, some 8 m wide with at least two doors in its south wall opening from the courtyard around the tower. This courtyard was later infilled with other vaults: a barrel-vault on the west, with the space between it and the tower covered by a series of groin-vaults springing from inserted consoles; a block of groin-vaults on the east (five bays east–west by three bays north–south); and another on the south (eleven bays east–west by two bays north–south). Some remains of chamfered pilaster bases surviving above these vaults in the north-east indicate that they would have supported a more elaborately vaulted *piano nobile*.

The rectangular nucleus of the castle was later enclosed by a polygonal outer enceinte, also with a *talus*, following roughly the contours of the hill and with two large towers (about 26 m wide, projecting about 12.6 m) on the south and another (8.3 m wide, projecting 4.2 m) on the north-west. The doorway into one of the former has a lintel carried on a pair of facing cavetto-moulded corbels, comparable to the twelfth-century south transept door of St Anne's church in Jerusalem (cf. Vincent and Abel 1914a: 706–7, fig. 290). Another outer range of vaulted buildings, including stables, lies 100 m or so to the north. (For further details of the castle, see: Ben-Dov 1974; 1993; Pringle 1991: 89–90 (no. 9); 1997: no. 136.)

It may be assumed that the castle chapel of the knights would have been located within the inner ward, most probably at first-floor level. However, little now

remains of this floor. In December 1945, C.N. Johns recorded in his notebook:

Of the upper level on the platform towards the west hardly anything remains save one or two courses of ashlar, large and well cut. The Abbot remembers more of it forty or fifty years ago and says that the Turks took stone from here during the war of 1914–18. At the west, at the place which the villagers called El Kanisah [the church] is the finely cut, chamfered base of a small wall respond on the scale of the fine marble capitals of the 'Temple' school which were taken to Istanbul during that war. They belong to a recessed doorway, which may well have been the doorway of the castle chapel. (1945: 15 Dec. 1945)

Johns subsequently communicated this discovery to T.S.R. Boase, who published the following note:

In the upper story of the ruins of the castle at Latrun there is the base of a wall respond which may be the doorway of the castle chapel and would correspond in scale with the capitals. This part of the ruins is known by the villagers as al-Kanisa 'the church'. (Boase 1977: 91 n.12)

The wall respond in question is still apparent (see fig. 2). The late Fr B. Bagatti, however, who evidently also saw it, concluded that the so-called church could not be identified as such, since it was not liturgically orientated (1979: 147–8). In this he was wrong. However, the shape of the door respond seems to rule out its direct association with the capitals in Istanbul, though they may possibly have come from a structure inside it (see below).

Decoration and Furnishings

The two capitals consist of triple arrays of smooth corinthianesque capitals intended for colonnettes and with attached abaci, arranged to an L-plan. The abaci measure 61 by 42 cm overall, and 19 cm on the short sides, while the height of abacus and capital combined is 35 cm (Burgoyne and Folda 1981: 322 n.2). Both are finely decorated: one with eagles and a she wolf on the capitals and fruiting acanthus on the abacus (pl. 1); the other with no animate representation on the capitals but with human and animal masks on the acanthus-decorated abacus (Enlart 1925: II, 271–2, pl. 1; Deschamps 1930a: 110–13, fig. 12; Boase 1971: 1, pl. 83; 1977: 90–1, 112, pl. XI; Buschhausen 1979: 62–5, pls. 1–21; Jacoby 1982a: 334–5, 337, 344, figs. 25–6, 39; Kühnel 1994: fig. 34).

The second capital is decorated in the round, and was evidently intended to be seen from all sides. On the face, however, the side equivalent to the base of the L is decorated and bears the diagonal tooling characteristic of Crusader masonry, suggesting that it was meant to be set against

a wall. This seems to rule out the interpretation of the capitals as having come either from a door-way or from the corner responds of a cloister (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 271–2). A more plausible interpretation is that they represent two out of an original four such triple capitals forming part of a rectangular aedicule attached to a wall, such as a porch or a baldacchino similar in plan to that constructed over the Cave of Machpelah in the cathedral in Hebron (see Vol. I, p. 236 (no. 100), pls. CLXXf–CLXXI). Whether such a structure belonged to the chapel or some other part of the castle, such as the chapter house, remains unknown.

Discussion

H. Buschhausen has argued that the castle was rebuilt between 1229 and 1245, and that the capitals should be interpreted as having come from a church or chapel built at the same time (1978: 61–2). The documentary evidence reviewed above, however, suggests that although refortification was considered in 1243–4 and 1253, it was never carried out; it seems highly implausible that a church would have been built within a ruined castle if that was not itself to be refurbished. This would not necessarily exclude the possibility of another church having been built or rebuilt near by. An obvious candidate might be 'Amwas (no. 10), which seventeenth-century sources refer to as the church of the Maccabees (see Vol. I, p. 53). However, there is no archaeological or historical evidence for any thirteenth-century rebuilding at 'Amwas, nor any obvious context for such capitals there. Furthermore, it seems inherently much more likely that they originally came from Latrun, where they were found, than from a neighbouring village. Thirdly, a more convincing context for the stylistically similar sculpture in the Haram ash-Sharif in Jerusalem, which Buschhausen dates to the thirteenth century, can be found in the late twelfth (Jacoby 1982a; 1986; 1987; Pace 1981; 1984b; Burgoyne and Folda 1981). The documentary, architectural and art-historical evidence all therefore leads to the conclusion that neither the castle nor its church or chapel was rebuilt following their destruction by Saladin in December 1191.

Visited 6.5.79, 3.8.79, 21.5.80, 20.1.82, 23.5.84, 17–18.8.89, 22.8.89, 14.9.94.

Sources

Baedeker 1876b: 10; Bagatti 1979: 147–8; Ben-Dov 1974; Boase 1971: 118, pl. 83; 1977: 90–1, pl. XI; Burgoyne and

Folda 1981: 322 n.2, 324; Buschhausen 1978: 59–65, pls. 1–22; Enlart 1925: II, 271–2, pl. 120; Guérin 1868: I, 309; Istanbul: Archaeological Museum 1956: 80 (nos. 3846–7); Jacoby 1982a: 334–5, 337, 344, figs. 25–6, 39; Goujon 1671: 109; Johns 1945: 15 Dec. 1945; Kühnel 1994: fig. 34; Mariti 1769: II, 263; Morone 1669: I, 62; Nau 1679: 45–6; Neret 1725: 97; Pringle 1991a: 89–90 (no. 9); 1997: no. 136; Vincent and Abel 1932: 362–85; Zwinner 1661: 40.

LYDDA

Cr. *Lydde*, *Lydda*, *uilla S. Georgii*; Byz. *Diospolis*, *Georgiupolis*; Ar. *Lüdd*; Hebr. *Lod*

No. 137 Cathedral Church of St George 1405.1511

History

The history of Lydda in the Middle Ages is intimately connected with that of the church of St George. The origins of the church and of its cult, however, are equally obscure. Although a later tradition identifies George, amongst other things, as a soldier-saint and native of Lydda who was martyred at Nicopolis under Diocletian (see Hoade 1967; Leclercq 1924), the earliest clear reference to his association with Lydda comes around 518, when the pilgrim Theodosius writes:

Twelve miles from Emmaus to Diospolis, where St George was martyred; and there is his body and many wonderful things are done. (ch. IV (CCSL, CLXXV, 116; trans. Wilkinson, 65))

The cult site is also mentioned in 570 by the Piacenza Pilgrim (ch. XXV (CCSL, CLXXV, 142; trans. Wilkinson, 84)), and some of the miraculous happenings associated with it were repeated to Bishop Arculf in Constantinople around 685 (Adomnán, III, 4 (CCSL, CLXXV, 229–33; trans. Wilkinson, 114–15)). A large building, apparently the church of St George, is represented in *Lod* (*Lydea*, or *Diospolis*) on the sixth-century Madaba mosaic map (Avi-Yonah 1954: no. 62; cf. Wilkinson 1977: 155).

It may be assumed that some form of church building would have existed in Lydda by 325, when the first historically attested bishop, Aetius, was listed among the participants at the Council of Nicaea (Hölscher 1927; Schwartz 1991: 125–8). Whether Aetius's church was already associated with St George, however, is unknown. At a much later date, William of Tyre considered the church of St George in Lydda to have been

built (or perhaps rebuilt) by the emperor Justinian (ch. vii, 22 (CCCM, LXIII, 373); cf. Benedict de Accoltis (RHC Occ, v.ii, 600)); and although this attribution cannot be confirmed by any earlier source and the building is not included by Procopius in his list of those erected in Palestine by Justinian (*de Aedificiis*, v, 9, 1–22 (Loeb, 356–8)), the tradition need not be dismissed simply through lack of evidence. Procopius's list is in any case far from complete. What is certain is that by the time that Lydda fell to the Muslim Arabs under 'Amr Ibn al-Ās in 636, an impressive basilica stood over the site of the martyr's grave.

The Byzantine church of Lydda is represented on the eighth-century mosaic pavement of the church of St Stephen at Umm ar-Rasas (*Mefaa*) in Transjordan (Piccirillo and Alliata 1994: 182–3, pl. xiv); and it may have been one of the twenty-four principal churches of Palestine shown on a late sixth- to early seventh-century mosaic pavement at Ma'in (de Vaux 1938: 245–6, pl. XIII.1; Crowfoot 1941: 145).

The church in Lydda evidently continued to stand even after Ramla had replaced Caesarea as capital of *Filastin* around 715. One of the stories related to al-Muqaddasī (c.985) by his uncle, for example, tells how the caliph Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724–43), the builder of the White Mosque in Ramla, heard

that the Christians possessed columns of marble, which they had prepared for the Church of Bālī'ah, lying buried beneath the sand; thereupon Hishām informed the Christians that they must either show him where the columns lay, or that he would demolish their church at Lydda (Ludd), in order to employ its columns for the building of his mosque. The Christians accordingly unearthed their columns. (trans. Creswell 1969: II, 483; cf. Marmardji 1951: 81–2; Le Strange 1890: 305)

A redaction of the description of the Holy Places by the monk Epiphanius (639–89), made after the foundation of Ramla and before c.1000, also describes the remains of St George resting in the church in Diospolis:

The church is very large, and in its chancel lies the torturer's wheel. And on the right side of the nave stands a column to which the wheel is tied. On the day of his [St George's] memory blood flows for three hours. (ch. iv–v (trans. Wilkinson, 119))

Around 870, Bernard the Monk mentions 'the monastery of Blessed George the Martyr, in which he lies buried' (ch. x (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 314; trans. Wilkinson, 142)).

By the end of the tenth century, there existed a Muslim *hadith*, repeated by al-Muqaddasī, that, at the gate of what he describes as 'that wonderful church' in Lydda, Christ would appear and slay the *dajjāl*, or forerunner of the End of Days (PPTS, III, 59; cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 108–9; Gil 1992: 64

n.69). In this period the church must still have been an impressive sight. In another of the stories told him by his uncle, al-Muqaddasī relates how the caliph al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (705–15) had been inspired to build and to decorate the Great Mosque in Damascus by the many beautiful Christian churches that he had seen in Syria, 'so renowned for their splendour, even as are the churches of Kumāmah [the church of the Holy Sepulchre], and the churches of Lydda and Edessa' (Le Strange 1890: 182; PPTS, III, 22–3; cf. Creswell 1969: I, 66, 151, 231). This passage does not necessarily mean that al-Walid had actually seen the church of Lydda, though this is the meaning conveyed in the translation by Marguère Van Berchem (in Creswell 1969: I, 234; cf. Crowfoot 1941: 116).

Muslim respect for the church of St George in Lydda ensured its preservation for over three and a half centuries. In 1010, however, it was destroyed along with the church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Christian buildings in Palestine, on the orders of the deranged caliph al-Hākim (Glaber (RHGF, x, 34; ed. Franke 132–5); Aymar of Chabonnois (RHGF, x, 152)). The church was returned to Patriarch Nicephorus in November–December 1020 (Gil 1992: 464). It seems likely that some attempt would have been made to restore the building during the course of the eleventh century, perhaps after 1027 when the emperor Constantine VIII, obtained permission to rebuild the church of the Holy Sepulchre, or after 1042 when the work actually began under Constantine IX Monomachos. Indeed, one source credits the restoration of the church of St George to King Stephen of Hungary, who would suggest a date between 1022 and 1038, the year of the king's death (AA SS, Sept., I, 533; cf. Guénon 1868: I, 327). Additional difficulties, however, may have beset the builders. In 1033, one-third of Ramla, including the White Mosque was destroyed by an earthquake; and another tremor in 1067–8 is reported to have killed 25,000 people in the town and left only ten houses standing (Creswell 1969: I, 182; Kallner-Amich 1950–1: 227). In 1071, Ramla fell to the Seljuks and some ten years later was depopulated (Prawer 1975a: 115–17, 219–21). None the less, some kind of church building seems still to have existed at Lydda in the 1090s, when reference is made to the body of St George resting beneath its main altar (*History of the Patriarchate*, II.iii, 358).

The approach of the army of the First Crusade towards Lydda on 3 June 1099 is described by William of Tyre:

And so . . . they came to Lydda (*Lidda*), which is *Diospolis*, where is shown to this day the tomb of the illustrious mar-

George . . . This church the pious and orthodox emperor of the Romans, the lord Justinian . . . had ordered to be built to the honour of the said martyr. Hearing of the arrival of our men and fearing that they would want to convert the beams (*trabes*) of the church, which were of great length, into engines and catapults (*machinas et tormenta*) for storming the City [Jerusalem], the enemy had thrown down [the church] only a little while before. (ch. vii, 22 (CCCM, LXIII, 373); cf. trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 332)

The Franks proceeded to occupy Lydda and Ramla, and elected Robert of Rouen to serve as bishop of the combined see (William of Tyre, vii, 22 (CCCM, LXIII, 373-4; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 332-3); *Gesta Francorum*, xxxvi (ed. Hill, 86); Albert of Aachen, v, 42 (RHC Occ, iv, 460-1); Tudebodius (ed. Hill, 133-4; trans. Hill, 111); Benedict de Accoltis, v (RHC Occ, v.ii, 600); Fulcher of Chartres, I, 25, 13 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 277; trans. Ryan, 115); Raymond of Aguilers, xix (ed. Hill, 136); Bartolf of Nangis, xxix (IHC, I, 148); Runciman 1951: I, 277; Hagenmeyer 1900: 460-61). This subsequently became a suffragan see of the patriarch of Jerusalem (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXI (RHC Lois, I, 415); *Tractatus de locis* (ed. Thomas, 150); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 57 (IHC, III, 326; PPTS, XI, 34-5); cf. Hamilton 1980: 11-12, 137).

It is not easy to assess the condition in which the Crusaders would have found the church of St George. If it had been intact it is hard to imagine even the retreating Muslims considering it likely that the Franks would tear down its roof for siege-equipment (any more than they would have destroyed the church in Bethlehem for such a purpose). This imputed motive may therefore be simply an invention of William of Tyre or one of his sources. The passage would make more sense if it were assumed either that the church was derelict and its timbers therefore readily available for pillaging; or that there existed at the site timber associated with the restoration work. But William of Tyre's account also seems illogical for another reason. The surest way of preventing the Franks from using the woodwork would have been to burn it. Yet he states simply that the Muslims threw down the building, thereby presumably aiding the Crusaders' task if looting the roof timbers had indeed been their intention. All that it seems possible to deduce from this account, therefore, is that the Franks most probably found the church in a ruined condition.

Three years later, in May 1102, the Egyptians raided Ramla and Lydda from their base at Ascalon. According to Albert of Aachen,

they set fire to the temple of St George, one mile distant from the city of Ramla, together with all those whom they found in it, who had fled in the face of them with their flocks and herds. (ch. ix, 2 (RHC Occ, iv, 591))

Fulcher of Chartres, however, presents a fuller and more sober account:

Moreover, they [the Muslims] attempted to seize the bishop of the town [Ramla], who was staying with his household (*clientela*) in the church of St George. On a certain day, with a threatening attack they encircled the monastery; but having taken note of the strength of the place they returned to Ramla. The bishop, however, when he saw the smoke and flames from the fires that they had by now lit in the stubble, feared that he would be blockaded if they returned there. (ch. II, 15, 3-4 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 426-7; trans. Ryan, 163-4))

Bishop Robert therefore sent word to King Baldwin in Jaffa, and later made his own way there in safety (Fulcher, II, 19, 3 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 443; trans. Ryan, 169); cf. Hagenmeyer 1908: 162-6; Prawer 1975a: I, 268-9; Runciman 1951: II, 76-80). Fulcher's account therefore suggests it is unlikely that the church or *monasterium* of St George was seriously damaged on this occasion.

Albert of Aachen's confusion was probably caused by the failure, common in twelfth-century sources, to distinguish between the church and the town of Lydda, both of which are often referred to simply as 'St George' (cf. Theodoric (1169-72), xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 185); Anon. v (c. 1180), 6, 1 (IHC, III, 42); Aymar the Monk (1199), v (IHC, III, 174); Eugesippus (PG, cxxxiii, 1003); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 57 (IHC, III, 328; PPTS, XI, 34-5)). Little is known of the town of Lydda at the time of the Crusader Kingdom. It seems, however, that in comparison with nearby Ramla (q.v.), it would have been relatively small. Although in June 1099 Bishop Robert had been left in control of both settlements, by the time of Baldwin I's accession the following year Ramla and its territory had been incorporated into the royal domain, later becoming an independent lordship. Lydda, on the other hand, together with a reduced territory surrounding it, remained part of the bishop's lordship, which John of Ibelin tells us owed service of ten knights and twenty sergeants (*Livre*, CCLXXI-CCLXXII (RHC Lois, I, 422, 427); on the bishop's lordship, see Mayer 1985: 546-52). The town had its own burghess court (*Livre*, CCLXX (RHC Lois, I, 420)), and two viscounts are mentioned by name in the twelfth century (Mayer 1985: 547). Benjamin of Tudela records a Jewish dyer living there, presumably with his family, in 1169-71 (ed. Adler, 32; trans., 20).

By September 1110, Bishop Roger had granted the Hospital some houses in Lydda (RRH, 12-13, no. 57; cf. 74-5, no. 293 (1154)); and in 1115 he granted to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat a house below his own castle, four carrucates of land in front of the castle, and another house located in the *Mahumerie*

(Kohler, *Chartes*, 10–11, no. 7). The latter may perhaps be identified as the White Mosque in Ramla (q.v.), which being a religious building isolated from the settled part of the town had possibly been retained by the bishop. However, confirmations of this grant by Baldwin I in 1115 and by Baldwin II in 1120 place the first house inside the bishop's castle and the second 'below the walls of the mosque' (*infra muros Mahumerie*) (Delaborde, 29–32, no. 6; 33–5, no. 8; RRH, 18, no. 80), while later royal and papal confirmations locate the houses respectively 'below the castle of St George' (*infra castrum Sancti Georgii*) and below (or in one case, outside and below) the walls of the mosque (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18 (1130); 67–70, no. 29 (1152); 100–5, no. 49 (1255); Kohler, *Chartes*, 32, no. 28 (1152); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 209–12, no. 72 (1155)). Apart from confirming that the bishop's residence was fortified, the topographical significance of these documents is therefore frustratingly unclear.

That the church of St George was rebuilt sometime in the twelfth century is evident from the surviving archaeological remains. It is difficult, however, to fix precisely the date of this reconstruction by reference to the documentary sources alone. The first twelfth-century pilgrim to mention the church is the Russian Abbot Daniel in 1106:

Here there was a great (*var.*: square) church built in honour of St George, and his tomb was in (*var.*: under) the altar, for here St George was martyred. (ch. vii (trans. Ryan, 126; de Khitrowo, 10))

Daniel, however, was probably describing the former Byzantine church, which would still have been in ruins at this date.

Twelfth-century Western pilgrims unfortunately refer only to the tomb of St George, without saying anything about the church at all (e.g. Fretellus (1137), LXIX (ed. Boeren, 39); *S. Theotonii Vita* (–1160), XIII (IHC, II, 36); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 108); Theodoric (1169–72), XXXIX (CCCM, CXXXIX, 185)). Some order must have been restored to the sanctuary by July 1120, however, when the Milanese knight, Ambrose de Turre, was buried in the church (see below); and in 1153 Amalric, former abbot of St Habakkuk and St Joseph of Aramathea, was consecrated bishop of Sidon by Archbishop Peter of Tyre in the church of Lydda (*in ecclesia Liddensi*), while the rest of the senior clergy were assisting at the siege of Ascalon (William of Tyre, xvii, 26 (CCCM, LXIII, 797)).

The earliest clear reference to the existence of a new church of St George relates to the year 1177, when Saladin raided the territory of Ascalon. On this occasion

a party of Muslims, led by an apostate Armenian named Ivelinus, detached themselves from Saladin's camp, burnt the town of Ramla and proceeded to attack Lydda where the populace took refuge on top of the church (*super ecclesiam beati martyris Georgii*: William of Tyre, XXI, 20 (21) (CCCM, LXIII, 988–9; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 428)). Presumably by this time the church had a stone roof.

In 1185 the church was visited by the Greek pilgrim John Phocas. Having passed through Nabi Samwil and 'Amwas, he came to

the country of Ramla, wherein may be seen the very great church of the great and holy martyr George. Here also was born, and did great works for holiness, and here too is his blessed tomb. The church is divided into aisles (*naos* and *dromikos*), and in the apse (*en tōi tōi bēmatos mūaki*), under the place of the holy table, one sees the mouth of his sepulchre faced all round with white marble.

Phocas also relates a story that he heard from the priest of the church.

They said that the present intruded bishop of the Latin rite ventured to open the mouth of the sepulchre, and that when the marble slab which closed it was taken away there was disclosed a large grotto, on the inner side of which was found the tomb of the saint; when, however, he endeavoured to open this also, fire was seen to flash forth from the sepulchre, and left one of the men half burned and another burned to death (ch. xxxix (PG, CXXXIII, 960–1; PPTS, v, 34))

The tomb was therefore apparently in a cave or crypt beneath the main altar and visible from the sanctuary through an oculus in the floor.

Saladin took Lydda in July 1187 and on 24 September 1191 he gave orders for the church of St George and the castle of Ramla to be demolished. This destruction took ten days to complete (Bahā' al-Dīn, CXXII–CXXIII (PPTS, XIII, 300–3); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 347); *Itin. R.* IV, 23 (RS, XXXVIII.i, 280); al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 94). In September 1192, the territories of Lydda and Ramla were divided between the Franks and the Muslims (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 97–8; cf. al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 14; Prawer 1975a: II, 99); but in spite of the fact that much of the diocese was now in Muslim hands, a new bishop of Lydda appears to have been appointed before 1200 (Hamilton 1980: 246–8). Both towns would have been ceded to the Franks in their entirety in 1229 (Prawer 1975a: II, 198–200), and both fell to Sultan Baybars in 1266 (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 98; Prawer 1975a: 475–6). An archdeacon and a precentor of Lydda are mentioned in 1273 and 1274 respectively (*Eracles*, X (RHC Occ, II, 464, 466)), but by this time the chapel was established in Acre (q.v.).

What was the state of the church of Lydda between

1187 and 1266? In 1192, Richard I was visited by a Greek archbishop of Lydda while at Bait Nuba. This man had previously submitted himself and his flock to the protection of Saladin (*Itin. Ric.*, v, 53 (RS, xxxviii.i, 376); cf. Hamilton 1980: 183, 311). It seems quite likely in fact that Greek priests and monks had continued to serve in the church of St George throughout the twelfth century. John Phocas, for instance, recounts his conversation with the priests of the church in 1185 in terms which suggest that they were Greek like himself (see above). After 1187, the ruins of the Latin cathedral seem to have been entrusted to them, possibly by Saladin himself. By 1205, however, Isaias, the Orthodox archbishop of Lydda, had fled to Cyprus (*Regestes . . . de Constantinople*, i.iv, 11-12, no. 1201; Hamilton 1980: 313; Rose 1992: 240 n.4). None the less, in 1211 the Western pilgrim Wilbrand of Oldenburg refers to the body of St George lying near Ramla 'in a certain monastery of the Syrians' (*in quodam cenobio Surianorum*) (ch. II, 3, 1-3 (ed. Laurent, 184)); the same pilgrim explains elsewhere that *Suriani* followed the Greek rite (ch. I, 1, 8 (ed. Laurent, 163)).

Just how much of the main church was destroyed by Saladin in 1191 is uncertain. Later descriptions indicate that most of the east end remained intact; but there is no evidence to substantiate the claim made in the sixteenth century that this had been rebuilt by King Richard I (cf. de Vogüé 1860: 365-6; Enlart 1925: II, 273), nor is there any evidence for repairs between 1229 and 1266. It seems possible therefore that Saladin merely demolished the bishop's palace and its fortifications together with the west front and nave of the church, but that he left standing the eastern part of the church around the saint's tomb. Material from the demolished parts of the church were used in 1273 to construct a bridge over the Nahr Musrara at Jindas, just north of the town (RCEA, XII, nos. 4660-1; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: I, 262-79; 1896: II, 110-18; Pringle 1981a: 185-6, 194).

Later medieval pilgrims continued to describe the impressive remains of the twelfth-century church, without always troubling to mention, however, that it was in ruins. In 1330, Oderic of Friuli writes of the very beautiful church of St George in which the place of his decapitation was shown in the choir (1330: 156). Humbert of Dijon writes two years later in a similar vein, adding that the church was mostly destroyed (1332: 519). A fuller description is given by Nicolas of Poggibonsi:

There is a beautiful monastery with a beautiful church, painted and historiated (or all painted with beautiful pictures); and beneath the main altar there is a stone with a hole in the

centre, and there was cut off the head of St George. And in the said church there are Greek monks. (1346-50: 8)

It appears that Nicolas did not go down into the crypt. According to Ludolph of Sudheim, the decoration included mosaics and marble (1336-41a: 342; 1336-41b: 65).

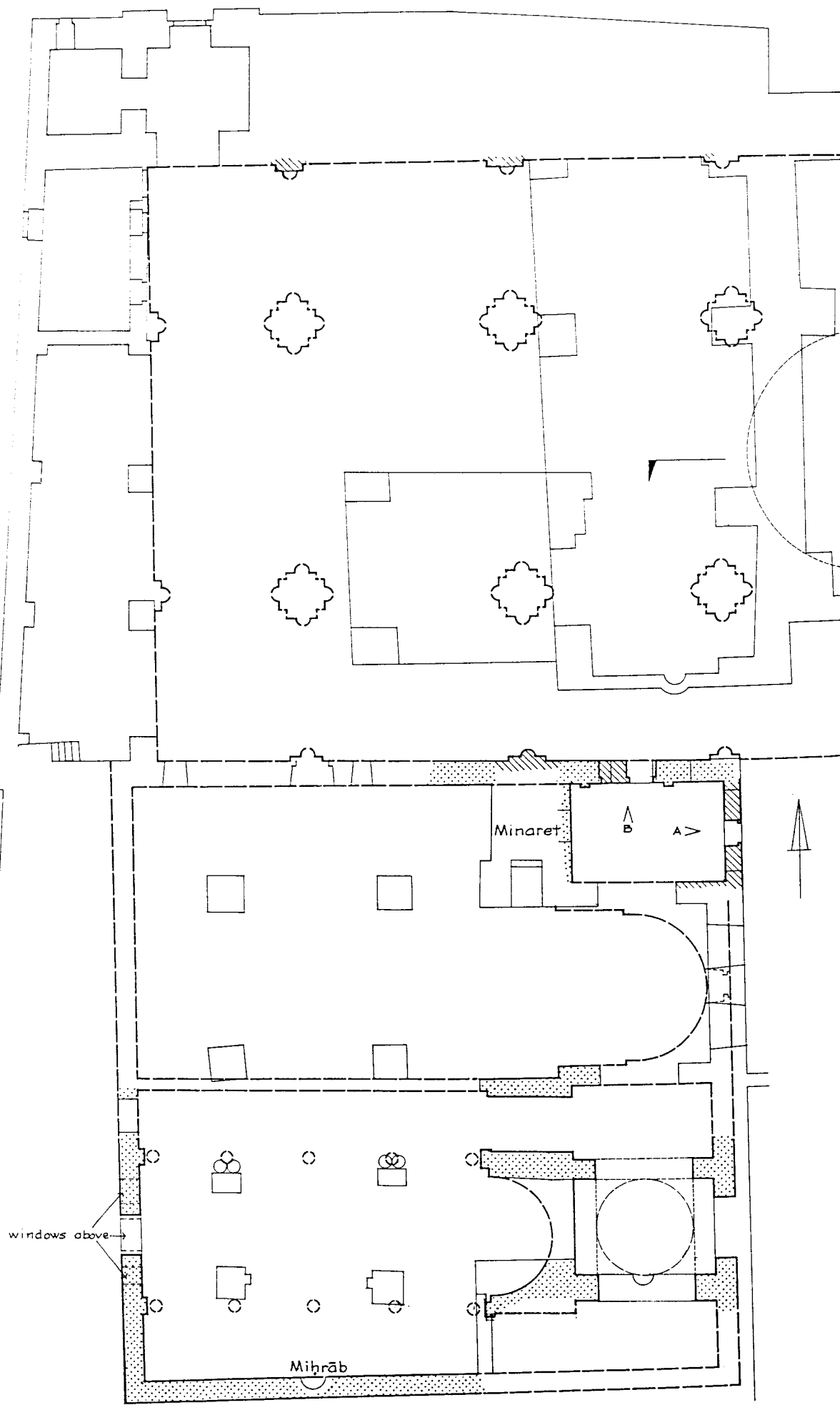
The first mention of a mosque built next to the ruined church comes in the early fifteenth century. At this time the main church was still in the care of the Greeks (de Caumont 1418: 34; de Rochechouart 1461: 239; Mitchell 1964: 98). The description given by Brother Felix Faber in the 1480s suggests that by then the church was in much the same state as it was around 1860:

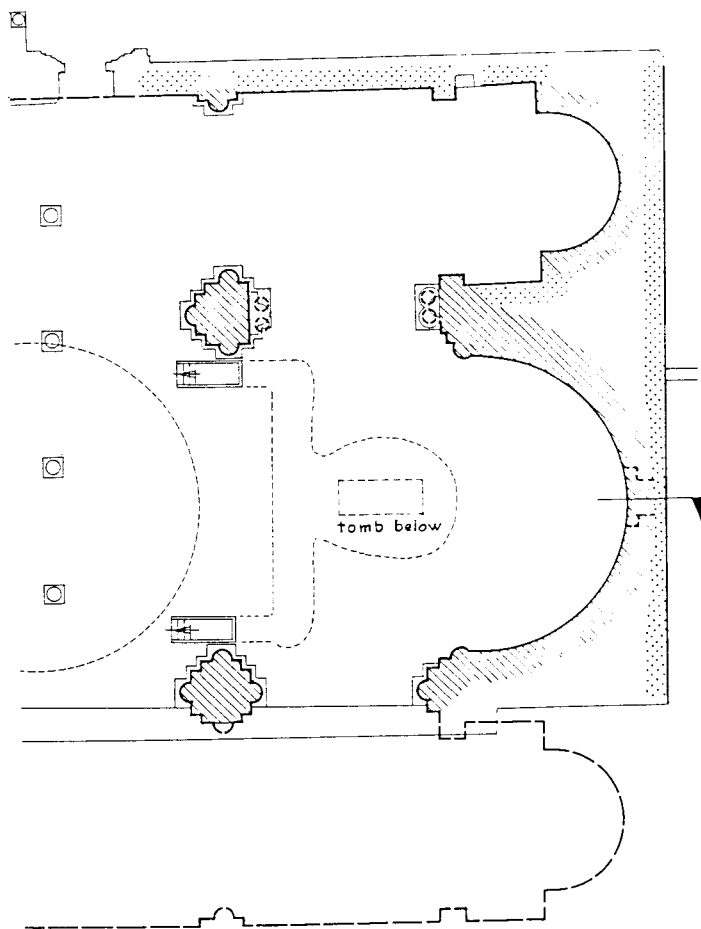
Here we saw with heartfelt grief the ruins of a very fine church, lofty and large, whereof part of the choir is still standing, but with the vaults and the roof fallen in. In the choir is the place of St George's martyrdom, and there two lamps are always burning . . . fed by the Greek Christians . . . The rest of the church has been cut off from the choir by a wall, and they have made that part of it into a fair mosque . . . and adorned it with a lofty tower. (Faber 1480-3: I, 257)

On the contemporary map by Bernhart van Breydenbach, the church is marked as 'now abandoned' (*hodie desolata*: Röhricht 1901: pl. 2; cf. Casola 1494a: 60). In fact, the former nave of the church more probably formed, as today, the courtyard for the mosque which by then occupied the southern side-chapels of the main church. This mosque together with its high minaret is mentioned by Mujir al-Din, who correctly identifies it as having formerly been a church built by the Greeks (*Rūm*) (1494-5: 211; cf. Marmardji 1951: 191).

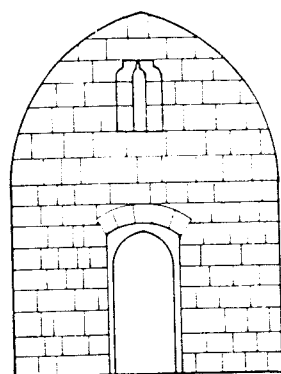
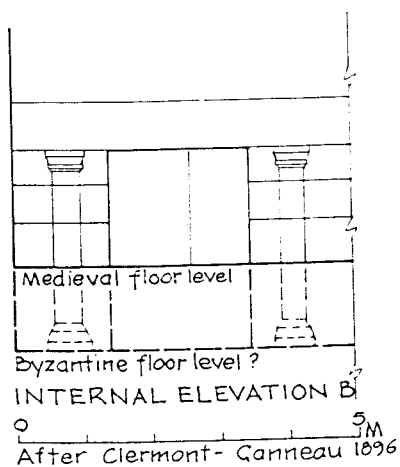
In the seventeenth century, the ruins of the main church were sketched by Cornelius van Bruyn (1725: II, pl. opp. p. 126; cf. Mauss 1892: fig. 1) and described by Francesco Quaresmi (1626a: II, 9; 1626b: 106). In the nineteenth century they were illustrated by C.W.M. van de Velde (1857: pl. 57; cf. Ben-Arieh 1979: 151) and described by E. Robinson (1841: III, 49-55), M. de Vogüé (1860: 363-7, pl. xxxvii), V. Guérin (1868: I, 323-30, 334) and the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 252, 257-8) (see pls. II-III). David Roberts' lithograph purporting to be of Lydda is evidently of Abu Ghosh (no. 1) (1842b: III, pl. 72).

In 1870, a dispute between the Greeks and the Franciscans over rights to the ruined church was finally settled in favour of the former, and a new Greek church was constructed enclosing the two northern apses and the four north-eastern bays of the twelfth-century church (pl. IV). At this time a survey of the whole complex, including the mosque, was also undertaken



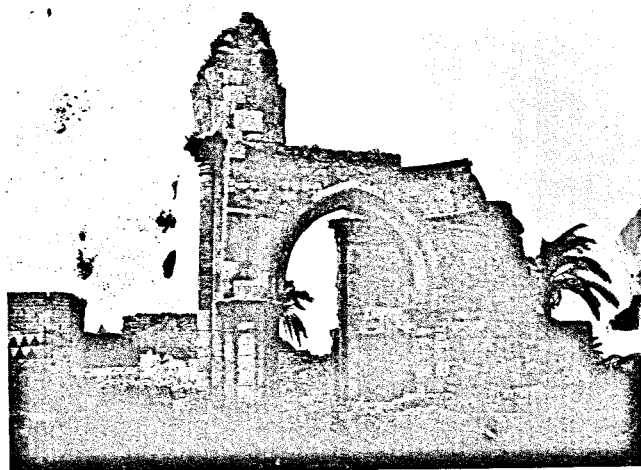


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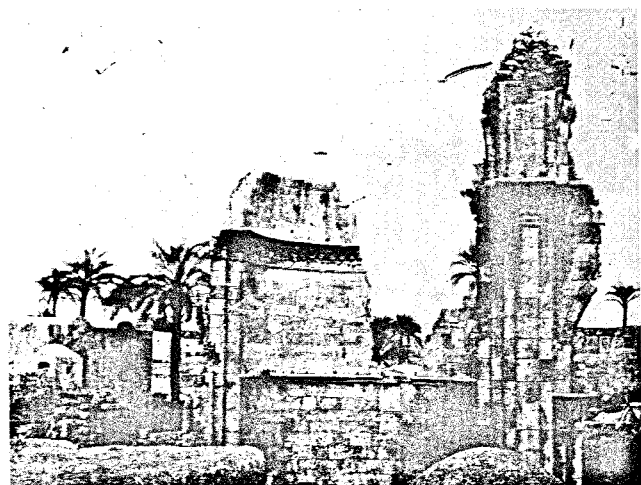


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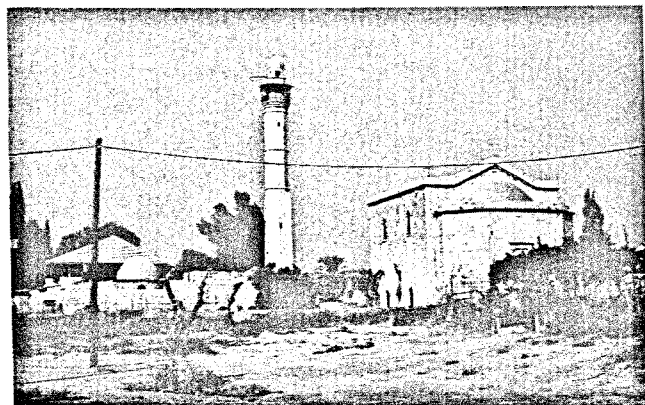
3 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137) and associated structures: plan.



II Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): surviving east end, as photographed from the south by H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.



III Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): surviving east end, as photographed from the west by H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.



IV Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): modern Greek church and mosque, from the east.

(Mauss 1892: 225–33, fig. 2). A more detailed survey was completed by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873–4 (1896: II, 102–9). This has formed the basis for most subsequent discussions of the building (Enlart 1925: n. 272–4; Langé 1965: 148–9; Benvenisti 1970: 167–70; 345–6; Ovadia 1970: 130–1 (no. 134)). In 1980, however, the Muslim authorities began stripping plaster from the walls inside the mosque as part of a renovation project and in so doing revealed earlier features that had escaped Clermont-Ganneau's notice. A new survey of the whole complex was therefore undertaken by Mr Paris Papatheodorou, architect attached to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, in collaboration with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

The Site

While almost nothing is known about the topography of Diospolis, it seems probable and in keeping with patterns of late Roman urban development observed elsewhere that the tomb and church of St George would originally have been located outside the town in an extra-mural cemetery. Possibly already in Byzantine times and certainly from around 715 when Ramla eclipsed Lydda as the major city of the region, however, this church became the focus around which the settlement clustered. So it remained until 1948, when the medieval and Ottoman town centre was evacuated by the majority of its Christian and Muslim population. Today the church and mosque lie in an area of urban dereliction, encircled by modern apartment blocks.

The surviving remains of the church of St George comprise at least two ecclesiastical buildings. The present Greek church occupies the four north-eastern bays of the main cathedral church, the rest of which nave forms an open courtyard for the mosque, which is installed within the shell of a subsidiary chapel compound built on its south flank (see fig. 3).

The Byzantine Churches

Very little survives of the principal Byzantine church. Enough exists or existed into modern times, however, to determine that it occupied precisely the same site as the twelfth-century cathedral, with the saint's tomb located beneath its main altar.

The main church of the fifth to seventh century would have measured some 47 m (east–west) by 24 m (north–south) internally. It appears to have been a three-aisled columned basilica, the aisles terminating at the east end in three semi-circular apses. Four cour-

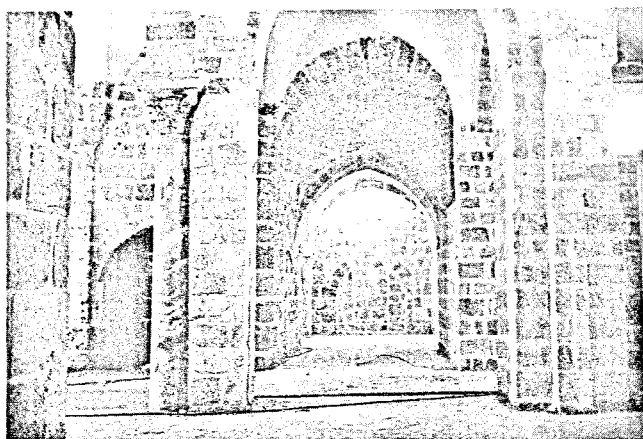
of masonry from this church survive in the north wall of the present Greek church, and more exists on either side of its north apse. It consists of ashlar, laid in courses 0.5 m high. It is somewhat rougher in appearance than the Crusader masonry, and has mortice holes cut in the faces of its blocks, probably intended to hold in place a marble veneer. The straight outer wall of the *chevet* also seems to contain Byzantine material. Traces of the south wall of this basilica, built in the same style, may be seen in the north wall of the mosque, just west of the base of its minaret. To the east of the minaret, remains of another Byzantine wall of a different character were recorded by Clermont-Ganneau in 1873-4 (1896: II, 105-6; cf. Mauss 1892: fig. 5). This was built of finely dressed ashlar with course heights of 0.5-0.7 m (see fig. 3). The wall contained a rectangular doorway, 2.10 m wide, rebated on the north to take a wooden door opening into the south aisle of the basilica. It was flanked on either side by shallow pilaster strips, each 0.4 m wide and surmounted by a moulded capital. Comparable capitals to these may be seen in the fifth- to seventh-century churches at *Eboda* ('Abda) and *Subeita* (Isbaita) in the Negev (cf. Negev 1976; 1978). When seen by Clermont-Ganneau this doorway stood only 1.7 m higher than the floor, and the bases of the pilasters were presumably below it. These might possibly still be recovered by excavation; but the rest of the wall has since been demolished and rebuilt.

On the south side of the main basilica, abutting the western part of its south wall, there existed a rectangular building complex measuring internally some 23 m (east-west) by 24 m (north-south). The south-western part of this complex was taken up by a smaller three-aisled basilica, measuring 17 m (east-west) by 11 m (north-south) internally, with a single central apse on the east. The base of this apse is now partially cut away, but the semi-dome still exists and has a rounded profile (pl. v). None of the columns from the church survives, but the alignment of the nave colonnades is indicated by pilasters (0.6 m wide, projecting 0.2 m) on the west wall (pls. VI-VII) and on either side of the apse. In the centre of the west wall there exists a blocked doorway, 1.68 m wide, with a slightly pointed arch and traces of a moulding that was evidently disfigured when the door was blocked and plastered over. This door probably represents a medieval replacement of an earlier one that would have existed in the same position. Above it three rounded-arched windows survive from the original building (pl. VIII), the central one 1.2 m wide and the two flanking it nearer 1 m; another similar one pierced the west wall of the north aisle. The masonry of this

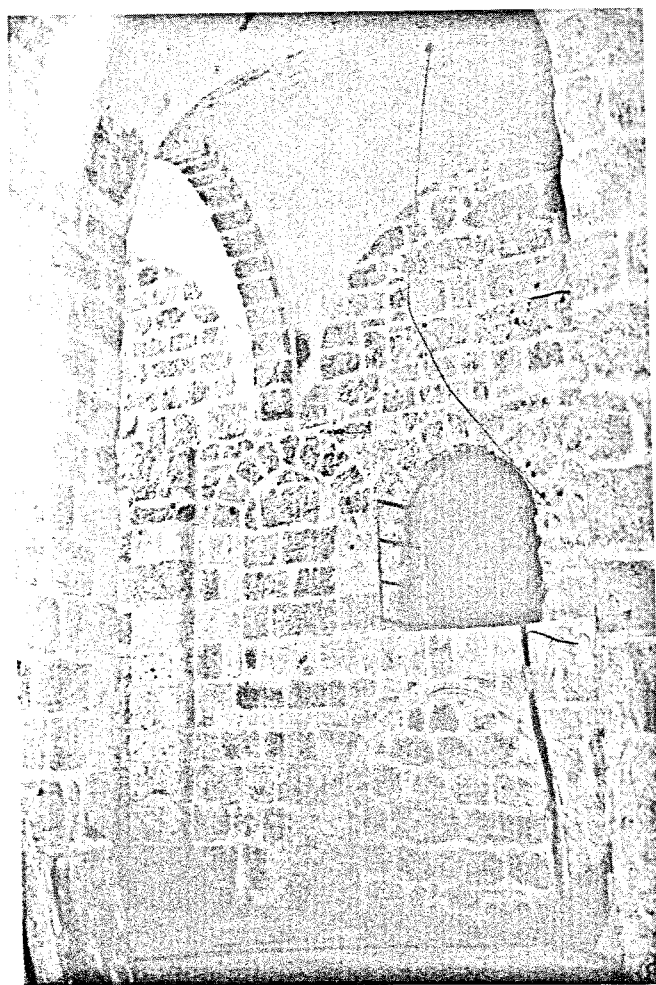
basilica, revealed by the recent renovation work, consists of ashlar laid in 40-50 cm courses, with traces of mortice holes for a marble veneer. Its north wall was destroyed probably when the conversion to a mosque was made. At that time, a *mihrāb* was also inserted into the south wall; traces of the early *mihrāb* were found during the renovation work, existing some 0.5 m below the present one.

To the east of this basilica there exists a small structure of apparently later date, built up against the outside face of its apse wall. This consists of a chamber about 4 m square, covered by a dome on pendentives (pls. IX-XI). The arches defining the pendentives spring from moulded imposts. They have pointed profiles and the lines of intersection between them and pendentives have plain arrises. The walls and vaulting are all of ashlar. The arches on the north and south were originally both left open, while those on the east and west were blind. A blocked doorway, 2.25 m wide, survives in the east wall. The pendentives support a cylindrical drum pierced by four pointed-arched windows at the cardinal points. The base of this drum is defined by a wedge-shaped cornice and above it the dome springs from another of a similar kind. In its form and construction the dome may be compared with those of the Greek Orthodox churches of the Dair al-'Adas and St Michael the Archangel in Jerusalem (q.v.), both dated to the twelfth century, and with the somewhat larger dome of the Georgian Monastery of the Cross (no. 145), built between c.1030 and 1056. It seems likely therefore that the domed room at Lydda dates from the eleventh or possibly the twelfth century. It seems equally likely, however, that this medieval domed chamber replaced an earlier room of similar dimensions in the same position. This is suggested by the way in which it fits so neatly into the overall building plan. This chamber, like its medieval replacement, would have communicated with the north and south aisles of the smaller basilica through small rectangular chambers (2.75 by 5.6 m) north and south of it.

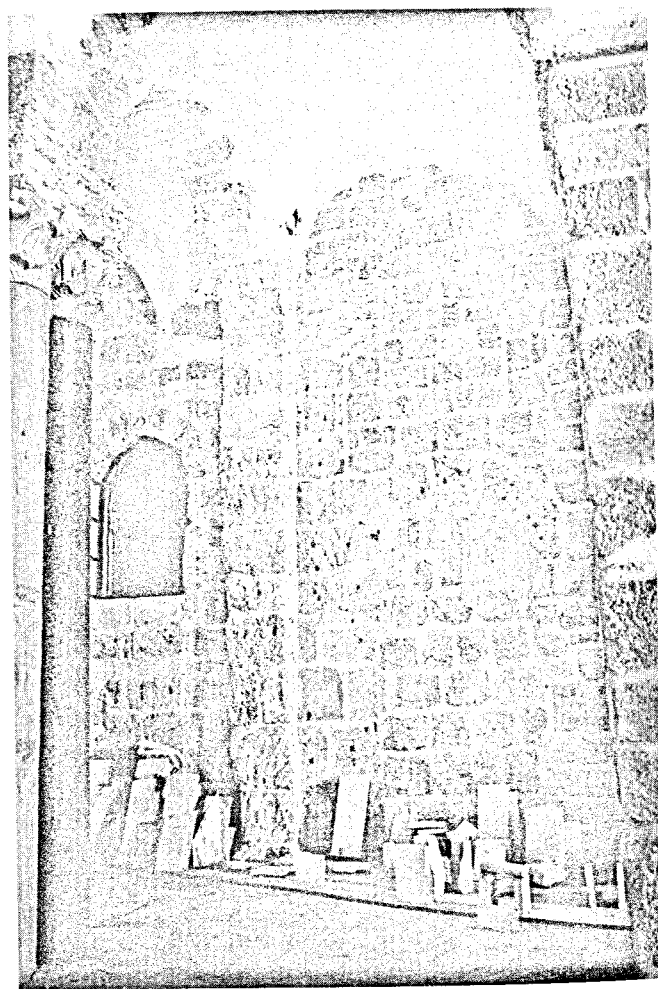
Between the smaller basilica and the main church there existed another apsed chamber. This was fortunately recorded by Mauss and Clermont-Ganneau in the 1870s, for it has since been destroyed. The apse, on the east side, was semi-circular in plan with a rounded semi-dome, and was preceded by two barrel-vaults of decreasing size. In the eastern wall was a rounded-arched window. The maximum width of this room would have been about 7 m and its length 23 m. On the north side, an aisle or corridor about 4 m wide would have separated it from the main church. Part of this space is now occupied by the base of the minaret.



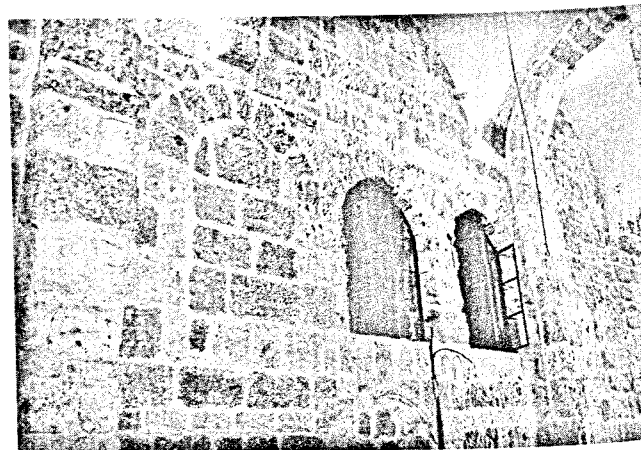
v Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): east end and apse of former Byzantine church, looking east.



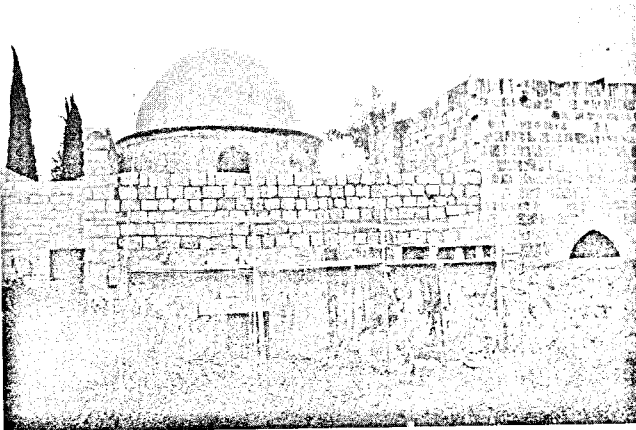
vi Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): west end of former Byzantine church, including the main west door, seen from inside.



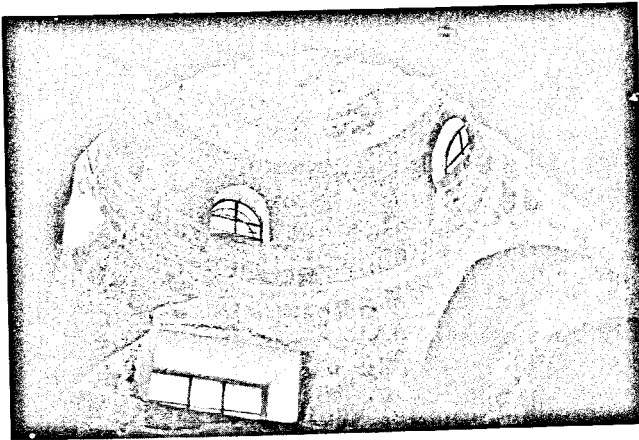
vii Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): west end of north aisle of former Byzantine church, showing the pilaster separating the aisle from the nave.



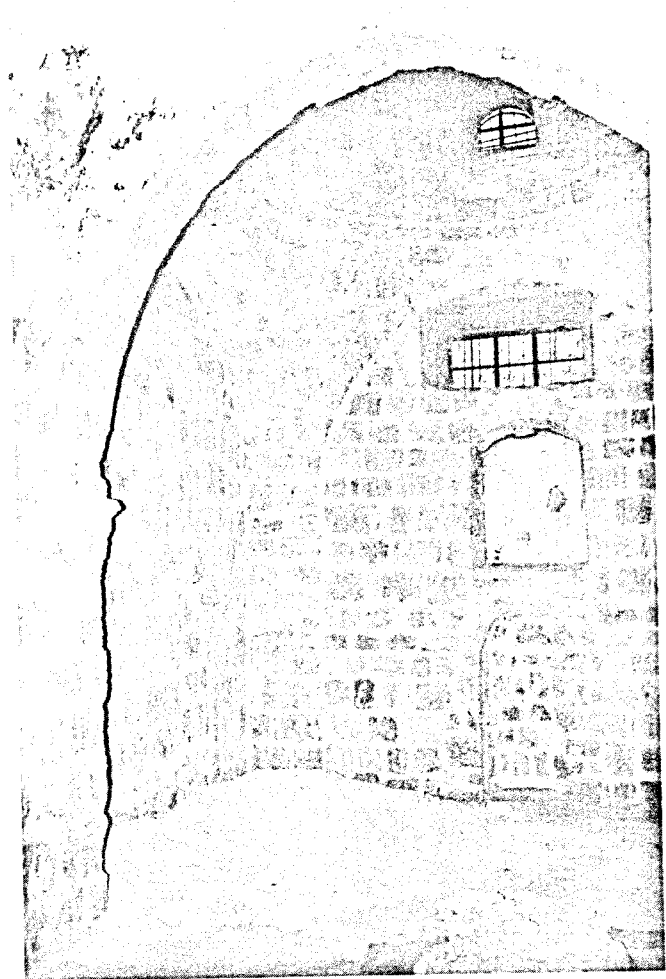
viii Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): the nave windows in the west end of the former Byzantine church.



ix Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure standing east of the former Byzantine church, seen from the east.



x Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure east of the former Byzantine church, interior of dome.



xi Lydda, mosque south of cathedral (no. 137): domed structure east of the former Byzantine church, interior looking south.

The Crusader Cathedral

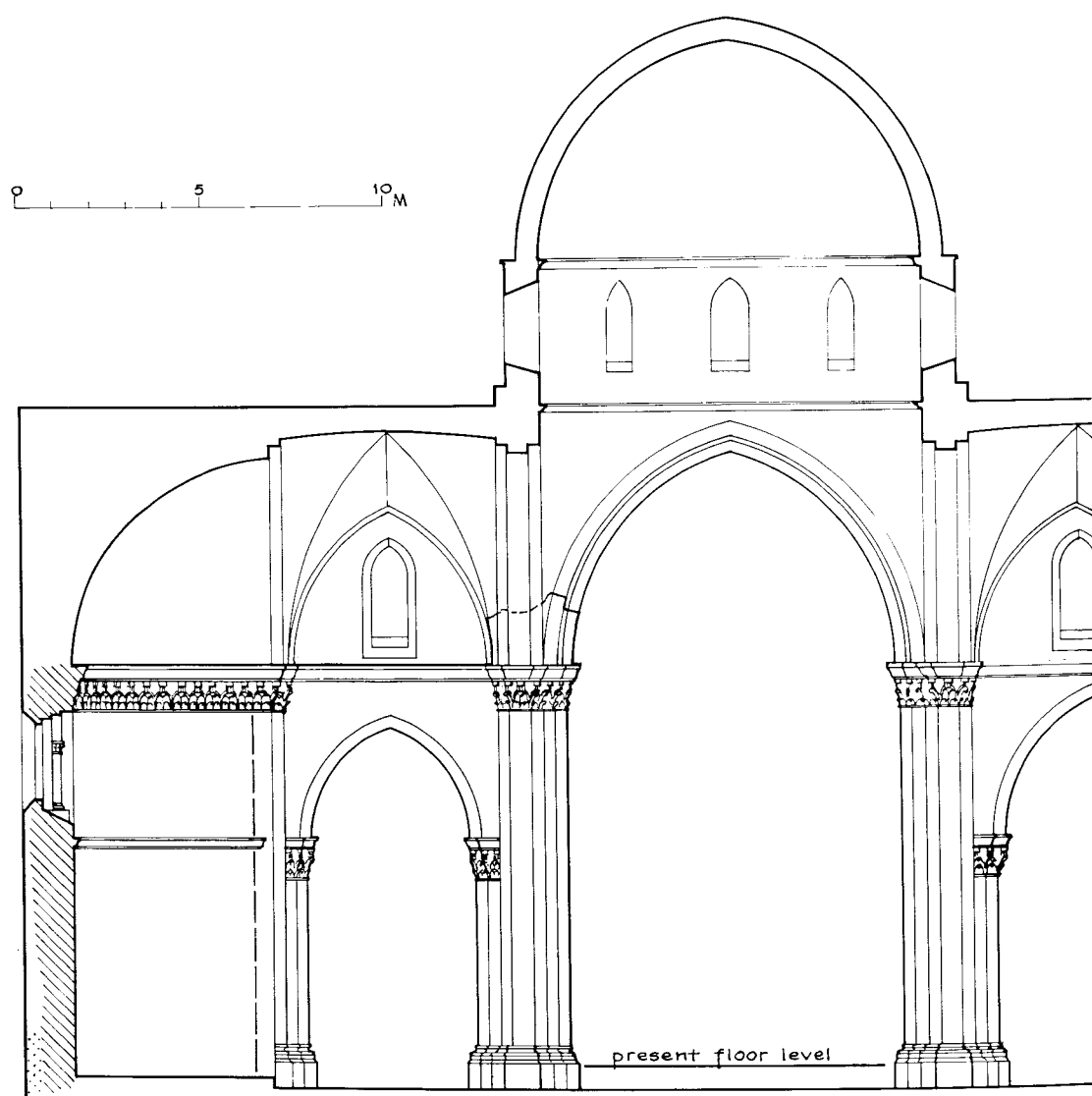
The remains of Frankish work at Lydda are confined almost exclusively to the main basilica, which was rebuilt within the confines of the same overall ground plan. It thus consisted of a three-aisled church of five bays, terminating in three semi-circular apses, with an inscribed transept occupying the second bay (figs. 3-4). The surviving portions include most of the central apse and part of the northern one, the first arch of the south nave arcade, the bases (only) of the corresponding northern one, the third pilaster of the south aisle, which survives up to the springing of its vaulting, and traces of all four pilasters of the north aisle, which enable the spacing of all the nave piers to be determined (see pls. XII-XIV).

The building is constructed throughout in smoothly

dressed ashlars of yellow-brown tufaceous limestone, with diagonal tooling and masonry marks (see fig. 5). White grey-veined marble is used for the capitals and plain white marble for the bases.

The building lines of the outer walls of the church are preserved in the outline of the mosque's courtyard (see fig. 3). From this it appears that the twelfth-century cathedral, like its Byzantine predecessor, would have measured internally some 47 m (east-west) by 24 m (north-south). The central nave was 11.2 m wide, and the aisles 6.6-6.8 m. The typical arch span of the nave arcades, as exemplified by those of the third and fourth bays, would have been 8.8 m; but the eastern and western bays were shorter, and the second bay larger because it formed the transept.

The two surviving pier bases are of slightly differing form. The southern one is cross-shaped in plan with an

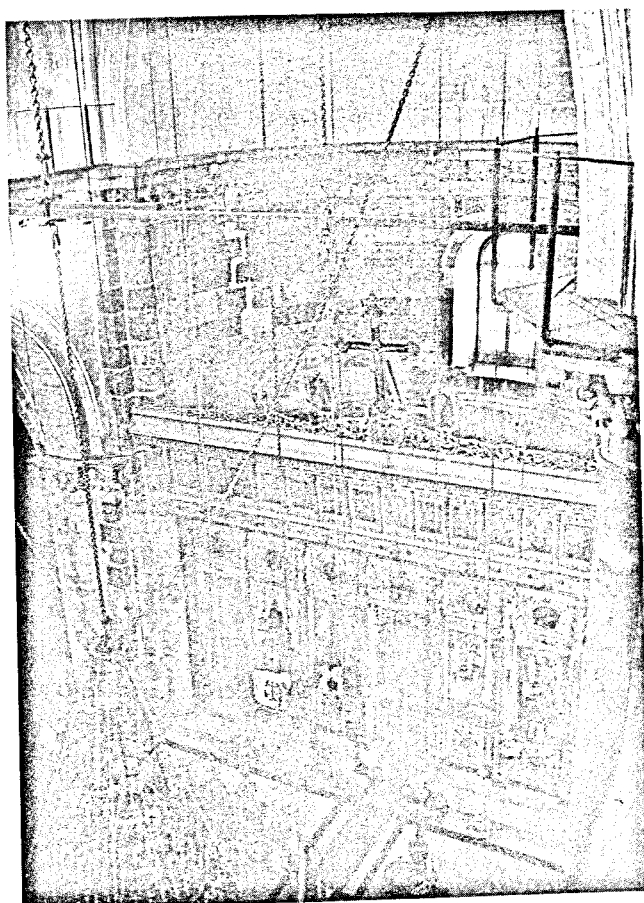


4 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): elevation of the east end.

engaged column on each face. The northern one was similar except that its east side was cut away and replaced by a pair of free-standing columns. A similar base for a pair of columns exists on the east side of the same bay, to the left of the main apse; but in the Greek rebuilding of the 1870s these columns have been replaced by a single engaged masonry column to match that of the south bay (see Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 105, fig.) (see pl. xv). Indeed, single engaged masonry columns on rectangular pilasters seem to have been the normal design for piers and pilasters throughout the building. The northern bay with its four free-standing columns flanking the sanctuary would therefore have been exceptional. The explanation for this probably lies in the columns themselves. Two pairs of white marble

columns with combined Corinthian capitals and impost blocks stand today in the mosque, flanking the approach to the southern part of the main prayer hall (see xvia). Their dimensions tally convincingly with the estimated size of those missing from the twelfth-century church. That they came originally from the Byzantine church, however, is suggested by a Greek inscription carved on one of them (see below). It seems very possible, therefore, that these columns had been salvaged from the Byzantine church by the twelfth-century builders and placed in a prominent position in the new church, and that when the Crusader church itself fell into ruins, they were reused by the Muslims.

Only one arch survives from the nave arcade. This is the first bay on the south. The arch is pointed and



xii Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): main apse.

springs from thick-leafed capitals surmounted by an impost moulding 5.95 m above the present floor level (fig. 4; pl. xvic-d). Above the arch, a cornice runs level with the springing of the vaults of the nave, central apse and transept. The engraving by van Bruyn (1725: II, pl. opp. p. 126) shows above this an open semi-circular arch; and the western spring of this, composed of well-cut voussoirs, is also visible on a PEF photograph taken from the south-east in the 1870s (pl. II; cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, pl. opp. p. 267). This might be taken to indicate that there existed a gallery above the south-eastern bay of the church, overlooking the sanctuary. It seems more likely, however, that this was a structural feature and that it enclosed a blocking wall. The elevation drawing made by de Vogüé indeed shows a clearstorey wall in this position pierced by a narrow window (1860: pl. xxvii; see also here fig. 4).

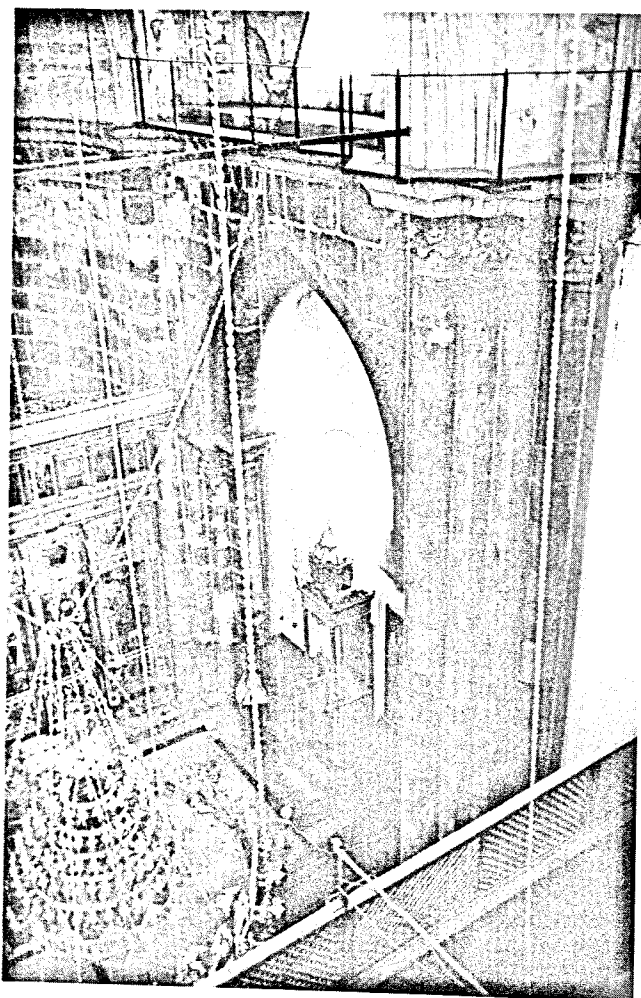
The vaulting of the transept and nave sprang from a continuous cornice, 10.48 m above the present floor level. The only portions of this to survive are at the left-hand side of the apse and on the south-eastern pier of the crossing (pl. xvib and e). It may be assumed that



xiii Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): first bay of the south nave arcade, seen from the north.

engaged columns either side of the central nave would have continued up to capitals just below this cornice; and above it there would have been transverse arches spanning the nave. Nineteenth-century illustrations show two such arches springing from the south-eastern pier of the crossing; they were rectangular in section, with hollow chamfers (pls. II-III; cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, pl. opp. p. 267). The illustrations of van Bruyn and de Vogüé suggest that the nave bays were groin-vaulted. The crossing was almost exactly square in plan, measuring 11.2-11.4 m on each side. It is no longer possible to tell with certainty how it was covered, but a drawing made by Mauss before the Greek rebuilding of the 1870s removed the evidence shows what may have been the lower part of a pendentive at the south-east corner (1892: fig. 4). This would imply that the crossing was covered by a masonry dome.

The aisles appear to have been covered by groin-vaulted bays separated from one another by transverse



xiv Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): first bay of the south nave arcade.

arches, similar in profile to those of the nave (see pl. xvif). Clermont-Ganneau's illustration of the third bay of the south aisle shows a continuous cornice running along the south wall at the level of the springing, and above it an arched window flanked by colonnettes (1896: II, 103). An arched *mihrāb* flanked by colonnettes which survives in the courtyard of the mosque may incorporate elements from such a window (cf. Buschhausen 1978: pl. 958). The outline of the groin-vault is indicated on the same illustration by a formeret with a hollowed chamfer. The voussoirs of this, like those of the similar one that formerly existed in the clearstorey above the south nave arcade, seem to have penetrated well into and possibly right through the thickness of the wall, leading Clermont-Ganneau to describe it as a 'pointed arch, now filled in' (1896: II, 104). As in the former instance, however, the motive seems to have been structural, to spread the weight of the vault on to



xv Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): base of the east respond of the first bay of the north nave arcade (the pilaster dates from 1870).

the pilasters. A similar method of construction may be observed in the west front of the church in Gaza (see Vol. I, no. 92).

The best-preserved part of the Crusader cathedral is its east end. The northern apse seems to incorporate the lower courses of the Byzantine one. It is semi-circular in plan and preceded by a wider barrel-vault. Van Bruyn shows it to have had a rounded-arched window in its east wall (1725: II, pl. opp. p. 126). The central apse, however, was entirely Crusader in construction. Van Bruyn's engraving shows that its semi-dome had a pointed profile; but this had already fallen by 1860. In plan the apse is semi-circular, but the edges are rounded in such a way as to create the impression that it is flanked by a pair of engaged columns. The lower cornice, level with the springing of the nave arches, runs into these pseudo-columns; and above it an arched window flanked by free-standing colonnettes pierced the east wall (this has been rebuilt with a rounded arch in the Greek reconstruction). The most singular feature of the apse, however, is the upper cornice, which represents in effect a frieze which continues the thick-leaved capitals of the pseudo-columns right around the hemicycle of the apse (pls. XII, xvIe).

South of the third bay of the main church, a barrel-vaulted room was constructed between it and an apse of the northern subsidiary chapel. The north, west and south walls of this room belonged to the earlier Byzantine building complex, but the east wall, recorded by Clermont-Ganneau (1896: II, 105-6) and since destroyed, seems likely to have been Frankish. It was built in smooth ashlar and contained on the east a pointed-arched door with a segmental rear-arch; above this was a narrow splayed window, covered by a shouldered arch on the inside and with a trefoil head on the outer face.

xvi Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): capitals.



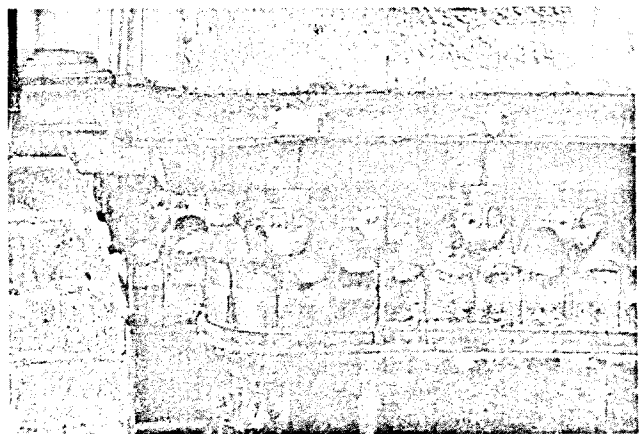
a. Byzantine double capital, reused in the mosque.



d. West side of first bay of south nave arcade.



b. South-east corner of crossing.



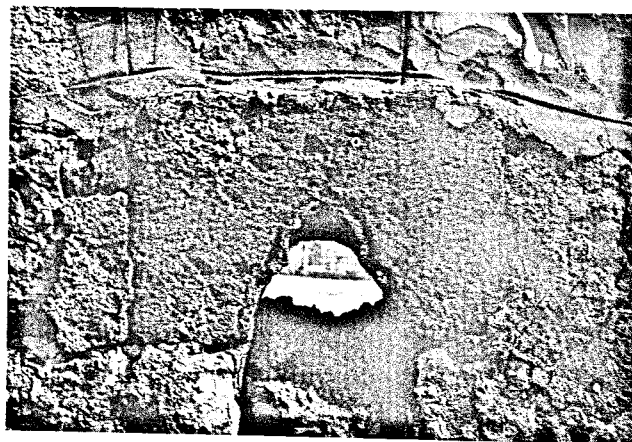
e. North side of main apse.



c. East side of first bay of south nave arcade.



f. Third pilaster on south side of south aisle.



xvii Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): trefoil window head built into a wall east of the mosque.

This head still exists, built into a property wall to the east of the mosque (pl. xvii).

The Crypt

The crypt is located below the sanctuary in front of the main apse. This was probably the cave which, so John Phocas tells us, the Latin bishop discovered in the twelfth century. It is roughly oval in shape, but its plaster coating does not allow one to tell whether it is rock-cut or masonry-built. The pavement level of the Byzantine church, however, would doubtless have been somewhat lower than that of the medieval one; it is possible therefore that the tomb itself was originally visible beneath the altar of that church and that the crypt is a later feature. Without excavation, however, there is no way of knowing for certain. The origin of the steps which lead down to the crypt from either side of the sanctuary seems likely to be Crusader, though they have been rebuilt in more recent times. To judge by Clermont-Ganneau's drawings of the twelfth-century pier-bases, the present floor is some 0.5 m above that of the Crusader church. Thus, if twelfth-century, the steps would originally not have extended so far west as they do today.

Decoration and Furnishings

The surviving Crusader capitals and the frieze around the apse are all of the thick-leaved type, bulging slightly toward the base. Four paired Corinthian capitals of the fifth or sixth century which are now built into the mosque were most likely employed by the twelfth-century builders in the first bay of the north nave arcade (pl. xvia).

A gargoyle carved to represent the head of a lion, with inset eyes of black stone, is built into the north wall of the present Greek church. It appears to be medieval, but where it came from is not known (pl. xviii).

Fourteenth-century pilgrims refer to the interior of the church being decorated with paintings, marble and mosaics (see above). The latter may perhaps have been floor mosaics, but no trace of any such decoration survives today.

Associated Buildings

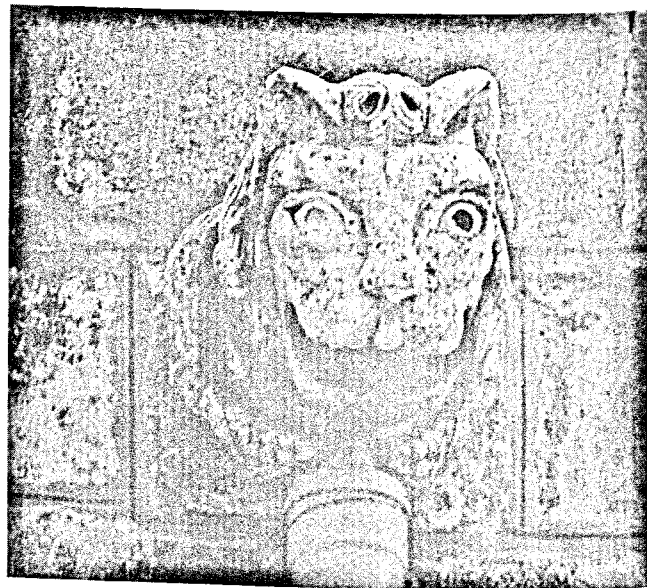
The site of the twelfth-century bishop's fortified palace (*castrum* or *monasterium*) is unknown. The present Greek convent lies north of the church, across a narrow street.

Epigraphy

One of the four marble columns re-employed in the mosque bears a Greek inscription which suggests that it came originally from the Byzantine church of the fifth or sixth century. The text is now mutilated, but was copied by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871 and 1874:

The worshipful pastors who sit at the head of this city for long time past illuminated by Christ (or of this old and illustrious Christian city), having adorned this illustrious temple . . . (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 107-8)

A description of the monument with painted armorials



xviii Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): gargoyle built into the north wall of the modern church.

and epitaph that was erected in the church by Julius Pusterla and Celsus de Granerii for the Milanese knight, Ambrose de Turre, on 9 July 1120, is given by C. du Cange (1869: 286; cf. de Hamme 1887: I, 110; de Sandoli 1974: 265-7, no. 358). Its present whereabouts is uncertain.

Frankish masonry marks are found on all the surviving parts of the twelfth-century church. Various examples are collected by Mauss (1892: fig. 2) and Clermont-Ganneau (1896: I, 24; cf. de Sandoli 1974: 265-8; Pringle 1981a: 185-6). Those recorded by the BSAJ survey are shown in figures 5 and 6. It may be observed that, with the exception of the mark B, the apse markings are all different from those recorded on the adjacent nave piers.

Seals are known for Bishops Roger (1112-47) and Godfrey (thirteenth century) (Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 114, nos. 109-10; de Sandoli 1974: 268, nos. 360-1).

Discussion and Conclusions

It is not known when a church was first built on the site of the martyrdom and burial of St George. By the time of the Muslim conquest, however, a large three-aisled basilica existed with the martyr's tomb located beneath its main altar. To the south of this lay a complex of buildings consisting of a smaller basilica, separated from the main church by an apsed room; and behind the apse of the smaller basilica, a suite of three rooms, accessible from its two aisles. It seems possible to identify these structures as a baptistery complex, comparable to that associated with the nearby sixth-century church at 'Amwas or that added to the north church at *Subeita* in the early seventh century (Ovadia 1970, 63-5, nos. 53-4; 166-9, no. 167). Following this interpretation, the baptismal font itself would have been located in the room behind the apse of the smaller basilica, and the apsed chamber north of it would have been used for anointing with oil the newly baptized members of the church. As at *Subeita*, these buildings may well have been somewhat later in date than the main church itself.

The destruction of 1010 seems to have concentrated on the main church, leaving the southern chapels relatively unscathed. The only archaeological evidence for possible rebuilding in the eleventh century comes from the south basilica. Here the west door may have been rebuilt at this time, and the former baptistery reconstructed with a dome on pendentives. By this time, however, Orthodox baptismal practices had changed

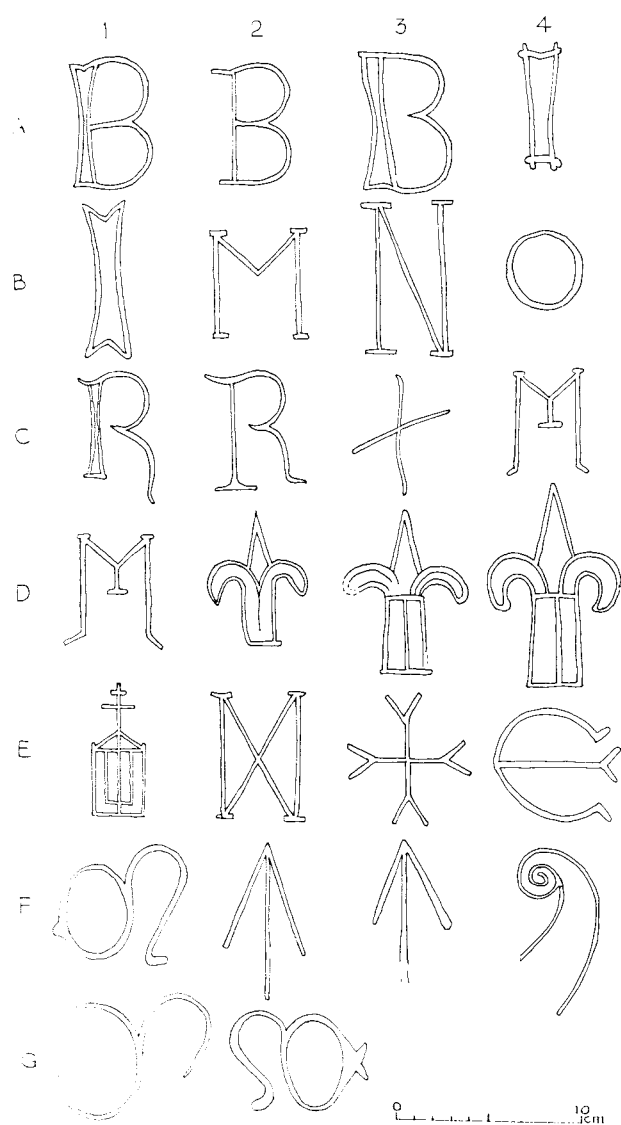
and would possibly no longer have required so elaborate a suite of rooms. It may be, therefore, that the complex was rebuilt to serve a different function. One possibility is that until the Christian community of Lydda could acquire the means to restore the main basilica, the smaller former baptismal complex may have served as their church. The domed chamber might therefore perhaps have been rebuilt to house relics of the martyr salvaged from his tomb in the wrecked main church.

In the twelfth century the Crusaders rebuilt the main church. No direct means exist for dating this work precisely. The new building, however, was certainly standing by 1177. The date range of 1150-70 suggested by de Vogüé (1860: 366) and endorsed by Enlart (1925: II, 272) therefore seems quite acceptable. Though proof is lacking, it is possible that through the twelfth century the southern chapels remained in the hands of Greek priests and monks, who continued to serve in the church at Lydda just as they did in the Holy Sepulchre and the church of Bethlehem. However that may be, when Saladin demolished the Latin cathedral in 1191, he appears to have left the southern complex standing and to have given the Greeks charge over the tomb of St George located in the choir of the main church. The whole complex would possibly have remained in Greek hands until the fifteenth century, when a mosque was constructed within the walls of the southern chapels.

Naturally some of the conclusions presented here must remain speculative in view of the fact that a number of the features recorded in the 1870s have now disappeared and that no stratigraphic excavations have yet taken place at the site. The Muslim renovation of 1980-82 has also unfortunately destroyed some of the features that it brought to light.

One final word may be added concerning the dispute of 1870 which led to the first serious study of this complex of buildings. It would appear from the foregoing discussion that the French Government's objection to the beylical decision to award the site to the Greeks in 1870 was after all unjustified (*pace* Mauss 1892: 225-33; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 103; Smail 1973: 146); for the tomb of St George had been in the hands of the Orthodox Christians of Palestine since the time of the earliest record of his cult in the sixth century, and their association with it was not broken even by the temporary installation of a Latin bishop in the twelfth century.

Visited 11.3.79, 3.8.79, 3.1.81, 21.2.81, 23.5.81, 29.6.81, 27.9.81, 20.1.82, 26.1.82, 23.5.84, 16.9.84.



5 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): masonry marks.

	Apse	South Arcade		Type
		E. Respond	First Pier	
B	1	2	-	A1/A3
B	3	-	-	A2
II	2	-	-	A4/B1
M	1	-	-	B2
N	1	-	-	B3
O	-	-	5	B4
R	-	-	4	C1
R	4	-	-	C2
+	-	-	1	C3
M	-	4	-	C4/D1
††	3	-	-	D2-4
†	2	-	-	E1
✕	5	-	-	E2
†	2	-	-	E3
⊖	1	-	-	E4
⊖	-	4	-	F1/G1
⊖	2	-	-	F2-3
9	-	2	1	F4
⊖	-	1	-	G2
N	-	1	-	-

6 Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137): distribution of masonry marks.

Sources

Albert of Aachen, v, 42 (1099); ix, 2 (1102) (*RHC Occ.* iv, 460–66, 591); Aymar of Chabanois (*RHGF*, x, 152) (1010); Bahā' al-Dīn, cxxii–cxxiii (*PPTS*, xiii, 300–3) (1191); Bartolf of Nangis, xxix (*IHC*, i, 148) (1099); Benedict de Accoltis, v (*RHC Occ.* v.ii, 600) (1099); *Chemins et pèlerinages* v (1268), i, 3 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 192); Daniel (1106–8), vii (trans. Ryan, 126; de Khitrowo, 10); Fretellus (1137), lxix (ed. Boeren, 39); Fulcher of Chartres, i, 25, 13 (1099); ii, 15, 3–4; ii, 19, 3 (1102) (ed. Hagenmeyer, 277, 426–7, 443; trans. Ryan, 115, 163–4, 169); *Gesta Francorum*, xxxvi (ed. Hill, 86) (1099); Glaber, iii, 7 (*RHGF*, x, 34; ed. France, 132–5) (1010); *History of the Patriarchs*, ii.iii, 358 (1090s); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 347) (1191); *Itin. Ric.*, iv, 23 (*RS*, xxxviii.i, 280) (1191); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, i, 57 (*IHC*, iii, 326; *PPTS*, xi, 34–5); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxi (*RHC Lois*, i, 415); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 108); Philip of Savona (1283), lv (*IHC*, iv, 246); Phocas (1185), xxix (*PG*, cxxxiii, 960–2; *PPTS*, v, 34); Raymond of Aguilers, xix (ed. Hill, 136) (1099); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxix (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 185; *PPTS*, v, 58); *S. Theotonii Vita* (–1160), iii, 13 (*IHC*, ii, 37); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 150); Tudebodius (ed. Hill, 133–4; trans. Hill, 111) (1099); Wilbrand of Oldenburg, ii, 3, 1–3 (ed. Laurent, 184; *IHC*, iii, 234) (1211); William of Malmesbury (c.1127), iv, 366 (*IHC*, ii, 65); William of Tyre, vii, 22 (1099); xvii, 26 (1153); xxi, 20 (21) (1177) (*CCCM*, lxiii, 372, 797, 988–9; trans. Babcock and Krey, i, 332–3; ii, 225, 428).

Adorno 1470–1: 306; Baedeker 1876b: 8; Bagatti 1979: 164–8, pl. 58.1, fig. 64; Basil 1466: 249; Bassi 1857: ii, 264–5; Ben-Arieh 1979: 151; Benvenisii 1970: 167–70, 345–6; Beza 1934: 48–52; Boase 1967: 87; 1977: 100; Briggs 1924: fig. 48; van Bruyn 1725: ii, 166, pl. opp. p. 126; Buschhausen 1978: 191, 249, 273, 288, 292, pl. 958; du Cange 1869: 286, 799–802; Casola 1494a: 60; de Caumont 1418: 34; Chandon de Briailles 1943: 252–3; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: i, 24; ii, 102–9, 341, 471; Conder 1874: 57–8; Conder and Kitchener 1881: ii, 252, 257–8, pl. opp. p. 267; Enlart 1925: ii, 272–4, pl. 120; Faber 1480–3: i, 256–7; Gil 1992: 106–7, 463–4; Grethenios c.1400: 168; Guérin 1868: i, 323–30, 334; Guide Bleu 1932: 552; Hagenmeyer 1900: 460–1; 1908: 162–6; Hamilton 1980: 11–12, 137, 246, 361; de Hamme 1887: i, 110; Heyck 1900: fig. 128; Hoade 1946: 110–11; 1978: 609; Humbert of Dijon 1332: 519; Israel 1964: 1436; James of Verona 1335: 182; Johns 1937: 38 (n4); Kootwyk 1619: 138; Langé 1965: 140, 148–9, figs. 76, 90–2; Levailant 1613: 216; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 342; 1336–41b: 65; Mandeville c.1356–66: 191; al-Maqrizi c.1400a: 94; Mariano of Siena 1431: 19; Marmardji 1951: 190–1; de Martoni 1395: 624; Mauss 1892: 225–33, figs. 1–5; Meistermann 1936: 72–3; Mitchell 1964: 97–8; Moore 1961: 73; Mujir al-Dīn 1494–5: 210–11; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 8; Oderic of Friuli 1330: 156; Ovadia 1970: 130–1 (no. 134), pl. 55; Palestine 1929: 200; 1948: 99; Perera 1553b: 62; Pococke 1743: ii,

4–5; Poloner 1422b: 29; Porter 1867: 188; 1887: xviii–xix, figs.; Prawer 1975a: i, 221, 268; ii, 86; Pringle 1981a: 185–6; 1982b: 12–13 n.58, 27 (no. 11), fig. 11, pls. 3b, 4b; 1985b; 1986c; 1993: 32–3, fig.; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 9; 1626b: 106–8; Rebelake 1993; Rey 1883: 411–12; Roberts 1842b: iii, 59 (pl. 72 is of Abu Ghosh); Robinson 1841: iii, 49–55; de Rochechouart 1461: 239; Röhricht 1887a: 27–9; 1887b: 215, 218, 267; Runciman 1951: i, 277; de Sandoli 1974: 265–8; Schiller 1979: 171–2; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 114 (nos. 109–11); Schwartz 1991: 151–2, fig. xiii; van de Velde 1857: pl. 57; Vilnay 1978: 216–18, fig.; de Vogüé 1860: 363–7, pl. xxvii; Wylie c.1883: 160; Zozimos 1421: 216.

No. 138 Church of St Mary (?) (Unlocated)

The Muslim al-Harawī, who travelled in Palestine in c.1171, records that in Lydda lived the Messiah. 'Here, too, is the house of Maryam, and this the Franks hold in great veneration' (Le Strange 1890: 494). Janine Sourdél-Thomine suggests in a footnote to her translation of this passage (p. 57 n.1) that the goal of Frankish pilgrimage may in fact have been the church of St George. However, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau notes that reference is made to two churches of the Virgin Mary in Lydda in a synodical letter of 836 (1896: ii, 122 n.); and in the third quarter of the preceding century, John of Jerusalem refers to an image of St Mary on the gate of a church in Diospolis (ed. Melioranskiy, 32). It seems possible therefore that a church of St Mary also existed in the twelfth century.

This church may possibly have been identical to that of the abbey of St Mary of the Three Shades (**no. 215**), whose prioress was a suffragan of the bishop of Lydda. However, the precise location of that church is equally obscure.

Sources

al-Harawī (trans. Sourdél-Thomine, 56–7; trans. Le Strange 1890: 494).

Clermont-Ganneau 1896: ii, 122 n.

MAGDALA

al-Majdal; Cr. *Magdala*, *Magdalum*, *Chastiel*
Magdalon; Med. Rus. *Magdalia*; Hebr. *Migdal*

No. 139 Church of St Mary Magdalene (?)1986.2478

History

Magdala on the Sea of Galilee north of Tiberias was recognized from the sixth century, if not before, as the birth-place of Mary Magdalene (Theodosius, II (CCSL, CLXXV, 115; ELS, 261, no. 364; trans. Wilkinson, 63); Baldi 1955a: 260–1; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 99; Wilkinson 1977: 164; Hoade 1978: 736–7). Around the eighth to tenth centuries, Christian sources record a church there, which was identified as the house of Mary Magdalene, in which Jesus had cured her by casting out seven demons (Epiphanius (version n), x (ELS, 262, no. 366; trans. Wilkinson, 120); Eutychius, *Lib. Dem.* (ELS, 262, no. 368)). The church is attributed to St Helena in the anonymous *Life of Constantine* of the same period (*Vita Constantini*, VIII (ed. Guidi, 49–50; trans. Wilkinson, 203)).

The house of Mary Magdalene, in which Jesus cast out the seven devils, is also mentioned by Abbot Daniel in 1106–8 (ch. LXXXI (trans. Ryan, 159)). Other twelfth-century pilgrims also mention the position of Magdala, but they fail to refer to any church there (e.g. *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), XXVIII (IHC, II, 94; PPTS, v, 29); Belard of Ascoli, v (IHC, II, 48; trans. Wilkinson, 231); Fretellus (1137), XXXVI (ed. Boeren, 24); Anon. VI (1148), v (IHC, III, 60); Neophytos, *Typikon*, IV (ed. Warren, 12) (1158); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 107); Theodoric (1169–72), XLVI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 191–2)).

The 'house' of Mary Magdalene was seen and entered by Burchard of Mount Sion in 1283 (ch. v, 9 (ed. Laurent, 40; IHC, IV, 148)); and a decade later, Ricoldus of Montecroce came, a little over half-way between Tabgha (*locus Tabule*) and Tiberias, to

Magdalum, the village (*castellum*) of Mary Magdalene, next to the Lake of Gennesareth. There we wept and cried, because we found the beautiful church not destroyed but roofed ([s]tabulatam); and there we sang and preached the gospel of Mary Magdalene. (ch. I, 26–7 (ed. Laurent, 106; IHC, IV, 260))

This is the last certain reference to a church of St Mary Magdalene at Magdala. In 1626 Francesco Quaresmi

noted, 'certain people have claimed that her house is to be seen there', though the site was by that time in ruins (1626a: II, 651; 1626b: 406; cf. Nau 1679: 593).

Description

Part of the site is today held by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, while to the south of this is an area occupied until 1948 by a small Muslim village. According to documents in the Franciscan archives described by Bagatti (1971a: 83), remains of a church with an apse and a cross-incised stone bearing the date 1389 have been recorded near the Birqat Sitti Mariam in the Franciscan area. Remains of another vaulted and apsed structure, though apparently not a church, were also recorded in the 1930s in the southern part of the site (Bagatti 1971a: 82–3, fig. 59). In 1971–6, excavations conducted by Frs V. Corbo and S. Loffreda uncovered remains of a Byzantine monastery in the Franciscan area (Corbo 1974; Piccirillo 1983: 30–2). Until the site has been more fully investigated, however, it is not possible to tell whether the medieval accounts related to remains of earlier buildings such as these or to more recent medieval structures erected on the same site.

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), v, 9 (ed. Laurent, 40; IHC, IV, 148; PPTS, XII, 34); Daniel (1106–8), LXXXI (trans. Ryan, 159; de Khitrowo, 64); ELS, 260–4, nos. 364–76; Ricoldus of Montecroce (1294), I, 26–7 (ed. Laurent, 106; IHC, IV, 260).

Bagatti 1971a: 82–3, fig. 59; Baldi 1955a: 260–4; 1973: 244; Conder and Kitchen 1881: I, 361, 369, 413; Corbo 1974; Hoade 1946: 488; 1978: 737; Israel 1964: 1392; Kopp 1950b; Nau 1679: 593; Palestine 1929: 203; 1948: 38; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 651; 1626b: 406; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.

MAJDAL YABA

Cr. *Mirabel*; Hebr. *H. Migdal Afeq* 1464.1650

The castle of Mirabel is first mentioned in 1152, when it was unsuccessfully defended by Manasses of Hierges, constable of the kingdom, against the young King Baldwin III (William of Tyre, XVII, 14 (CCCM, LXIII,

779)). By 1187, when it fell to al-Ādil (*de Expugnacione* (RS, LXVI, 229–30)), it had developed into a sizeable fortress (see Pringle 1989: 18–19; 1997: no. 144).

According to E.G. Rey there existed among the ruins 'the remains of a fine church of the twelfth century' (1883: 413), a claim repeated by T.A. Archer (1912: 203 n.). Although it is likely that the castle would indeed have had a church or chapel attached to it, no trace of any such building has yet been positively identified. The building to which Rey and Archer referred may possibly have been the central tower of the castle which evidently represents its earliest phase and bears on the lintel over its door a *tabula ansata* inscribed in Greek: ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΚΟΥ. Although Fr B. Bagatti has concluded from this that the tower is Byzantine (1979: 126–9, figs. 52–4, pl. 48), the pointed relieving arch over the lintel, the character of the masonry and the pointed barrel-vault inside are all consistent with work of the twelfth century. Evidently the lintel is a piece of *spolium*, though it remains uncertain whether the martyrion of St Cyriacus (Kerykos) from which it came was located at Majdal Yaba itself, where other fragments including part of a font suggest the former existence of a Byzantine church (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 340–1; Palestine 1948: 91), or from somewhere farther afield such as Ramla, where a church of St Cyriacus is attested in the tenth century (see no. 189).

Visited 18.3.79, 18.11.82, 3.7.84, 25.8.88, 17.9.94, 2.5.95.

Khirbat al-MARJAMA

Although it is not mentioned by name in Latin sources, it seems likely that Kh. al-Marjama would have depended on the village of Kafr Malik, some 2.5 km (or 4–5 km by road) to the west, and would, like it, have lain in the territory of Nablus. Kafr Malik (*Cafarmelic*) was granted to the Holy Sepulchre by Baldwin II in 1129 with all its lands, appurtenances and villagers (*villanis*), except those that Roman of Le Puy had earlier transferred to Bait Furik (*Betheflori*), closer to Nablus itself; but a year or two later the displaced villagers were added to the grant (Bresc-Bautier, 92–5, nos. 30–1; RRH, 30, no. 121; 34, no. 137). Between 1136 and 1142, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre gave the village

along with 'Ain Qania (*Anquina*) to the knight John Patrick in return for al-Janiya (*Megina*) and al-Mazra'a al-Qibliya (*Mezera*) (Bresc-Bautier, 101–3, no. 35; 228–9, no. 108; RRH, 50, no. 200; 69, no. 268).

The implication of these transactions seems to be that Kafr Malik, lying on the edge of the wilderness, was of doubtful economic value. Although the religion of the *villani* is not stated, another possible motive for transferring them to Bait Furik may also have been to increase the representation of Christians in the area around Nablus.

No. 140 Church 1816.1554

Excavations by Z. Kallai in 1967–8 revealed the remains of a Byzantine church with a coloured mosaic pavement composed of fine tesserae. Few details are recorded, save that the building's internal measurements were 10.5 by 14 m. The excavator also found evidence suggesting that it had been restored in the Crusader period.

Sources

Kochavi 1972: 172–3 (no. 65); Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 236 (no. 48).

MAZRA'A ASH-SHARQIYA

Kh. al-Mazra'a; Cr. Mezera, Mezerech, Meseraz, Cauea, Taret

No. 141 Parish Church (?)1760.1568

In 1112, Patriarch Arnulf granted the tithes that Godfrey *de Cauis* was paying on the villages of *Mezera* and *Daltim* (Kh. Tarafain: no. 253) to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Delaborde, 21, no. 1; RRH, 14–15, no. 67). Godfrey, who also appears in later confirmations of this grant as Godfrey *de Turri* (Delaborde, 37, no. 12 (1123); 64, no. 28 (1154); 101, no. 49 (1255); Kohler, *Chartes*, 19, no. 17 (1129); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 206, no. 70 (1154); 210, no. 72 (1155); RRH, 23, no. 101 (1123); RRH Ad. 10, no. 129a (1129)), may be identified as Godfrey of the Tower of David, who witnessed a charter of Baldwin I in 1104

(RRH, 8, no. 42) and held lands directly from the king both near Jerusalem (Kohler, *Chartes*, 10, no. 6 (1115)) and in Transjordan (RRH, 62, no. 245; Tibble 1989: 85, 159).

Mezera evidently lay within the royal domain and in the vicinity of Kh. Tarafain. It cannot be identified with al-Mazra'a al-Qibliya (Grid ref. 164.151) (*pace* Rey 1883: 388), since that village's ownership is otherwise accounted for (Bresc-Bautier, 101–3, no. 35 (1150–1); cf. 418). Unfortunately *al-mazra'a* (plural, *mazari'*) is a relatively common place-name, denoting outlying arable lands dependent on a primary settlement. Mazari'an-Nubani (Grid ref. 1658.1617), lying 7.5 km north-west of Kh. Tarafain, is favoured by Prawer and Benvenisti (1970); but there are also Kh. al-Mazra'a (Grid ref. 1761.1511), 7.5 km to the south-east, and the still inhabited village of Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya (Grid ref. 1760.1568), 6 km to the east on the other side of the Jerusalem–Nablus road. Of these the last mentioned seems the likeliest, not only because it is closest to Kh. Tarafain but also because its position overlooking the celebrated valley (*cavea*) through which the main road passes north of 'Ain al-Haramiya (Spring of the Brigands/Templars) would provide an explanation for the other name by which the village – and Godfrey's lordship – was known.

At a later date, the king granted both villages to the Templars. In 1183, at the request of Pope Lucius III, Patriarch Heraclius settled a dispute over their tithes. As a result the Templars agreed to pay each year to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat half of the tithes derived from all usual sources of income, 'excepting their own fodder for animals, gardens and churches, when it so happens that they are built in the aforesaid villages, which will belong to the brothers of the Temple together with the parish right' (Delaborde, 89–90, no. 42; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 301–3, no. 126; RRH, 167, no. 631).

Whether the Templars ever built any churches in the two villages before the loss of the area to Saladin, however, is uncertain.

Visited 15.8.86.

Sources

Delaborde, 89–90, no. 42 (1183); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 301–3, no. 126 (1183); RRH, 167, no. 631 (1183).

Pringle 1994a: 51–3.

MI'ILIYA

Cr. *Mhalia*, *Castrum/Castellum Regis*, *Chastiau/chastel dou Rei*, *Castellum Novum*, *Castellum Novum Regis*; Hebr. *Ma'alot*

The royal castle of *Mhalia* is first mentioned in January 1160, when King Baldwin III granted the custody, dragomanage and scribanage of all its appurtenances to a certain John of Haifa and his heirs; a marginal note identifies *Mhalia* as *castrum regis* (Strehlke, 2–3, no. 2; RRH, 89, 341). In February 1182, Baldwin IV granted Mi'iliya, now referred to as 'the New Castle in the mountains of Acre' (*castellum novum, quod in montanis Achonensibus situm est*) to his uncle, Joscelin III of Courtenay (Strehlke, 13–15, no. 14; RRH, 162, no. 614). Count Joscelin had already, in October 1179, acquired houses, vineyards and gardens in *Castellum Novum* from Petronilla, viscountess of Acre (Strehlke, 11–12, no. 11; RRH, 156, no. 587); and in March 1183, Baldwin IV also confirmed to him the house there that he had bought from the scribe, John of Bogalet, as well as John the dragoman of *Castellum Novum* and his heirs and possessions (Strehlke, 16, no. 17; RRH, 165–6, no. 625).

Mi'iliya fell to Saladin late in 1187 ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 99); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 56); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (RHC Or, I, 690); al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 83). In May 1188 it was granted by Conrad of Montferrat to the Pisans defending Tyre (RRH, 180, no. 674), but from 1192 it would have been on the very edge of Frankish-held territory (Bahā' al-Dīn, CLXX–CLXXX (PPTS, XIII, 380–7); Prawer 1975: II, 99). In May 1220, however, *Castellum Regis* and its dependent villages were sold to the Teutonic Order by Joscelin of Courtenay's daughter, Beatrice, and her husband, Otto of Henneberg (Strehlke, 43–4, no. 53; cf. 47–9, nos. 58–9; RRH, 248, no. 934). As a share in Joscelin's inheritance was still claimed by James of Mandalé (Amigdala), son of Joscelin's youngest daughter, Agnes, a further purchase was required in 1228 to give the order undisputed possession (Strehlke, 51–3, no. 63; 53–4, no. 65; RRH, 263, no. 1002; 265, no. 1011). By this time, Mi'iliya had been superseded as *chef-lieu* of the lordship by Montfort (**q.v.**) the new castle that the order had begun to build in 1226–7 some 4 km to the north-west (Frankel 1988 256–7, 265–7; Pringle 1986b: 52–3).

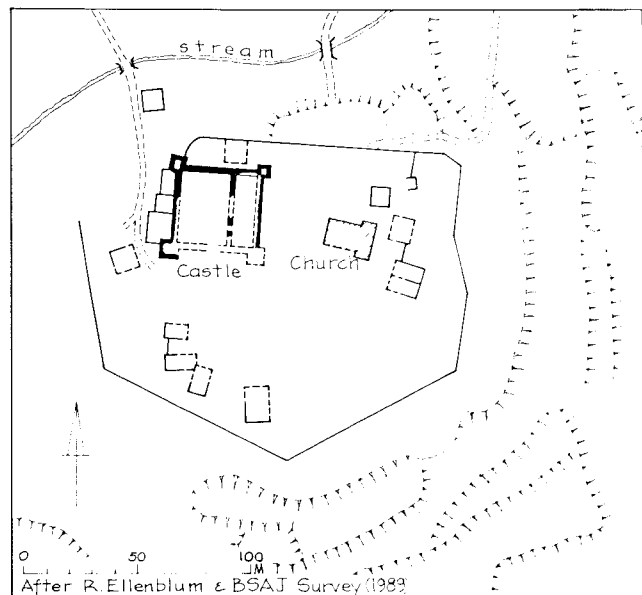
At the time of Count Joscelin, *Chastiau dou Rei* had possessed a burgess and justice court and owed the service of four knights (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cCLXXI–XXLXXI (RHC Lois, I, 420, 422); Beyer 1945: 203). Little

is known from contemporary sources of the nature of the settlement at that time. However, when the Teutonic knights acquired the lordship they also began to make good their control over the properties in and around the castle itself through a series of purchases from individual owners. Although none of the charters survives, a summary of undated deeds is provided in a document, compiled probably between 1220 and 1243, that was later bound into their cartulary (Strehlke, 120-1, no. 128; RRH, 134-5, no. 510; cf. Mayer 1975: 70-4). These transactions suggest the existence of a sizeable Frankish population and refer to more than a dozen houses, a mill and the old courthouse (*vetus curia*), presumably now superseded by Montfort, besides gardens, vineyards, orchards and cisterns in and around the castle.

Among the ecclesiastical owners of property the archbishop of Nazareth had a house and a vineyard; and his steward, Henry, had an adjoining house, a vineyard, an orchard, a cistern and three other pieces of land, all valued at 500 bezants. The Holy Sepulchre held lands near the spring in neighbouring Tarshiha (*Terschia*) (Strehlke, 120-1, no. 128; RRH, 134-5, no. 510). The bishop of Acre was also holding certain houses, vineyards, orchards and fields in *Castrum Regis* in September 1257, when it was agreed by Bishop Florentius and the master, Anno of Sangerhusen, after a bitter dispute, that the annual payment for these should be one bezant. Among the other matters resolved in this detailed accord was that tithes, payable throughout the lordship at the rate of one-fifteenth, were to be delivered to the bishop's house in *Castrum Regis* at three fixed terms, the bishop agreeing to give a loaf of bread to each villager carrying them there (Strehlke, 91-4, no. 112; RRH, 331, no. 1360).

Mi'iliya may have been taken by the Mamluks in May 1266, when Montfort was unsuccessfully attacked, and certainly before June 1271 when Montfort at last fell (cf. Pringle 1986b: 53-4). In 1283, Burchard of Mount Sion remarks on the abundance of its crops and fruits, now enjoyed by the Muslims (*IHC*, iv, 142); and al-Dimashqī, writing in 1323-7, describes it as 'a fine castle on a hill and well fortified' (Le Strange 1890: 495; Marmardji 1951: 194).

The remains of the castle survive among the houses of the largely Christian hilltop village (fig. 7). The inner ward consisted of a *quadriburgium*, 39.2 m square, with a rectangular tower at each corner (though the south-eastern tower has now been demolished). Surrounding this lower down the hill was a polygonal outer enceinte with a sloping face, part built and part rock-cut. This appears to have been the outwork or barbican (*propugnaculum*, *quod alio modo appellatur barbacana*) that was



7 Mi'iliya: plan showing the castle and the location of the church of St Mary Magdalene (no. 142).

mentioned in 1220-43 and evidently enclosed many of the houses of the settlement. (On the castle, see: Bagatti 1971a: 212-25, figs. 167-8; Benvenisti 1970: 196-8, 281-2, photos; Ellenblum 1991: part 2, ch. 7; Pringle 1991: 90 (no. 10); 1997: no. 152. For more recent analysis of the settlement, see also: Ellenblum 1996: 1997.)

No. 142 Parish Church of St Mary Magdalene 1746.2699

Among the properties sold to the Teutonic Order between c.1220 and c.1243 by Henry, the archbishop of Nazareth's steward, was a piece of land lying next to the church of St Mary Magdalene (Strehlke, 121, no. 128; RRH, 134-5, no. 510.12). As this is the only reference that we have to a church in Mi'iliya in the Crusader period, it may reasonably be assumed that it was the parish church.

The location of the medieval church seems almost certainly to have been that of the present Greek Catholic church, which stands on a plateau to the east of the castle's inner ward and is enclosed by the outer enceinte. Giovanni Mariti, who visited Mi'iliya in 1761, noted that the church appeared ancient (1769: II, 159); and a little over a century later Victor Guérin recorded that the Greeks had 'just rebuilt their church on the foundations of another much more ancient, which was decorated with monolithic columns crowned with capitals imitating Corinthian' (1880: II, 60-1). Two of these

capitals, of provincial corinthianesque type, one of them decorated with a cross-in-circle below the abacus, still lie next to the church (Bagatti 1971a: 212, fig. 169).

Visited 29.8.89.

Sources

Strehlke, 121, no. 128 (1220–43); *RRH*, 134–5, no. 510.12 (1220–43).

Bagatti 1971a: 211–12, figs. 167–9, 171–171a; Ellenblum 1991: part 2, ch. 7; 1996: 114, 122, fig. 2; Guérin 1880: II, 60–1; Mariti 1769: II, 159.

No. 143 Leper House (?)1746.2699

Another property acquired by the Teutonic Order between c.1220 and c.1243 was a house sited near the leper house (*domus leprosorium*) (Strehlke, 121, no. 128; *RRH*, 134–5, no. 510.13). It may be assumed that this lay outside the main settlement, but its precise location and ecclesiastical patronage are unknown.

Sources

Strehlke, 121, no. 128 (1120–43); *RRH*, 134–5, no. 510.13 (1120–43).

Ellenblum 1991: part 2, ch. 7; 1996: 106, 116, 122.

MIMAS, Tall

Tel Bet ha-'Emeq; Cr. Mimas, Amimas; Med. Ar. *Mitmās*.

No. 144 Church of St Mary (?)1646.2633

History

In December 1138 King Fulk confirmed the prior and chapter of the Holy Sepulchre in possession of two carrucates of land at the village of Mimas, which had been granted to the church by Lambert Hals (Alsus) in alms for the souls of his wife Agnes, himself and his parents. The original grant, made in Nablus in the presence of Patriarch William I, King Fulk and Queen Melisende, could have occurred any time after Fulk's accession in August 1131 (Bresc-Bautier, 95–6, no. 32; *RRH*, 44, no. 179). Probably at about the same time,

Lambert Hals also granted the chapter some land in the city of Acre, on which they were given permission to construct a church by John, bishop of Acre, sometime between Christmas 1137 and the end of August 1138. By the same act, Bishop John also granted the chapter a church in Mimas (*Amimas*), saving his episcopal right (Bresc-Bautier, 152–3, no. 60; *RRH*, 45, no. 180). It is not clear from the terms of this document whether the latter church already existed or, like the church in Acre, had still to be built. However, both churches were confirmed to the Holy Sepulchre by Pope Innocent II in June 1141, when the latter building's dedication was given as being to St Mary (Bresc-Bautier, 46–9, no. 8; Hiestand *Vorarbeiten*, III, 165–6, no. 47; *RRH*, 50, no. 202).

The chapter of the Holy Sepulchre's possession of the church of St Mary was confirmed by Pope Celestine II in January 1144 (Bresc-Bautier, 54–8, no. 1; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 172–4, no. 52; cf. *RRH*, 50, no. 220); and their possession of lands at Mimas was confirmed by King Baldwin III in July 1155 (Bresc-Bautier, 115–19, no. 42; cf. *RRH*, 79, no. 309) and in July 1160 (Bresc-Bautier, 123–7, no. 45; cf. *RRH*, 92–3, no. 354), by Amalric I in July 1164 (Bresc-Bautier, 261–2, no. 135; cf. *RRH*, 105, no. 400), and by Pope Alexander III in March 1168 (Bresc-Bautier, 283–7, no. 146; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250–5, no. 95; cf. *RRH*, 115, no. 444).

The fate of the church at Mimas after Saladin's conquest of 1187 is unknown. However, the Holy Sepulchre was still holding land near Mimas in 1200, when *la terre del Sepulcre* and the land of the Genoese were centred on *Cochetum* (Kuwaikat, Grid ref. 1642.264), marked the northern boundary of a piece of land belonging to the Hospitallers (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 7, no. 2753; *RRH*, 326, no. 1241; cf. Frankel 1980: 20). Mimas (*Mitmās*, or more correctly *Mīmās*) is also included by al-Qalqashandī in the portion of the territory of Acre retained by the Franks under the terms of the treaty made with the Mamluks on 3 June 1283 (Baer 1979: 206, no. 51).

Discussion

Mimas is described in 1137–8 as lying in the territory of Acre, 3 miles from the city (Bresc-Bautier, 152–3, no. 60; *RRH*, 45, no. 180). It may therefore be identified with Tall Mimas (or *Tel Bet ha-'Emeq*), an artificial mound associated with a spring, where occupation is attested from the Iron Age onwards. However, no trace of any church has yet been found at the site (cf. Guérin 1880: II, 24; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 1).

Palestine 1929: 246; 1948: 6; Beyer 1945: 209, 213; Israel 1964: 1358; Abel 1967: II, 272).

Visited 26.4.95.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 46–9, no. 8 (1141); 54–8, no. 12 (1144); 152–3, no. 60 (1137–8); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 165–6, no. 47 (1141); 172–4, no. 52 (1144); *RRH*, 45, no. 180 (1137–8); 50, no. 202 (1141).

Beyer 1945: 209; Röhricht 1887b: 211.

MONASTERY OF THE CROSS

Dair as-Salib, Dair al-Musallaba; Cr. ecclesia Sancte Crucis, monasterium Georgianum . . . ad Truncum sive Stipitem, Messabile

No. 145 Abbey Church of the Holy Cross 1697.1309

History

Recent archaeological work in the church of the Holy Cross has shown that the present building was constructed over the remains of an earlier church of the sixth or seventh century (Economopoulos 1984; Tzaferis 1987: 9, 17, 18–20, pls. 10–12; 1993a). It might be possible to identify it with the monastery of the Lazi 'in the desert of Jerusalem' that Procopius (c.560) records as having been restored by Justinian (527–65) (*de Aedificiis*, v, 9, 7 (Loeb, 359); cf. Janin 1913: 32–3), though it is perhaps more likely that this monastery lay in the wilderness to the east of the city.

The fortunes of the church during the Persian occupation (614–31) and after the Muslim conquest (638) are unknown. It seems very likely, however, that it would have been severely damaged or destroyed during the reign of the deranged caliph al-Hākim (996–1021), when other churches in Palestine shared that fate (Pringle 1982b: 7). Rebuilding may have begun in the late 1020s or 1030s. It was certainly under way, if not in part complete, by 1038, when the copyist, George, whose priestly name was Prochorus, identifies himself in the colophon to a Georgian manuscript of St John Chrys-

ostom's commentary on the Gospel of John as the builder of 'this holy place of the life-giving Cross'. Other undated colophons also refer to Prochorus as the builder of the monastery. One, for example, dated 1040, was copied by the monks Gabriel and John 'in the monastery of the Cross, founded by God the Father, which has been built by the hands of our blessed father and ruler, Prochorus' (Peeters 1912: 301–4; cf. Vincent and Abel 1914a: 552, 942–3; Janin 1913: 214; Tzaferis 1987: 11). Work was still possibly in progress in 1056, when George Mtzaminde visited Palestine (Gil 1992: 451).

The monastery may have suffered further depredations before the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099 (cf. Janin 1913: 215). Saewulf, who saw it soon afterwards (c.1101–3), describes it as lying about a mile west of Jerusalem, in the place where the wood for the Holy Cross was cut.

It is very noble and beautiful, but laid waste by the pagans; however, it is not much destroyed, except for the buildings and cells round about. (ch. XXI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 71))

A few years later, however, the Russian abbot Daniel found that the Georgian monks had returned.

And this place is encircled by a wall and in the middle is a very tall church dedicated to the True Cross and it is all beautifully decorated. And beneath the great altar, deep beneath the altar table, there is the stump of that true tree, and it is very firmly fixed and covered over with slabs of white marble, and there is a small round window cut through opposite the tree. (ch. LVIII (trans. Ryan, 150))

This restoration may perhaps have been due to King David II of Georgia (1089–1125), who is identified as having been a patron of the church (Janin 1913: 215).

The place where the wood of the Lord's Cross grew is mentioned in a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century pilgrim texts (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xli (IHC, II, 104; PPTS, v, 42); Fretellus (1137), lxiv (ed. Boeren, 37); Anon. ix (1175), 6 (IHC, III, 96); Anon. x (1250–) (IHC, III, 106); Michelant and Raynaud, 99 (c.1230), 104⁷ (c.1230), 196 (1268), 233 (c.1280)). Other sources also mention a church or monastery (Anon. vii (c.1160), 7 (IHC, III, 80); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252)), and some record the presence of Georgian monks in it (Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (IHC, III, 14); Phocas (1185), xxvi (PG, CXXXIII, 955)).

In 1169 or 1172, Theodoric found the church standing in a fruitful valley, and noted that its dedication was to the Lord Jesus Christ and His beloved Mother. The place where the tree had grown was venerated in a 'hollow altar'.

This church belongs to the Syrians and is strongly fortified with towers, walls and outworks against the attacks of the

gentiles; moreover it is adorned with houses, dining rooms, upper chambers and dwellings, suitable for absolutely all kinds of uses and raised up in masonry to a lofty summit. (ch. xxxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 183))

Despite the vagueness of his architectural description, it seems permissible to assume that by 'lofty summit' (*altum culmen*) Theodoric was alluding to the cupola that crowned the church.

In 1177–8, some of the vineyards near the church of the Holy Cross are mentioned as belonging to the king (Bresc-Bautier, 315–16, no. 163; RRH, 147, no. 552).

Five years after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, his secretary Bahā' al-Dīn records in September 1192 that an embassy came to the sultan from the Georgians, complaining that they had been dispossessed and asking for the places of pilgrimage that they had formerly maintained in Jerusalem to be restored to them (ch. clxxi (PPTS, xiii, 384)). Whether the Monastery of the Cross had also been appropriated is uncertain. Queen Tamar (1184–1212), however, is credited with sending funds for the rebuilding of Georgian monasteries in the Holy Land through her emissary, the poet Shouta Roustaveli (Janin 1913: 215; Rose 1992: 243). It seems that the programme of wall paintings was renewed in this period (Tzaferis 1987: 33–48; 1993a: 146). Thirteenth-century Western pilgrim texts also continue to refer to the presence of Georgian monks in the monastery, though in the Rothelin manuscript the 'Georgians' (*Iorians*) are mistakenly referred to as 'nuns' (*nonnains*) (Ernoul (c.1231) (ed. de Mas Latrie, 203–5); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin, 1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 158)).

By the end of the twelfth century, various legends had come to be associated with the tree of the Cross. In one of these the tree, which had grown from three staves planted by Lot as a penance for his adultery with his daughters, was cut down by Solomon for use in the Temple but was found to be unsuitable; in another it had grown from a twig placed in Adam's mouth just before his death (Tzaferis 1993a: 143). Both traditions are reflected in Ernoul and the Rothelin manuscript, and the former is found in the description by Theodoric (1169–72). An anonymous Greek text, dating from after 1187, also alludes to the former tradition:

Beneath the holy table is the place where Lot planted the three firebrands that grew into trees. . . . The church is very beautiful, conspicuous by its dome and defended all about with walls like a fortress. The gate is of iron; and above the holy table hang four lamps. (Anon. Graecus, xi (PG, cxxxiii, 985))

In the reign of Sultan Baybars (1260–77), the Georgian monks were accused of passing military information about the Mamluks to the Mongols, under whose suzer-

aignty the kingdom of Georgia had been since c.1240. The 'spies', including the abbot, were executed, and the Monastery of the Cross was made into a mosque (cf. Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī'l-Fadā'il 1358: II, 459). In July 1305, however, after the death of the Mongol il-khan Ghazan, an embassy sent from the king of Georgia to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, and supported by the Byzantine emperor, Andronicus II, succeeded in convincing the sultan to return the church to the Georgians (Abu-Manneh 1984: 103–4; cf. Janin 1913: 215–16; Vincent and Abel 1914a: 978; Rose 1992: 243).

This agreement marked the beginning of a new phase in Georgian–Mamluk relations, which for the next two centuries was to make the Georgians the most favoured of the Christian communities in Jerusalem. It was followed by an edict protecting the position of the Georgian monks in Jerusalem; and when this was reissued in an expanded version by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī (1346–7), it included a clause commanding that they be allowed to rebuild to the original plan what time had destroyed of their monastery, under the supervision of the *qādī* of Jerusalem (Abu-Manneh 1984: 105).

At about this time, Nicolas of Poggibonsi describes the monastery as surrounded by high walls and held by Christians, whom he mistakenly believed to be Nestorians.

In front of the gate there is a beautiful square; and the church inside is painted with figures. And above it is covered with vaults, arranged in three naves with six columns. At the centre of the church there is a wall with a door, and there is depicted St Abraham and how was planted there the tree of the Holy Cross. Beneath the altar there is a deep hole, and through the middle of it grew a wood from which was made a part of the Holy Cross. (1346–50: 66)

Most fourteenth-century Western pilgrims had difficulty in distinguishing the identity of the monks whom they found officiating in the church; and while many thought them to be Greeks (e.g. Symon Semeonis 1323–4: 104–6; 1323–4b: 43; Antony of Cremona 1330: 17; Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 76), one considered them to be Armenians (Frescobaldi 1384: 80).

The fortunes of the monastery had evidently improved, for in 1344–5 an English pilgrim was served there 'the best of wine in big jars' (Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 76); and an Italian, forty years later, described it as a 'rich monastery, well adorned and well officiated where the monks 'give plenty of bread and wine to the pilgrims who call there' (Gucci 1384: 138). Much of this prosperity was due to the patronage of the Mamluks. In 1347, Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umārī records that the revenue

of a village near the monastery, possibly Maliha, had been granted to the monastery by the sultan, and the names of other similar endowments are known, including Dair Ka'kul, Jaljala and Dair Musa (Marmardji 1951: 79; Janin 1913: 216; Abu-Manneh 1984: 106–7).

A decline in the monastery is detectable by 1480–3, when Brother Felix Faber described the Georgian monks as living, with their wives (!), in a small monastery adjoining the church. 'Some of the pilgrims went into the hovels of those monks and asked if they had anything cooked. But we saw neither kitchens nor cooking-pots in these hovels, for the men are exceedingly poor.' In the church itself, apart from the pit beneath the altar, where the Cross was said to have grown, the pilgrims also saw and kissed an arm of St Barbara (1480–3: II, 1–2).

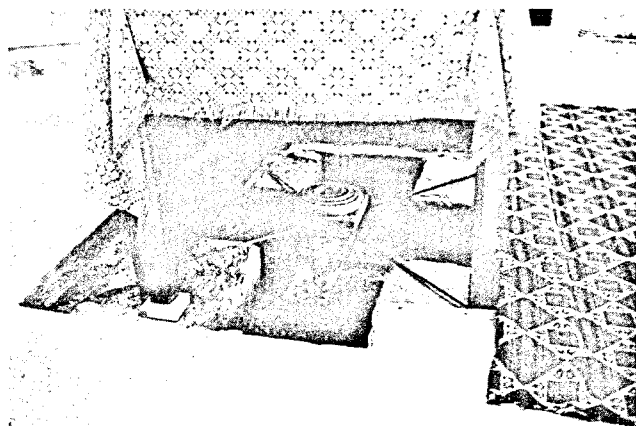
With the ending of Mamluk control in Palestine in 1516, the privileged status of the Georgians also came to an end. In 1517, the Greek Orthodox patriarch obtained a *firmān* placing all the Orthodox communities, including the Georgians, under his protection (Abu-Manneh 1984: 109).

In the early seventeenth century the church was still in Georgian hands, and Francesco Quaresmi describes it as

entire, beautiful and spacious, paved in mosaic work and embellished with various Greek pictures. Moreover, the monastery is now indeed large, fortified and commodious; but formerly it was much larger, as its ruins demonstrate. It is much exposed to incursions of the Arabs; they are frequently directed there and trouble the inhabitants. (1626a: II, 712; 1626b: 348–50)

Despite official and unofficial Muslim pressure, the church and its paintings were restored in 1643–4 by the abbot, Nicephorus (Tzaferis 1987: 34). In 1646 work also began on the convent buildings; but this was halted by Sultan Ibrahim because of the outstanding arrears of tax owed by the monastery. Later abbots ran up such debts that in April 1685 the Greek patriarch, Dositheos, purchased the monastery and its possessions outright. Although the Georgian character of the monastery was preserved and Georgian abbots are recorded at the end of the seventeenth century and in 1841 respectively, its administration was thereafter subject to the Greeks (Janin 1913: 217; Vincent and Abel 1914a: 1000).

The church was surveyed by C.R. Conder for the SWP in February 1874 (Warren and Conder 1884: 379, fig.). From 1885 to 1908, the building was used as the Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary, and since the 1970s it has been undergoing a programme of restoration by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate to turn it into an institute



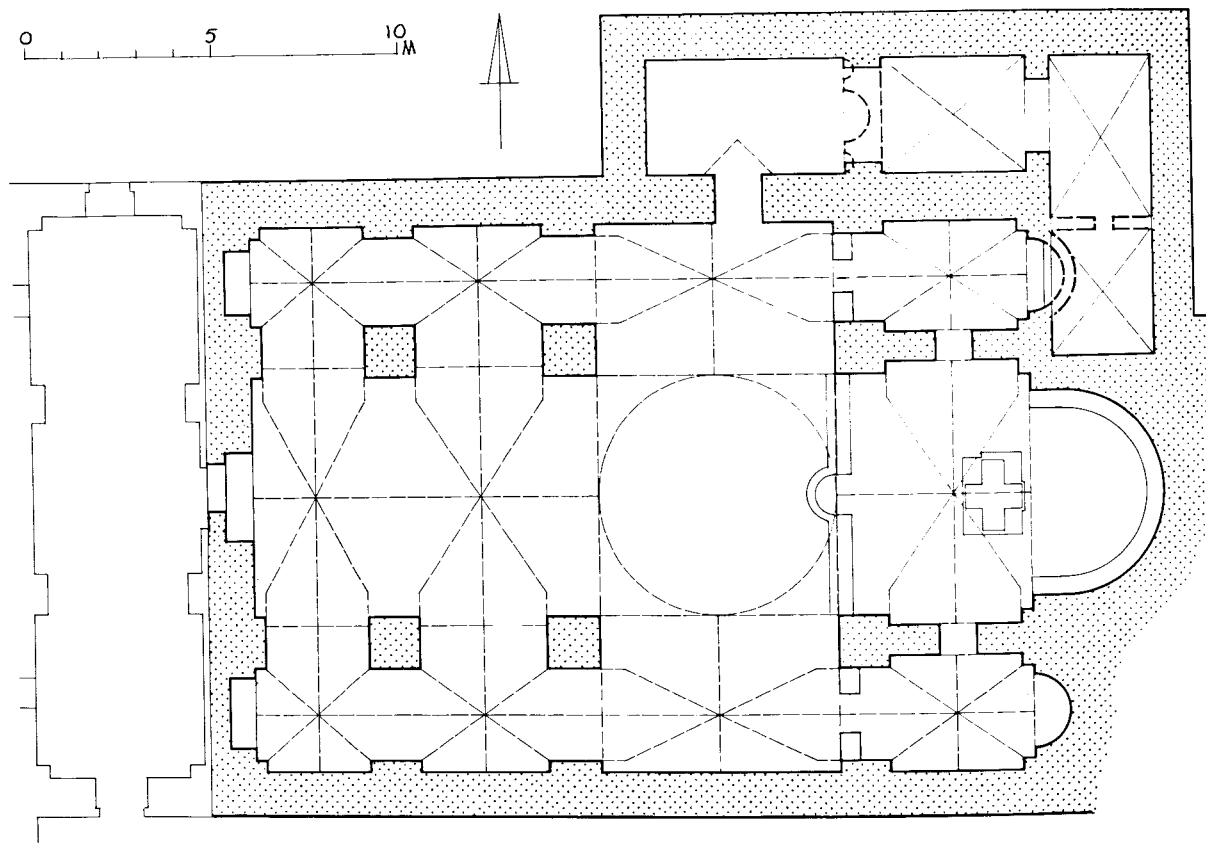
xix Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): site of the Tree of the Cross.

for theological and archaeological research (Baldi 1973: 117; Tzaferis 1987; 1993a: 146).

Description

The church lies in the bottom of a valley, just under 2 km west-south-west of Jerusalem's Jaffa Gate. It is surrounded by the buildings of the monastery, which are enclosed by high walls describing an irregular rectangle with a projecting tower at the south-east corner and heavy buttresses on the north. The church's location would appear to have been determined by the existence of the tree-stump that is identified as that from which the Cross of Christ's crucifixion was cut and is shown in a cross-shaped hole below the main altar (pl. xix). However, it may be noted that no mention of this association is made before the eleventh-century rebuilding of the church, and the remains of the stump have not been investigated archaeologically. It is uncertain therefore what place it occupied in the church of the sixth and seventh centuries.

The present church takes the form of a three-aisled domed basilica of four bays, with the dome and inscribed transepts occupying the second bay and with a semi-circular apse and apsidioles terminating the nave and aisles on the east (fig. 8). Internally it measures 24.05 m east-west by 14.25 m north-south, the width of the aisles being 2.6 m and the nave 6.2 m. The vaulting is carried on six piers of masonry, 1.4 m square. There appears to be no evidence to support the idea of Frs Vincent and Abel that the piers may originally have been cruciform (1914a: 943 n.1). The presbytery, which contains the site of the tree-stump beneath the altar table, occupies the bay east of the crossing, from which it is separated by a masonry iconostasis of



8 Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): plan.

relatively recent date. It is flanked to north and south by sacristies, with which it communicates through narrow rounded-arched doors in the separating walls. In the northern of these (the *prothesis*), the apsidiole has been partially filled in at a later date.

Throughout the building, the vaulting, including that of the semi-domes of the apse and apsidioles, is characterized by a slightly pointed profile (pls. xx–xxiii). The vaulting of the aisles, nave and transepts consists of groin-vaults springing from the square nave piers and their responding pilasters. In the nave and transepts, the vaults spring from a cyma-recta cornice, which, however, is usually barely recognizable as such because of the thick layer of painted plaster that has later been applied to it. The dome is carried on a drum, supported on pendentives, the drum being lit by eight slightly pointed-arched windows and defined by a cornice moulding above and below (pl. xxiv). Small windows with faintly pointed-arched heads also light the clear-storey, one to a bay; while the gables of the nave and transepts each have at the same level a larger window flanked by two smaller ones.

The recent restoration has involved the stripping away of much of the heavy plaster that once covered the walls. As a result, it is now possible to see that the piers,

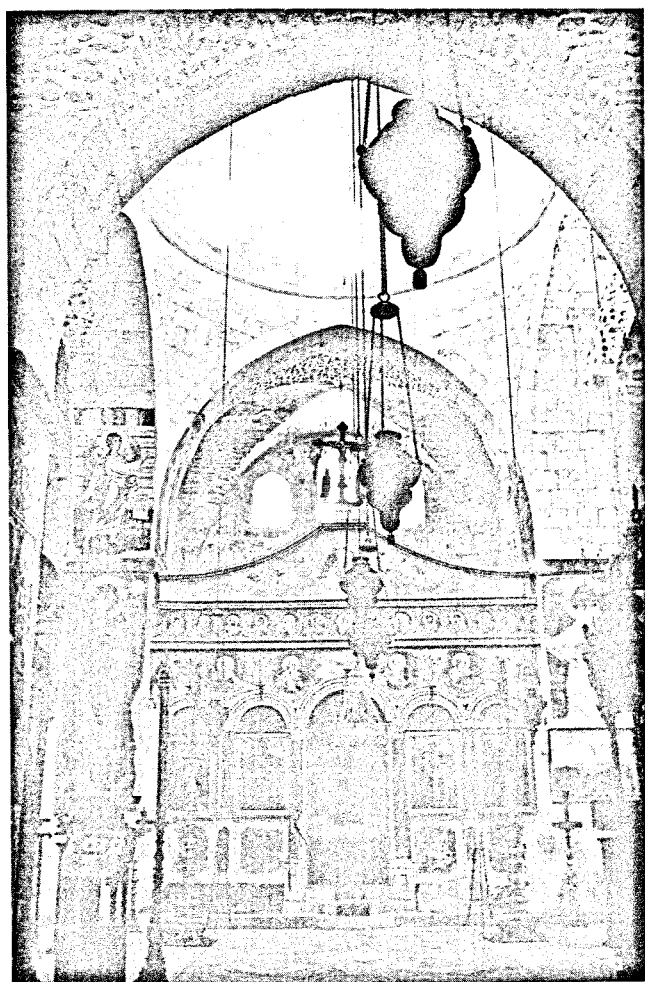
responding pilasters, transverse arches and pendentives are constructed of well-cut ashlar, while the remaining walls and vaults are more irregularly built. The church itself is built in smaller ashlar.

A series of four rooms apparently contemporary with the church extends around the north-east side of it. The first of these, entered from the north transept, was evidently once a side chapel. On the plan made by SWP in 1874, it is shown to have had in its east wall a small apse flanked by a pair of niches, semi-circular on the north (*prothesis*) and rectangular on the south (*diaconicon*). This wall has now been removed, however, to allow access to the other rooms.

As Frs Vincent and Abel noted, the west wall has been thickened externally in a later period to support the vault of an added narthex (1914a: 943 n.1). Modifications also appear to have been made to the west wall, which is now slightly off centre; whether there were originally doors opening into the aisles is uncertain.

Decoration and Furnishings

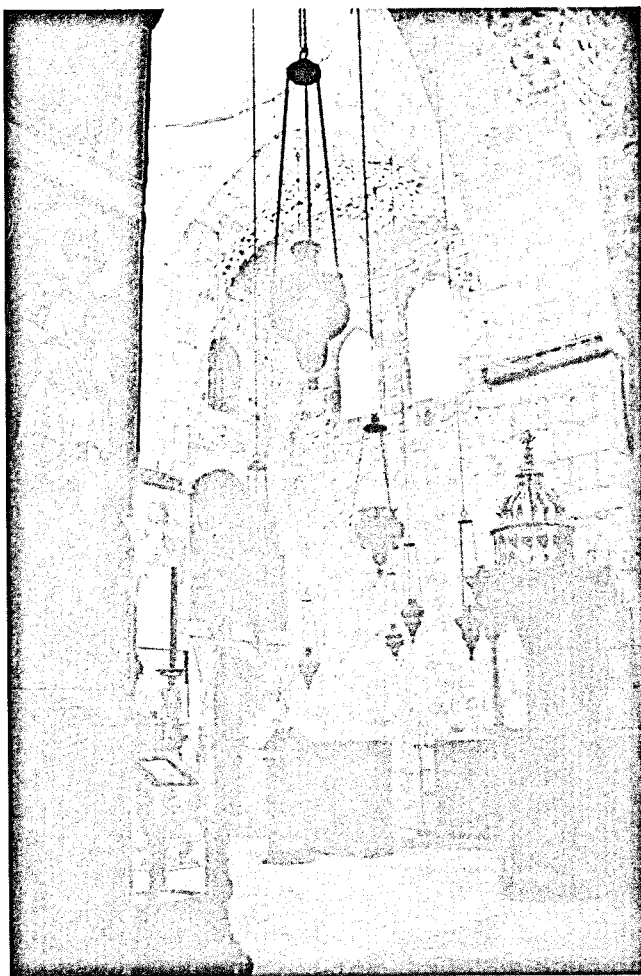
The floor of the church is paved with mosaics, which appear to correspond with its layout and to be contemporary with it. Except where repaired, the tesserae



xx Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): the crossing, looking east.

are small. Two main panels survive. The first, in blue, black, red and orange, is laid beneath the crossing and consists of a complex interlinking geometrical pattern with four cocks in the four main panels, and with a thick fish-inhabited acanthus border surviving on the east (pls. xxv–xxvi). West of this, in the nave, is a plain reticulated pattern in black and red on white, enclosed by a border of interlace. The mosaics have been interpreted by Vincent and Abel as eleventh- to twelfth-century, based on models of the fifth or sixth century (1914a: 943 n.1, pl. LXXXV.2–4; cf. Avi-Yonah 1933: 163, no. 106; 1981: 310, no. 106). Excavations in 1969 revealed an earlier sixth-century mosaic floor beneath them, the design of which appears to have been broadly similar (Economopoulos 1984; Tzaferis 1987: 17–20, pls. 10–12; 1993a).

It appears that virtually the whole interior was at one time covered with wall paintings, including saints and holy figures as well as Greek philosophers. Some of the



xxi Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): south transept.

paintings seen by Nicolas of Poggibonsi in the mid fourteenth century (1346–50: 66) may well have dated from the eleventh century, though it seems that the main programme was executed in the late twelfth to early thirteenth century and was extensively repainted in 1643–4, as inscriptions in Greek and Georgian record (Baumstark 1906: 162; 1908; Vincent and Abel 1914a: 943 n.1; Tzaferis 1987: 33–48, pls. 37–84; 1993a: 146). Four painted heads cut down in 1910 were acquired by Prince Johann Georg of Saxony, and are now in American collections (Georg 1912; Swarzenski 1956).

Epigraphy

On the south wall of the central apse, a *dipinto* in red was found in 1873, reading *Beatae . . . a Jehan*, with the date 1493 (Warren and Conder 1884: 379). Two inscriptions painted above the inside of the west door in Greek and Georgian and dated respectively 10 August



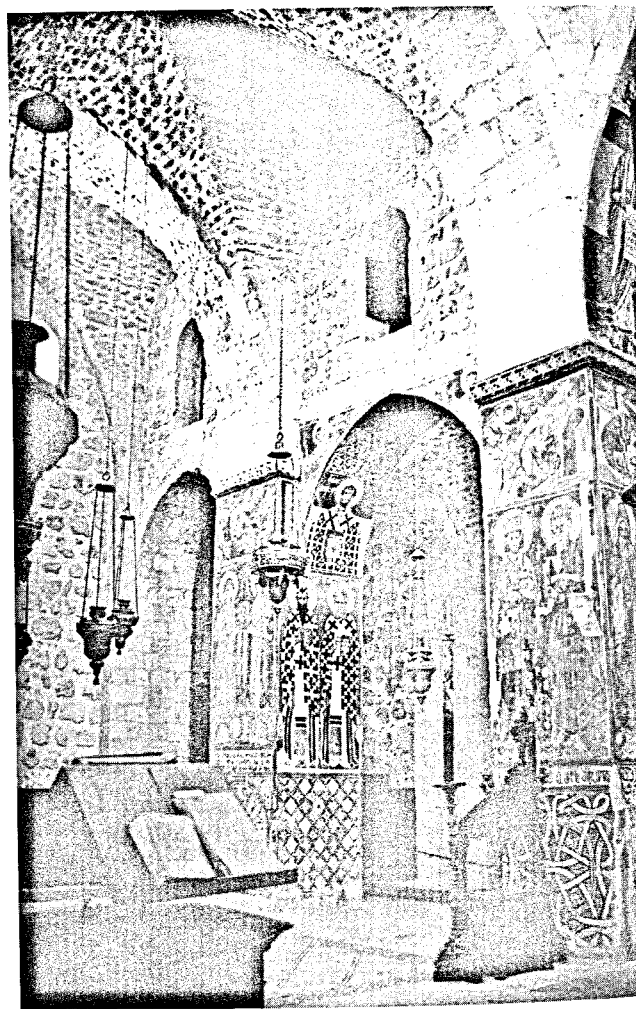
xxii Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): south side of nave, looking west.

1643 and 11 January 1644 record the restoration of the church and its painted decoration at the expense of Leo Tatian by the abbot Nicephorus and the monks Moses, Dikaïos, Gregory, Neophytos and Gerasimus, and the deacon Menas (Swarzenski 1956: 36; Tzaferis 1987: 34, pls. 37–8). Another in Georgian on the east side of the south-west pier supporting the dome records the renovation of the walls and dome at the joint expense of Nicephorus and Leo Tatian in 1642 (Tzaferis 1987: 37, pl. 48). On the west side of the north pier flanking the sanctuary an overpainted Annunciation scene is dated 10 August 1643 (Tzaferis 1987: 44, pl. 76).

Visited 5.6.81, 8.6.81.

Sources

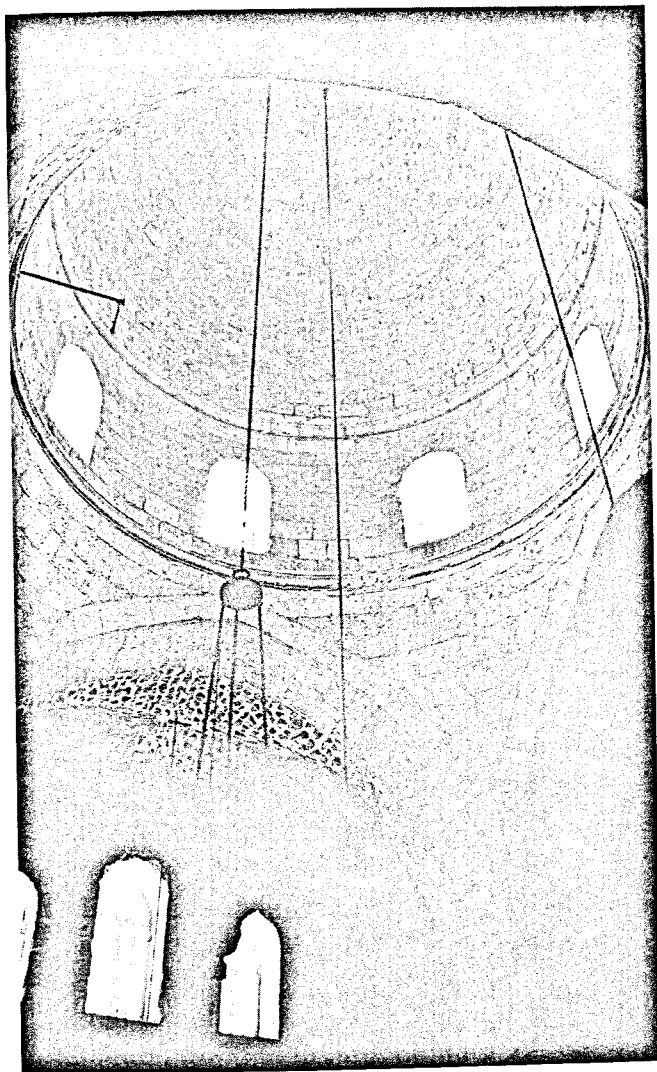
Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (IHC, III, 14; trans. Wilkinson, 241); Anon. VII (c.1160), 7 (IHC, III, 80; trans. Wilkinson, 106); Anon. Graecus (1187), XI (PG, CXXXIII, 985); Bresc-Bautier,



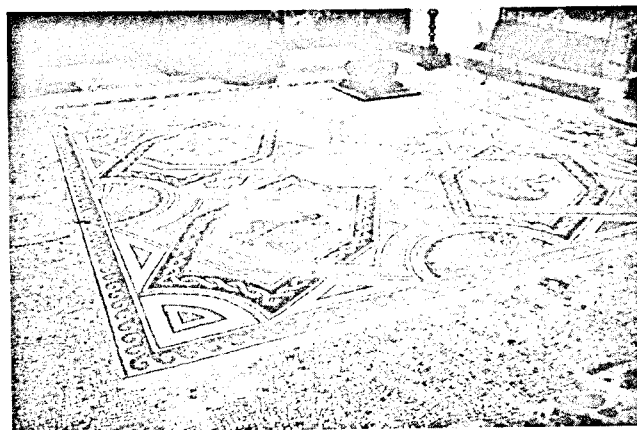
xxiii Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): north side of nave, looking west.

315–16, no. 163 (1176–7); *Continuation de Guillaume de* (Rothelin, 1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 158); Dar (1106–7), LVIII (trans. Ryan, 150; de Khitrowo, 50); Ern (c.1231) (ed. de Mas Latrie, 203–5; ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 45–7); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy La* (c.1252); Phocas (1185), xxvi (PG, CXXXIII, 955; PPTS, v, trans. Wilkinson, 331); RRH, 147, no. 552 (1176–7); Saew (1101–3), XXI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 71; IHC, II, 22; trans. Wilkinson, 108); Theodoric (1169–72), XXXVIII (CCCM, CXXXVIII, 183; PPTS, v, 56–7; trans. Wilkinson, 307–8).

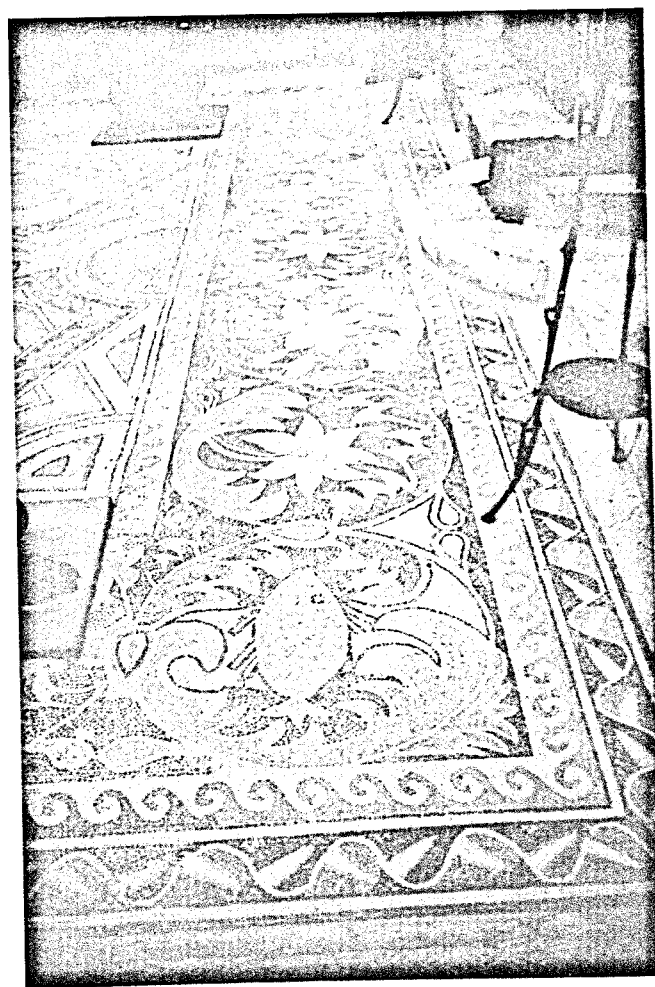
Abu-Manneh 1984; Adorno 1470–1: 292; d'Anglure 139; 152; Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 76; Antony of Cremona 13; 174; Avi-Yonah 1933: 163, no. 106; 1981: 310, no. 1; Baedeker 1876b: 171–2; Bahat 1980: 116; Baldi 1973: 1; Bartlett 1863: 190–1, pl.; Basil 1466: 151–2; Baums 1906: 162ff.; 1908; van Bruyn 1725: II, 204–5; Bus 1969: 132–4; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 330; Dow 1911; Economopoulos 1984; Faber 1480–3: II, 1–2; Fre baldi 1384: 80; Georg 1912; Gil 1992: 442, 451–2; Gre nios c.1400: 183; Gucci 1384: 138; Guérin 1868: I, 78; Guide Bleu 1932: 598; Hamilton 1980: 168; Hintlian 19



xxiv Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): dome over the crossing.



xxv Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): mosaic pavement in the crossing.



xxvi Church of the Holy Cross (no. 145): eastern border of the mosaic pavement in the crossing.

33; Hoade 1978: 340; Horn 1725-44b: 236-7, fig. 52; Humbert of Dijon 1332: 537; Israel 1964: 1461; James of Verona 1335: 222; Janin 1913: 211-19; Johns 1937: 30 (f5); Mancini 1965; Marmardji 1951: 78-9; de Martoni 1335: 623; Maundrell 1697a: 461-2; 1697b: 126; Meistermann 1936: 295-6; Moore 1961: 73; Mujir al-Din 1494-5: 173-4; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 66, 158; Norris 1950: 34, pl. x; Oderic of Friuli 1330: 152; Ousterhout 1989: 74-5, fig. 20; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1984: 137, no. 19; Palestine 1948: 227, 231 (c18); Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1905; Peeters 1912: 301-4; Peradze 1937; Perera 1553b: 40-1, 70; Pierotti 1864: i, 242-3; ii, pl. LXIII; Pococke 1743: ii, 47; Poloner 1422a: 252-3; 1422b: 10; Prag 1989: 288-9; Prawer 1967; 1975b: 104; Pringle 1982b: 7, 12-13, 19 n.58, 27 (no. 8), fig. 12, pls. 7-8; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 712; 1626b: 348-50; Richard 1955: 424; de Rochechouart 1461: 258; Röhricht 1887b: 207, 313; Rose 1991; 1992: 243; Schur 1980: 47-8; Suriano 1485b: 146; Swarzenski 1956; Symon Semeonis

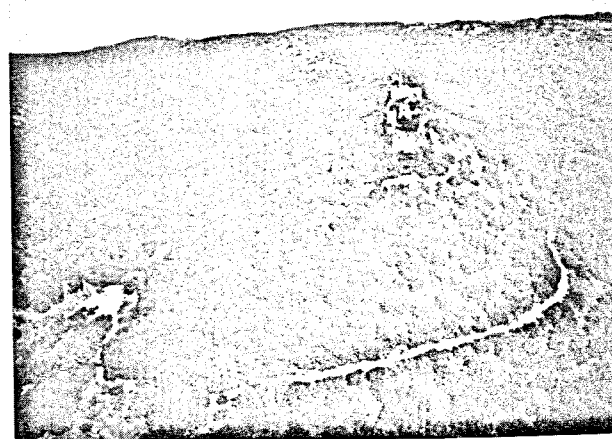
1323-4a: 104-6; 1323-4b: 43; de Thévenot 1687: i, 203-4; Thomson 1876: 663; Tobler 1853: ii, 716-41; Tsagareli 1888; Tzaferis 1987; 1993a; Vailhé 1900b: 276-9; Vincent and Abel 1914a: 552, 942-3, 968-9, 978, 100, fig. 224, pl. lxxxv; de Vogüé 1860: 340; Vryonis 1981: 41; Wardi 1960; Warren and Conder 1884: 379, fig.; Wilson 1865: 63, pl. iv; Zozimos 1421: 217.

MONTFORT CASTLE

Qa'at al-Qurain, Qa'at al-Qarn; Cr. Montfort, Frans Castiaus, Starkenberg

In April 1228, the Teutonic Order purchased from James of Mandalé (or Amigdala) his rights over seventeen villages in Galilee which had formerly belonged to his grandfather, Joscelin III of Courtenay. Among these was *Mobilir* (Kh. Mibiliya), which the order had earlier given to James 'in exchange for *Trefile* and the new castle that is called Montfort, which the same house has moreover fortified, in order that the castle should remain theirs in perpetuity' (Strehlke, 51-3, no. 63; 53-4, no. 65; Predelli, 46-7, no. 27; RRH, 263, no. 1002; 265, no. 1011). *Trefile* may be identified with Kh. Manhata, earlier known as Kh. Tharfila (Grid ref. 1721.2715), which lies less than a kilometre south-east of Montfort and was evidently the village upon whose lands the castle was built (Frankel 1988: 269-70). The date of the exchange, which was intended to give the order complete control of *Trefile*, was probably sometime in or after 1226; for it was at that time that James of Mandalé laid claim to part of the large estate, including both *Tarphile* and *Meblie*, which Count Joscelin's daughter, Beatrice, and her husband Otto of Henneberg had sold to the order in May 1220 (Strehlke, 43-4, no. 53; 47-8, no. 58; 49, no. 60; RRH, 248, no. 934; 256, no. 974; 257, no. 978; Frankel 1988: 265).

Other sources also suggest that work began on the new castle in 1226 or 1227, soon after the exchange of lands, and that it continued with the assistance of German Crusaders until the spring of 1228 (*Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 34) (1226); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 459) (1227-8); Het'um of Corycus, *Table* (RHC Arm, i, 485) (1226-7); *Annales* (ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 438) (1226); *Eracles* (RHC Occ, ii, 372); Prawer 1975a: ii, 180-3). The departure of the Germans may have caused a temporary lull in the construction. In June 1228, however, Bohemond IV, prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli, contributed 100 bezants annually to the Teutonic Order 'in support of the

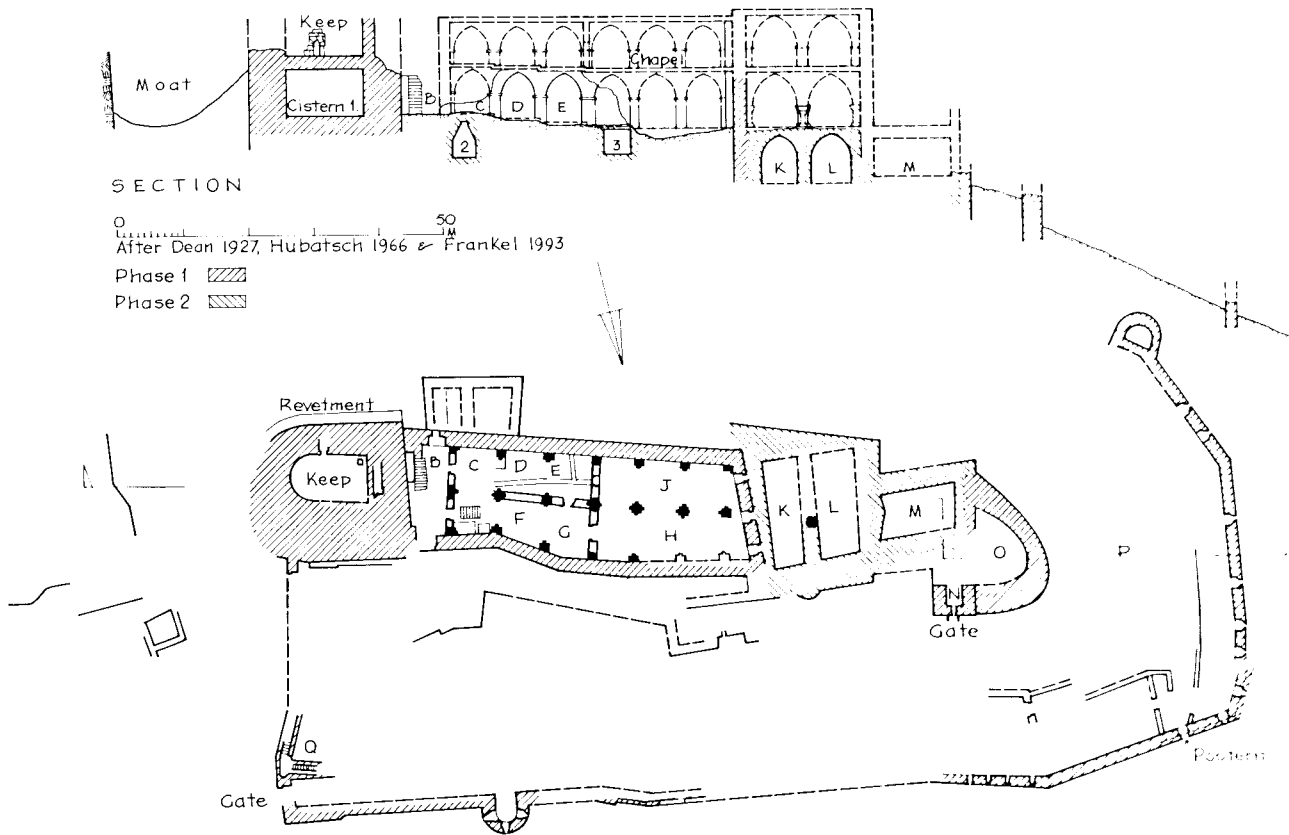


xxvii Montfort Castle: from the west.

work on the castle that you are fortifying to strength to Christendom against the Saracens' (Strehlke, 53, no. 64; RRH, 261, no. 989); and in March 1228 Hermann of Salza, grand master of the order, writing to Pope Gregory IX to inform him of the treaty made in January between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kamil, stated that work on the castle had begun again that year (MGH Const, ii, 162, no. 121; cf. 165, no. 122). The pope's response was to issue an appeal to all Christians to support the new building work (Strehlke, 56-7, no. 73). Although it is uncertain when it was brought to completion, by the mid 1240s the castle had replaced *Mi'iliya* (*Castrum Regis*) (q.v.) as the *chef-lieu* of its district and was already being used as the order's principal administrative centre outside Acre (cf. Strehlke, 77, no. 99 (1244); 78, no. 100 (1249); 362, no. 486 (1253)). In June 1253, the castellan was Peter de Conventum (Predelli, 54-5, no. 41).

Montfort was attacked unsuccessfully by the Badr al-Din al-Aydamuri and Badr al-Din Baysan in May 1266 (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: ii, 87, 151; al-Maqrizi c.1400b: i.ii, 27). In June 1271, Sultan Baybars took charge of the siege, bringing up engines and siege equipment from Safad. On the 11th he took the *faubourg*, and the next day the *bashūra* or outer wall. At this point a surrender was negotiated, allowing the garrison safe conduct to Acre. Baybars then ordered the castle to be destroyed; this was done by 4 July (*Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 199); *Annales* (ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 455); *Eracles* (RHC Occ, ii, 460); Burchard Mount Sion, iii, 1 (ed. Laurent, 31); Ibn al-Furāt c.1374: ii, 151-2, 166; al-Maqrizi c.1400: i.1; Riley-Smith 1971: ii, 241; Prawer 1975a: ii, 501).

The ruins of the castle occupy a narrow spur, some 180 m above the bed of the Wadi al-Qarn, and curves around it on the north and west (pl. 3).



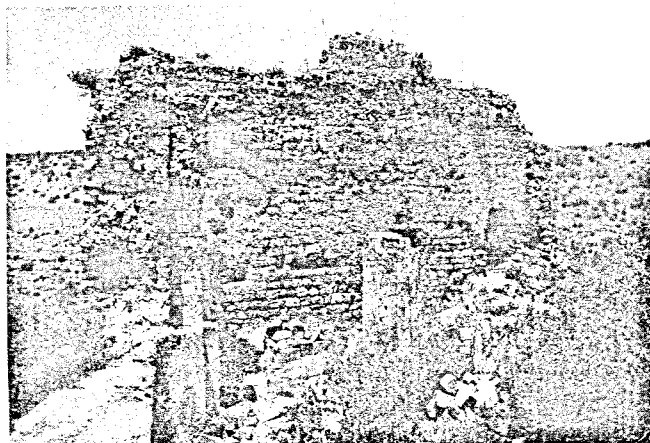
9 Montfort Castle: plan and section showing the location of the chapel (no. 146)

On the south, a smaller tributary forms a marginally less precipitous defence, while on the east the castle is detached from the upper part of the spur by two rock-cut ditches, the outer of which contains the approach road. Clearance work undertaken in 1926 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, resulted in the removal of some 4,500 tons of debris from the castle's interior in the space of only a month (Dean 1927; cf. Anon 1928); despite the primitive archaeological techniques employed, this has at least allowed the architectural remains of the castle to be more fully understood than was possible for earlier visitors such as E. Renan (1864: 758–61), E.G. Rey (1871: 143–51, pl. xv), V. Guérin (1880: II, 52–8) and the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 186–90, pls.; cf. Masterman 1919).

Two principal building phases may be discerned (see fig. 9). In the first phase, the part of the site most open to attack from the higher ground to the east was closed off by the construction of a massive D-shaped keep or *donjon*, some 20 m wide and 24 m long, faced with large tightly fitting ashlar blocks with smooth faces and shallow drafted margins. To the west of this, down the ridge of the spur, there extended an inner ward measur-

ing some 46/50 by 17 m and enclosed by a high wall of rubble masonry, 2 m thick. Two further enceintes, perhaps representing respectively the *bashūra* and *rabad* mentioned in 1271, extended downhill on the north and west sides. The outer one was defended by rounded projecting towers and had a postern on the north-west and a gateway (Q) on the north-east, approached through the outer rock-cut ditch; the inner ward was entered through a gatehouse (N) on the north-west.

In the secondary phase, the interior of the inner ward was roofed over with two rows of six groin-vaults, which stopped 5.7–7.2 m short of the keep. The vaulting was carried on cruciform piers and responding pilasters, the bays being separated from one another by transverse arches. Although these vaults were finely constructed in ashlar, the existence within them of a wine-press and storage jars (area C) and of evidence for iron and leather working (area F; cf. Dean 1927: 21–2) suggests that they would have served as a service basement, with the more important apartments of the knights being located on the floor, or floors, above. Fallen architectural debris shows that the upper floor would have been rib-vaulted. At the same time, or slightly later, a spacious chamber with rib-vaulting carried on a central octagonal pier was



xxviii Montfort Castle: probable site of chapel (no. 146) at first-floor level in area J.

constructed to the west of the inner ward over a pair of massive barrel-vaults (K, L).

Structural, archaeological and documentary evidence suggests that no part of the castle is likely to date before 1226 or after 1271; the finest architectural work that is found in phase 2 probably dates between 1229 and 1266. (For descriptions of the castle, see: Dean 1927: Range 1935a; 1935b; Makhoul 1941: 100–1; Makhoul and Johns 1946: 100–2; Langé 1965: 112–16, figs. 43, 56–61; Hubatsch 1966; Benvenisti 1970: 331–7; 1977; Frankel 1993; Frankel and Gatzov 1986; Pringle 1986b: 54–5, fig. 3; 1997: no. 156.)

In the bottom of the valley below the castle on the north stand the remains of a two-storey structure, constructed with four bays of groin-vaults over a barrel-vault; before the winter of 1940–1, it also had a tower standing at its west end. Although this building has sometimes been interpreted as a chapel (Mariti 1769: II, 161–2; van de Velde 1861: 195–8; Rey 1871: 146; Masterman 1919: 75; Dean 1927: 26–7) and even as an infirmary (Hubatsch 1966: 196), detailed survey has shown it to be a water-mill that was converted into a first-floor domestic hall as part of the second phase of works to the castle. It seems possible that this may have been the castle guest-house, intended for the reception of high-status visitors who could not be accommodated within the enclosed monastic area of the castle (see Pringle 1986b).

No. 146 Castle Chapel 1715.2722

Description

The functional layout of the enclosed part of the castle occupied by the knights is now difficult to determine, as

the upper floors on which the principal apartments would have been almost completely disappeared. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the great master's lodging (cf. Pringle 1986b: 74–5) and perhaps also the treasury would have been in the keep. The knights' dormitory, refectory and chapel might have occupied the upper floor of the inner ward, with the chapter house possibly represented either by the large square rib-vaulted room that was built to the west or by a similar room on the floor above.

The nature of the finds made in area J, including a particular concentration of stained glass (see below), suggested to the excavator, Bashford Dean, that the chapel had occupied that position (1927: 14, 23; figs. 15, 17–19). Although the chapel would not necessarily have been the only room in the castle to have stained-glass windows, Dean's interpretation seems justifiable if we assume that the finds in question came not from the basement, as he seems to have thought, but from the now-vanished floor above (pl. xxviii). The chapel cannot have been at basement level, as demonstrated by the existence of a door in the centre of the east wall.

If we assume that the layout of the first floor was largely determined by that of the basement piers below, the chapel would probably have been of three bays and have measured internally some 7.6 by 21.35 m (Dean 1927: 23). A foliate keystone rosette similar to others found elsewhere in the inner ward (Dean 1927: fig. 31) shows that the chapel was rib-vaulted, unlike the basement which was groin-vaulted. To judge from the illustrated rib-fragment, the ribs would have been chamfered and painted (Dean 1927: 32, fig. 31). Foliolate crockets, apparently from a window, were also found (Dean 1927: 23, 32, fig. 27).

Decoration and Furnishings

Most of the stained or coloured window glass found in the excavations came from area J, immediately below the chapel, and a few more pieces from areas E and F just east of it. The colours range through green, blue, horn-coloured and colourless; but no red pieces were found. Some pieces were painted in the French thirteenth-century manner *en grisaille*, with bands, interlaced foliation and on one a human head depicted against plain or reticulated backgrounds (Dean 1927: 14, 42, 44–6, figs. 55, 57–8; SSCLE 1987: 24, no. 10).

The finding of a chamfered rib painted with a fleuron in black against a yellow background suggests that the whole interior would originally have been painted (Dean 1927: 32, fig. 31).

Also from area J came a stone corbel sculpted to represent a helmeted male head. This has been compared to French Gothic work at Rheims cathedral and Notre Dame in Paris of around the middle of the thirteenth century (Dean 1927: 32, fig. 30; Jacoby 1982b: 124, fig. 109; SSCLE 1987: 15, no. 9).

A more curious discovery from area J was a large marble basin of Roman date (height, 0.65 m, diam. about 1 m), representing Ganymede and Silenus in high relief, with three leopard-shaped legs and great carved handles; as the human mouths are pierced, this evidently originally formed part of a fountain, but its thirteenth-century function is less clear (Dean 1927: 34, fig. 40; SSCLE 1987: 23, no. 32).

Epigraphy

The masonry marks from the chapel area compare closely as a group with those from the 'guest-house' in the valley below (Dean 1927: 43, fig. 59; Pringle 1986b: 62, fig. 7).

Visited 28.7.81, 14.9.82, 29.5.84, 14.8.88, 21.9.94.

Sources

Benvenisti 1970: 290, 331, 334–7, 345; 1977: 888, fig. p. 887; Dean 1927; Frankel and Gatzov 1986; Hubatsch 1966; Jacoby 1982b: 124–5, figs. 109–10; Prawer 1972: 310–11; Pringle 1986b: 54, fig. 3; SSCLE 1987: 15 (no. 9), 23–4 (nos. 32–3).

Christians, where we also spent the night. (ch. XIII, 6–7 (ed. Laurent, 35))

Since Thietmar was travelling from the Jordan towards Karak, almost any of the sites in the region immediately west of Madaba might be described as *in summitate istius montis*. The likeliest would be Mount Nebo (Grid ref. 220.129), where at Kh. Siyagha a church and monastery had existed since the fourth century. But apart from a coin of al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn (1218–38), the extensive Franciscan excavations there have recovered no evidence of occupation at so late a date (cf. Saller 1941: 1, 124). Furthermore, Thietmar's statement (ch. XIII, 9) that the place lay near Mount Nebo, Pisgar and Phagor seems to rule out the possibility that the monastery was on Mount Nebo itself. Other sites such as Kh. al-Makhayyat (Grid ref. 220.129) or Madaba (Grid ref. 225.125) itself might therefore be considered (cf. Franciscan Fathers 1979: 103–12; Saller 1941: 1, 1–10; Piccirillo 1989).

Sources

Thietmar (1217), XIII, 3: 6–7 (ed. Laurent, 35).

Abel 1911: 177ff.; 1967: 1, 378–84; de Luynes 1871: 1, 148ff.; Saller 1941: 1, 11, 113, 124, 331, 153.

MOUNT JOY

Cr. *Mons Gaudii*

No. 148 Church of the Order of St Mary of Mount Joy of Jerusalem (?) 172.136

History and Discussion

The military order which later became known as that of Our Lady of Mount Joy was founded by Count Rodrigo Alvarez of Leon around 1174. Some three years earlier Count Rodrigo had entered the Spanish military order of St James; but disenchanted by what he considered to be certain laxities in the religious discipline of the order, he obtained approval from the papal legate, Cardinal Deacon Jacinth, to set up a new community following a stricter rule of life modelled on that of the Cistercians. Indeed, it seems that the new order may have been placed under the authority of the abbot of Cîteaux; and

MOUNT ABARIM

Cr. *Mons Abarim, Abarum mons*

No. 147 Monastery Church (Unlocated)

Mount Abarim, from which Moses caught sight of the Promised Land just before he died (Numbers 27.12, 33.47–8; Deut. 32.49), is commonly identified with the north-western range of the mountains of Moab, overlooking the lower Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 16, lines 24–6); Burchard of Mount Sion (*IHC*, IV, 152); Philip of Savona, I (*IHC*, IV, 242); Abel 1967: 1, 378–84). In 1217, the pilgrim Theitmar writes of it

This mountain is high and situated in a plain. On the summit of the mountain is a beautiful monastery, inhabited by Greek

by the end of 1175, it was also taken under the protection of Pope Alexander III (Forey 1971: 250–2).

Various grants of lands, castles and churches were made to Rodrigo and his brothers in Leon and Aragon in the years after 1174 (Forey 1971: 252–3). Sometime between 1176 and 1180, however, a group of brethren journeyed with their master to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. There, between October 1176 and June 1177, they received a large extent of land and the villages that it contained from Reynald of Châtillon, lord of Montreal and Hebron, on condition that they would fight continuously against the Saracens (Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 61, no. 119; *RRH Ad*, 33, no. 553a). As the grant required the consent of William, count of Ascalon and Jaffa, and of his wife Isabella, it seems probable that the land lay in his lordship. Following her husband's death, in 1177 Countess Isabella granted the order a garden, rents and a sector of the town wall of Ascalon (Paoli, 1, 63, no. 63; *RRH*, 147, no. 553); and on 8 September 1178 they were given a piece of land and a cistern north of Jerusalem by Prior Peter and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre (Bresc-Bautier, 355–6, appx. no. 5; *RRH*, 149, no. 561).

The earliest clear association of the new order with the place known as Mount Joy occurs in two papal confirmations given by Alexander III on 15 May and 23 November 1180 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 309–12, no. 122; 315–19, no. 125; Delaville le Roulx, 'Ordre de Montjoie', 51–4, no. 1; *RRH Ad*, 37, no. 594a). These are addressed to 'Roderic, master of the house of St Mary of Mount Joy of Jerusalem and his brethren'. Among the possessions of the order enumerated by the Pope were:

the place of Mount Joy itself, in which your house is located, outside the walls of the city of Jerusalem, *Toanasaba* [Tall an-Nasba?: Grid ref. 1700.1437] with its territory, which was given you by King Baldwin [IV], the Tower of the Maidens and three other towers and a garden adjacent to them in Ascalon and 100 *aurei* annually from the market (*funda*) of that city, *Palmarium* with its territory, which was given you by Guy of Scandalion, 300 *aurei* annually at the *logia* in Acre where they sell bread . . . [and] 400 *aurei* annually at David's Gate [in Jerusalem]. (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 310, no. 122; cf. 317, no. 125)

Further details of the establishment at Mount Joy are given in the section dealing with parish rights, where the Pope decreed:

that the house of Mount Joy of Jerusalem and your church, which you have begun to build there, as well as any oratories that you build in remote places . . . shall be subject to the authority of none but the Roman pontiff. (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 10, no. 122; cf. 317, no. 125; Hamilton 1980: 110)

By May 1180 therefore the order had established a house at Mount Joy, from which thereafter it took its name, and had begun to build a church there. But where was Mount Joy? Most historians have assumed that it was Nabi Samwil, 7.5 km north-west of Jerusalem, which is known to have been called *Mons Gaudii* or *Montjoie* in the twelfth century (Delaville le Roulx 1893: 42; Enlart 1925: II, 278–9; Mayer 1964: 40–1; Forey 1971: 253; Hamilton 1980: 110). By 1156, however, this hill and the tomb of the Prophet Samuel on its summit belonged to the Premonstratensian abbey of St Samuel, which still continued to lay claim to it as late as 1217, even though the community was by then in exile in Acre (see no. 159).

The name *Montjoie*, however, could have been applied to more than one hilltop near Jerusalem in the twelfth century; indeed the term is commonly used in other medieval contexts both of hills on which there were saints' tombs and of stone cairns piled up by pious pilgrims (du Cange 1954: v, 511; ix, 276; Savignac and Abel 1912: 269 n.3). Fr Abel has drawn attention to just such a site on the road running north of Jerusalem towards al-Bira (*Magna Mahumeria*) (1931: 142–3). Describing this route in 1169 or 1172, the pilgrim Theodoric writes:

Two miles north of the Holy City there exists a certain little church (*ecclesiola*), where the pilgrims, on their first sight of the city, gladdened with a great joy, are accustomed to place crosses; and there also, humbly taking off their shoes, they go to seek Him, who was worthy to come thither poor and humble for their sakes. (ch. XLI (CCCM, cxxxix, 186))

Although Nabi Samwil is distantly visible from the al-Bira road, it is clear that this passage does not refer to it, for Theodoric describes elsewhere the abbey of the Premonstratensians (ch. xxxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 184–5)). Fr Abel locates Theodoric's chapel on the Masharif (Mount Scopus: Grid ref. 172.134), where the al-Bira road reaches the plain of Shu'fat, and the church and house of Mount Joy in Shu'fat itself (1931: 142–3). There is insufficient evidence, however, to allow the alternative *Montjoie* to be located with much precision, and Shu'fat in any case belonged in 1179 to the abbey of St Mary of Mount Sion (*RRH*, 153, no. 576).

The idea that Rodrigo's church and the house of Mount Joy may have been located in this general area, however, is supported by the grant made to the order of the Holy Sepulchre in 1178. This was of a piece of land lying to one side of the Jerusalem to al-Bira road, bounded on the west and south by the road itself and land belonging to the patriarch of Jerusalem, to the north by the *tolum patriarche* and land of Nicolas Sc and William Megele, and to the east by land of St I

(Bresc-Bautier, 355–6, appx. no. 5; Paoli, I, 247–8, no. 205; *RRH*, 149, no. 561); the latter was probably either the Orthodox church of St Elias in Jerusalem (q.v.), or the abbey of St Elias lying between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (no. 202). Now it seems very likely that *tolum* means here the same as *toron* or *toronum*, the term often applied to a small hill or tell; and the most obvious tell lying immediately east of the road to al-Bira is Tall al-Ful (Grid ref. 1720.1366), a conspicuous landmark only 1.2 km north-north-east of Shu'fat. The fact that this grant is not otherwise referred to in the papal confirmation of 1180 also adds some weight to the supposition that it was in fact the *locus Montis Gaudii* itself. The most plausible site for the church of Mount Joy would therefore be immediately south of Tall al-Ful on the east side of the al-Bira road. Whether this was also the location of Theodoric's chapel, however, is more doubtful; possibly this lay further south near Shu'fat, as Abel suggests (see no. 235).

When Pope Alexander III confirmed the order's possessions in the Holy Land in May 1180, it is likely that Count Rodrigo was already on his way back to Aragon. In 1186, an attempt to amalgamate the order with the Templars, possibly following Rodrigo's death at about this time, came to nothing; but in October 1188, the order was joined instead with the hospital of the Holy Redeemer at Teruel. By 1198, most of both orders' possessions in the Iberian peninsula had been surrendered to the Templars (Forey 1971: 255–62).

The later history of the order of Mount Joy in the Holy Land is unrecorded. We do not know whether the brothers ever completed their church at Mount Joy before Rodrigo departed for home, nor whether the house was still occupied when Saladin took control of the area towards the end of 1187.

Epigraphy

One example of a seal of the order has survived (Delaville le Roulx 1893: 47; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 253, 274; de Sandoli 1974: 248, no. 337).

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 355–6, appx. no. 5 (1178); Delaville le Roulx, 'Ordre de Montjoie', 51–4, no. 1 (1180); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 309–12, no. 122 (1180); 315–19, no. 125 (1180); Paoli, I, 247–8, no. 205 (1178); *RRH*, 149, no. 561 (1178); *RRH Ad*, 37, no. 594a (1180); Theodoric (1169–72), *XLI* (CCCM, cxxxix, 186; *PPTS*, v, 60).

Abel 1931: 142–3; Blázquez y Jiménez 1917; Delaville le Roulx 1893; Enlart 1925: II, 278–9; Forey 1971; 1992: 31;

Gazulla 1928–9; Hamilton 1980: 109–10; Mayer 1964: 40–1; de Sandoli 1974: 248, no. 337; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 253, 274.

MOUNT OF PRECIPITATION

The Lord's Leap; Ar. *Jabal al-Qafza*; Cr. *Saltus Domini*, *Precipitium*, *Mons excelsus ualde*, *le Saut*; Hebr. *Har Qedumim*

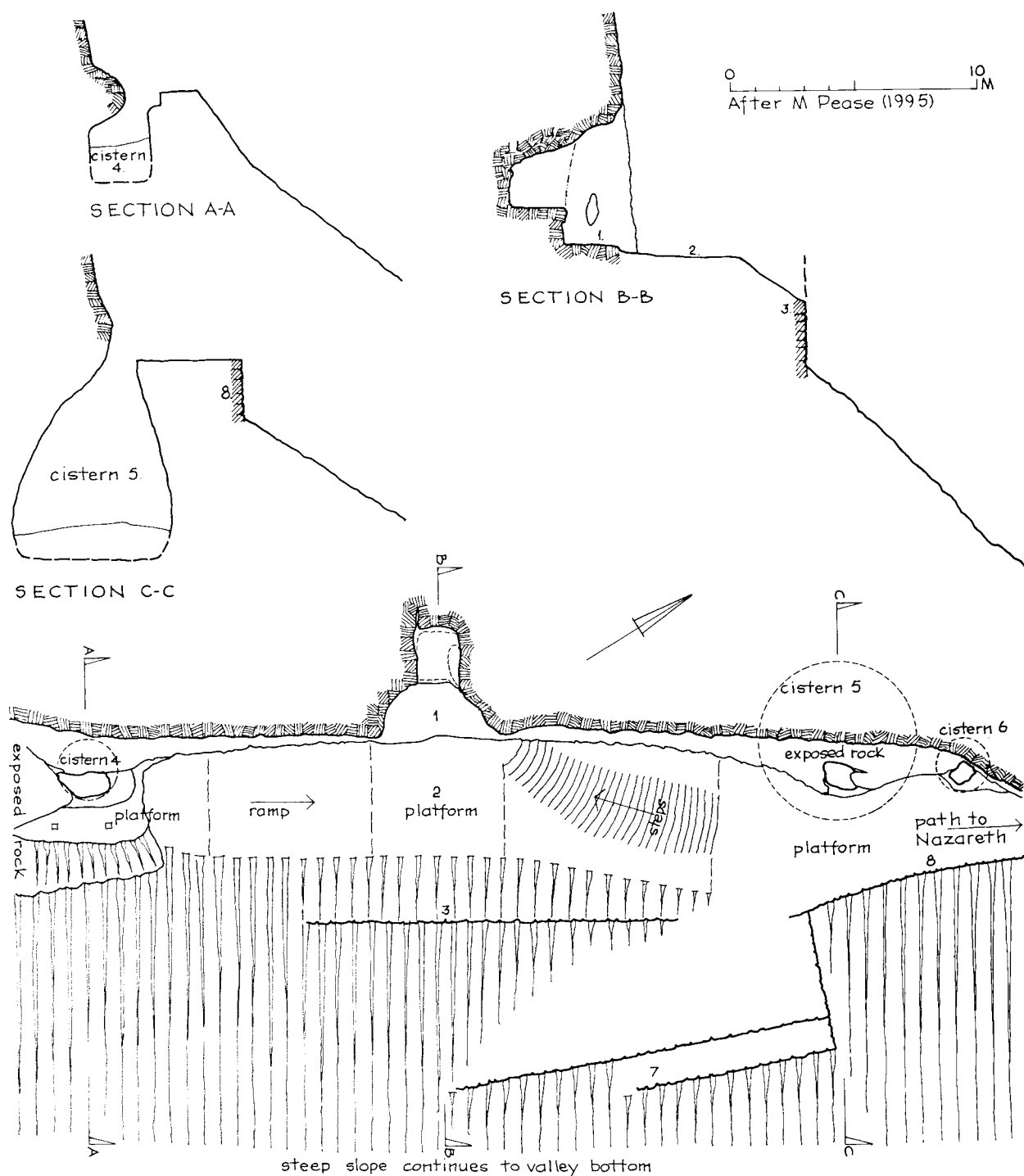
No. 149 Chapel (of St Mary?) 1779.2315

History

St Luke's Gospel tells how, when the inhabitants of Nazareth led Jesus to the brow of the hill on which the town stood with the intention of throwing Him off it, He passed through their midst and went away (Luke 4.29–30). This rather weak explanation of our Lord's miraculous escape provided the later writers of apocryphal gospels with an obvious opportunity for further elaboration. Thus in some accounts Christ is hidden by the rock, while in others He leaps across the valley or, as some versions have it, into the plain below (cf. Baldi 1955a: 40 n.2; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 633; 1626b: 394–6).

From the early ninth century, and probably before, the site of this divine display of aerobatics was located some 3 km south of Nazareth at Jabal al-Qafza, the 'Hill of the Leap', overlooking the Jezreel Plain. In c.808 a monastery and a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary were recorded there, served by eight monks (*Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, *XLII* (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 303; trans. Wilkinson, 138; *ELS*, 6, no. 10)).

This place was also known in the twelfth century as the 'Lord's Leap' or the 'Precipice' (*precipitium*), though there is no mention at this time of any church (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), *VIII*, 29 (*IHC*, II, 94; *PPTS*, v, 30); Fretellus (1137), *xxxviii* (ed. Boeren, 25); Eugesippus (c.1148) (*PG*, cxxxiii, 996); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 81); Theoderic (1169–72), *XLVII* (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; *PPTS*, v, 69)). In 1217, the German pilgrim Thietmar does record that a chapel had been constructed there (ch. I, 7–9 (ed. Laurent, 3)); but other thirteenth-century pilgrims refer only to a stone upon which Jesus sat when He disappeared from view (Ernoul (c.1228–31) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 61;



10 Mount of Precipitation, chapel (no. 149): plan and sections.

ELS, 16, no. 24)), and upon which the impression of His body and clothes could still be seen (Burchard (1283), VI (ed. Laurent, 46; ELS, 18, no. 28); cf. Sanudo, III, 7, 2; 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 176; 253)). There may still have been some form of chapel, however, for in 1289–91 the Dominican Ricoldus of Montecroce read and preached

the Gospel there; he also records having seen Christ's footprints in the rock (ch. 1 (ed. Laurent, 107; ELS, 18–19, no. 29)).

At the end of the sixteenth century, Jan Kootwyk saw at the Lord's Leap a half-ruined church or chapel (*templum . . . semidirutum*) (1619: 349; cf. Baldi 195

31, no. 39). This is described more fully by Francesco Quaresmi:

Within the brow of the hill is a cave, dug out in the manner of a vestibule, behind which in the cave itself is a small vaulted rock-cut chapel rising to a point, covered with plaster and formerly decorated with [painted] figures, as the remains of them show. Its width is about 7 palms [1.4 m], and Mass can be conveniently celebrated there. Outside, there are two cisterns, a smaller one to the right and a larger and finer one to the left. On every side are ruins and the large foundations of buildings. And the Nazarenes say that there was there in antiquity a monastery (*coenobium*), or undoubtedly a church, paved with mosaic, as is shown by the little stones (of which mosaics are made) that are to be seen there. There are moreover caves and caverns on the hill opposite . . . with cisterns and ruins of buildings. (1626a: II, 633–4; 1626b: 396; Baldi 1955a: 40–1, no. 41)

A niche containing an altar on which Mass was occasionally celebrated was described by Jean de Thévenot around 1655 (1687: I, 212). The ruined walls of a small church with an apse cut into the rock and traces of a mosaic pavement were also recorded by the Survey of Western Palestine in the 1870s (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 308; cf. de Hamme 1869: 541). These remains have been reported on more recently by Fr Bellarmino Bagatti (1967: 243–5, figs. 203–5; 1971a: 252–3), who identifies the complex of structures and rock-cut features as belonging to a monastic laura of the late Byzantine period.

Description

The remains of the chapel lie on the western side of the Wadi al-Hajj (Valley of the Pilgrims), which separates the Jabal al-Qafza from the adjoining hill to the west (pls. xxix–xxx). The chapel is represented by a rounded apse cut into the south-east-facing scarp of the rock (fig. 10.1). The apse thus faces north-west and is some 2.2 m deep, 1.0–1.6 m wide and 1.9–2.5 m high. Within it is a ledge, 1 m wide and 1.5 m above pavement level, which extends back about 2.5 m into the rock and may have served as an altar table. In front of the apse is a rectangular platform reached by a flight of irregular stone steps from the north-east (fig. 10.2); these are apparently of relatively recent date, though the wall that retains the platform on its downhill side is solidly built of coursed stone blocks and is evidently of greater antiquity (fig. 10.3). The apse itself was at one time coated with plaster over a layer of coarse rilled potsherds, only traces of which now survive. It seems likely that there would at one time have been a roofed nave built against the rock-cut part of the chapel, but no trace of such now remains. The platform is flanked to



xxix Mount of Precipitation: rock-cut apse of the chapel (no. 149) and associated structures, viewed from the east.

the north-east and south-west by a pair of rock-cut and plastered cisterns, evidently those seen by Quaresmi; and another exists a little further to the north-east (fig. 10.4–6).

Downhill from the upper retaining wall there exist remains of another wall, consisting of a single facing of stone blocks retaining an earth fill (fig. 10.7). While it seems likely that this is an original Byzantine or medieval feature, a more crudely constructed wall that abuts it from the north and partly overlies it (fig. 10.8) serves as retaining wall for the pilgrims' path that leads down the valley from Nazareth; in its present form this appears to be post-medieval.

Fr Bagatti also identified some other features on the eastern side of the wadi, including a plastered tank, a cistern, and remains of a square ashlar-built construction, 12.2 m wide and possibly the base of a tower.



xxx Mount of Precipitation: rock-cut apse of the chapel (no. 149).

These have all recently been destroyed by the stone quarry that has already removed the base of the hill. A little further up the wadi, also on its eastern side, is a large natural cave in which excavations have produced evidence for occupation from the Middle and Upper Paleolithic periods: the cave was also used in Byzantine and medieval times, when some structures, as yet uninvestigated, were erected outside it (Vandermeersch 1981: 22, 26, fig. 4; Bar-Yosef and Vandermeersch 1994).

Discussion

From the pottery littering the site, Bagatti concluded that the monastery probably did not long outlive the first historical mention of it in AD c.808 (1967: 243). Despite Thietmar's mention in 1217 of a chapel, it

would seem probable that the structures visited by Western pilgrims in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the remains of a Byzantine laura, which had already been abandoned for some three centuries. The chapel, however, may well have been used in this period; it was certainly used by the Franciscans in the early seventeenth century, and the nineteenth-century references to its ruined walls suggest that the nave was at one time enclosed and probably roofed.

Visited 12.4.95, 27.4.95.

Sources

Albert of Stade (c.1251–2), xiv (IHC, iv, 6); Anon. vi (c.1148), vi, 6 (IHC, iii, 62); Anon. saec. xiii (1244–), i (IHC, iv, 342); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 8 (ed. Laurent, 47; IHC, iv, 156; PPTS, xii, 42–3); *Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), iv, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), viii, 29 (ed. de Vogüé, 423; IHC, ii, 94; PPTS, v, 30); Ernoul (1228–31) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 61); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 996); *de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, lxvi, 232; IHC, ii, 112) (1187); Fretellus (1137), xxxviii (ed. Boeren, 25); John of Würzburg (c.1160–65) (CCCM, cxxxix, 81); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1152); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), xvi (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100); *Pelerinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), x (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234); Philip of Savona (1283), iii (IHC, iv, 222); Phocas (1185), x (PG, cxxxiii, 936; PPTS, v, 13; trans. Wilkinson, 320); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), i, 38–40 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, iv, 262); Röhricht, 'Karten', no. 1 (Florence, c.1300); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), i (xvi) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104); Sanudo (c.1321), iii, 7, 2; 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 176; 253); Theodoric (1169–72), xlvii (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; PPTS, v, 69); Thietmar (1217), i, 7–9 (ed. Laurent, 3).

Abel 1967: ii, 395; Bagatti 1967: 241–5, figs. 203–5; 1971a: 252–3, figs. 204–7; Baldi 1953: 244; 1955a: 20–2, 31, 40; 1955b: 252–8; 1973: 227; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: i, 338–43; Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 308; Frescobaldi 1384: 81; Guide Bleu 1932: 516; de Hamme 1869: 541; Hoade 1946: 462–3; 1978: 704–5; Israel 1964: 1384; James of Verona 1335: 274–5; Klameth 1916: 22; Kootwyk 1619: 349ff.; Kopp 1948; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 358; 1336–41b: 125; de Mandeville c.1356–66: 185; Mariti 1769: ii, 186–7; Maundrell 1697a: 480–1; 1697b: 156–7; Meistermann 1936: 544–7; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 73–4; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 220–1, no. 22 (fig. shows wrong site); Palestine 1929: 45; 1948: 30; Petrozzi 1976: 297–307, figs. 75–6; Pococke 1743: ii, 63; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 633–4; 1626b: 394–6; de Thévenot 1687: i, 212; Wilson 1880a: ii, fig. p. 40; 1880b: ii, fig. p. 40.

MOUNT SINAI

Cr. *Mons Synai*, *Mont Synay*, *Thursin*; Med. Ar. *Tūr Sina*

Mount Sinai, situated towards the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, is traditionally identified as the mountain in the wilderness before which the Children of Israel encamped while making their way from Egypt to Canaan. There Moses had earlier seen God revealed in the Burning Bush (Exodus 3.1), and there he went up the mountain five times to receive the Law (Exodus 19–40; Leviticus 1–27; Numbers 1–19). The idea that the mountain top was a place where God dwelt persisted in both Jewish and pagan tradition, and as late as AD 570 a pagan idol was seen there by a Christian visitor (Piacenza Pilgrim, xxxviii (CCSL, CLXXV, 148–9; trans. Wilkinson, 87); cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, II, 12, 1 (265); III, 5, 1 (76) (Loeb, IV, 281; 355)). The divine presence would also have accounted for the natural phenomena, including dark clouds, smoke, earthquakes and thunder claps, that were popularly associated with the summit of the mountain (e.g. Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v, 8, 7 (Loeb, 356)).

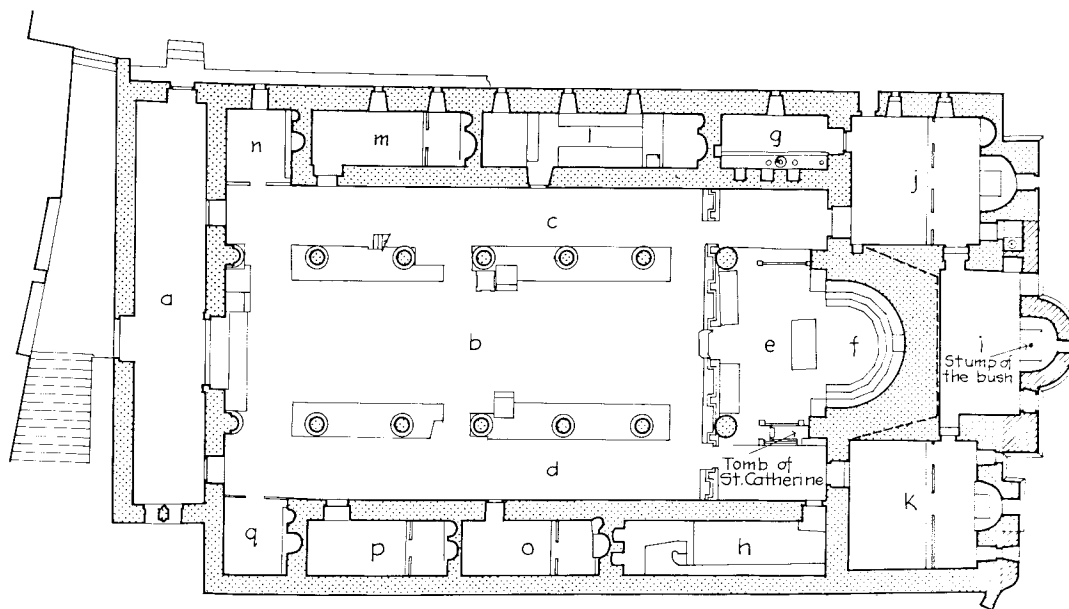
In the twelfth century, Westerners knew of Mount

Sinai as the Israelites' twelfth campsite (*mansio*) from Jerome's description of the route of the Exodus (*Epist.*, LXXVIII (CSEL, IV, 49–87); cf. *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xviii (IHC, II, 84; PPTS, v, 15–17); Fretellus (1137), xv (ed. Boeren, 13); Anon. VI (c.1148), III (IHC, III, 50)). Jerome's identification of Mount Sinai with Mount Horeb (*Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 173, lines 15–16)) was also accepted by medieval writers, though by the early thirteenth century Horeb was being associated specifically with the upper part of the mountain, where Elijah was supposed to have fasted for forty days (1 Kings 19.8–18; cf. Egeria (384), IV, 1–2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 41–2)), and with the parts of it where Moses saw the Burning Bush and brought forth water from the rock (Exodus 3.1; 17.6; Thietmar (1217), xxiii, 9; 22 (ed. Laurent, 47–8)).

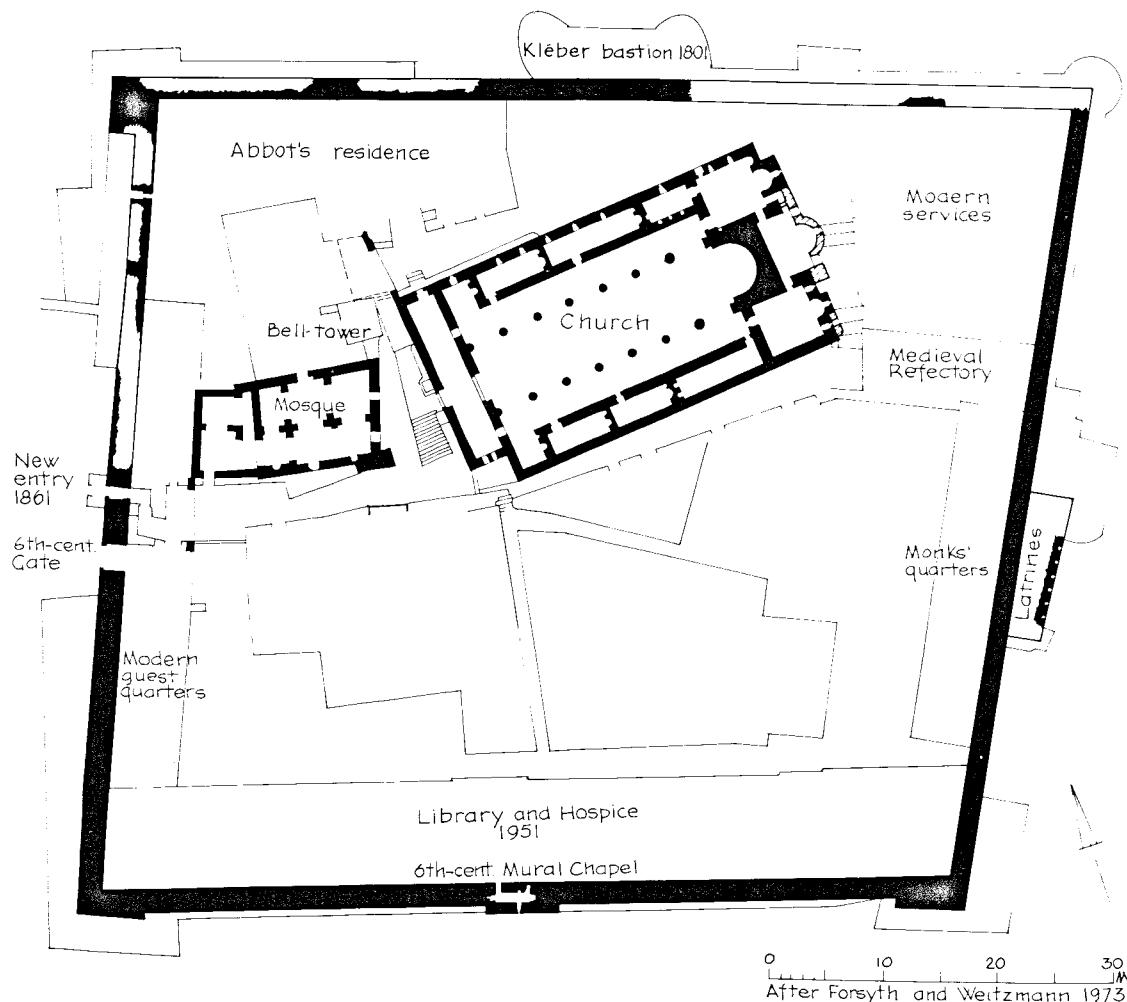
No. 150 Abbey Church of St Mary 0490.7755

History

Christian hermits were already occupying the area on and around Mount Sinai in the first decade of the fourth century (Basil, *Menologium*, 20 April (PG, cxvii, 413)). Two massacres of monks and anchorites at the hands of local Saracens that took place in 370 and around 400



After Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973



12 Mount Sinai, monastery and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150): plan.

respectively are still remembered in the feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sinai, celebrated on 14 January (AA SS, Jan., I, 936–7; Meistermann 1909: 118–19). In 384, some years before the last of these incursions, which was directed specifically at the church of the Bush, the pilgrim Egeria visited Mount Sinai and saw there the Bush still growing in a garden in front of the church, with many cells (*monasteria*) of holy men round about it (ch. IV, 6–8 (CCSL, CLXXV, 42–3; trans. Wilkinson, 96)).

Sometime between 548 and 560, the emperor Justinian built the monks a new church at the foot of the mountain at the place of the Bush. This was dedicated to the Mother of God and was surrounded by a defensive wall to give it protection against the Bedouin (pl. xxxi, figs. 11–12). Some 200 slaves and their families were also settled near the monastery to protect the monks and to provide necessary sustenance (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, V, 8, 4–9 (Loeb, 354–6); Eutychius, *Annales*, XVII, 5–7 (PG, cxi, 1071–2; trans. Pirone, 294–5); Ševčenko

1966; Mayerson 1978). A decade or two later, the Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570) was able to admire the strong walls surrounding this monastery, which, he records, had three abbots, who were learned in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian and Bessan (ch. xxxvii (CCSL, CLXXV, 147–8; trans. Wilkinson, 87)). In the following century, Epiphanius calls it the monastery of the Holy Bush, and notes that it contained the tomb of John Climacus, abbot of Sinai, who died in 649 (ch. vii (trans. Wilkinson, 119)).

In the early ninth century, the *Commematorium de Casis Dei* mentions the monastery of St Mary as containing an abbot named Elias and thirty monks (ch. I (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; trans. Wilkinson, 138)). In 869, the episcopal see of *Pharan* (Firan) was transferred to Sinai. Despite an edict of protection supposedly granted to the monks by Abū Talib in 622 and signed by the Prophet himself, by this time the descendants of the servants associated with the monastery



XXXI Mount Sinai, monastery and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150): from the south-east with Jabal Musa behind.

since the sixth century had converted to Islam (Eutychius, *Annales*, xvii, 5 (PG, cxi, 1071–2; trans. Pirone, 295); Meistermann 1909: 119–20).

From the end of the eighth century there also dates the tradition that the body of St Catherine of Alexandria, whose martyrdom had probably occurred around 307 during the persecutions under Maxentius and Maximinus (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, viii, 14, 14–15 (Loeb, ii, 308–10)), had been miraculously translated by angels to the summit of a mountain near the monastery, known today as Jabal Katarina; from there the monks retrieved it for burial in their church (Meistermann 1909: 159–60; Wilkinson 1981: 215).

According to tradition, the monks managed to avoid having their monastery destroyed at the time of Caliph al-Hākim (996–1021) by the simple ruse of building a mosque within it. Architectural analysis of this building

shows that it was in effect hastily converted from a sixth-century guest-house (Kamil 1991: 50–2; Weitzmann 1980: 13; Forsyth 1980: 55–6). Its *minbar* was donated in 1106 by Abū Ali al-Manṣūr Anushtakin, minister of the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAmir (Kamil 1991: 51; cf. Rabino 1938: 39; Bagatti 1948: 59 n.2; Mayer 1990: 62).

By the end of the eleventh century, the see of *Pharan* had been raised to metropolitan status. When the Latin archbishopric of *Petra* was established at Karak in 1167 (see Vol. 1, no. 129; on the date now see Mayer 1990: 281–3), the Orthodox archbishop of *Pharan*, who was also abbot of Sinai, became a suffragan (Anon. v (1180s), 3, 1 (IHC, iii, 36; PPTS, vi, 31); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 150); John of Ibelin, *Livre, cclxvi* (RHC Lois, i, 417); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, i, 56 (IHC, iii, 326); Sanudo, iii, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 176); Hamilton 1980: 182). Whether any notice would have been taken of this change in status at Mount Sinai itself, however, may be doubted, for a diptych written there around 1166 reveals that whilst at that time the monks were still recalling in their prayers the exiled Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, Nicephorus, together with the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, they made no mention of the Latin church hierarchy (Brightman and Hammond, i, 501; Hamilton 1980: 185; Mayer 1990: 212–13). Five abbot-archbishops are recorded from this period: John I of Athens (1091–1103), Zacharias (1103–33), George (1133–46), Gabriel (1146–63) and John II (1164–1203), the latter being the first and last to be a suffragan of *Petra* (Rey 1877: 62–3; Cheikho 1907: 417; Meistermann 1909: 120).

According to Albert of Aachen, when King Baldwin I led an expedition from Montreal to Aqaba on the Red Sea in 1115 or 1116, he had intended to continue from there to Mount Sinai. The monks, however, sent messengers imploring him not to, lest by being thus compromised in the eyes of the Muslims they might be driven off the mountain altogether (ch. xii, 21 (RHC Occ, iv, 702–3); Deschamps 1939a: 44–5; Hamilton 1980: 169). Their wishes were evidently respected, and indeed around 1134 they received a *firmān* in the name of the Fatimid caliph, al-Hāfiz (1132–49), confirming their ancient privileges (Stern, *Fātimid Decrees*, 46, no. 4; Mayer 1990: 54). Other Western pilgrims, however, did succeed in reaching the monastery during the course of the twelfth century. Between 1128 and 1152, for example, Guy of Blond, a monk of Grandmont, wrote a letter authenticating certain relics that he had deposited with churches in the Limousin; among these was some ‘oil of St Catherine’, which he had been given by the

archbishop of Mount Sinai, and relics of St Andrew, St Thomas, St Joseph and St Anne, and part of the clothing of St John the Baptist, which he had received from the abbot (Kohler, 'Documents', 8, no. 1). Philip of Milly also went on pilgrimage to Mount Sinai during the period when he was lord of Montreal (1161–6), and persuaded the abbot to open the reliquary of St Catherine and give him a relic, which around 1169 he presented to Maurice, lord of Craon (de Broussillon, I, 101, no. 138; Hamilton 1980: 169; Mayer 1990: 214). The German pilgrim Thietmar also tells the story of a certain lord of Montreal (*nobilis de Petra uel Scobach*) who attempted to remove the body of St Catherine but was prevented from approaching the monastery by divine intervention in form of a whirlwind, darkness and an earthquake; repenting of his sins, he made instead a large endowment to the monastery, of which the monks were still enjoying the benefits when Thietmar visited them in 1217 (ch. xx, 1–8 (ed. Laurent, 44–5); cf. Mayer 1990: 214; for a list of pilgrims from 1177 onwards, see Meistermann 1909: 139–41).

The abbey's possessions are listed in a letter written by Pope Honorius III to Abbot Simeon in August 1217 and reissued in January 1226. They included Mount Sinai and the monastery of St Mary at its foot, the adjacent lands and settlements of *Roboe* (Rabba), *Fucra*, *Liiah* (Lajja), *Raython* (at-Tur) and *Faran* (Firan), the church of St Michael in Alexandria, lands in Wadi Musa, lands and houses in Montreal (ash-Shaubak) and Karak (see Vol. I, no. 131), a hospital, houses, bakery and the church of St Moses in Jerusalem (q.v.), houses and lands in Jaffa, a church of St Catherine in Acre (q.v.), houses, lands and a church of St George in Damascus, a hospital of St Demetrius and three villages in Lattakia, houses and a bakery in Antioch, and other properties and churches in Constantinople and Crete (Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, 123, no. 709; II, no. 5789); *Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 35–6, no. 17; 195–7, no. 148; *RRH*, 240–1, no. 897; Meistermann 1909: 121; Hamilton 1980: 319–20). The abbey's Cretan properties are listed in a concession made to Archbishop Simeon by Doge Peter Ziani of Venice in March 1212 (Tafel and Thomas, II, 146–50, no. 233; cf. Hofmann, 298–301, nos. 1–4). Further confirmations of the monastery's privileges were made by Gregory X in 1274 (Hofmann, 302–3, no. 5), Innocent VI in December 1360, Eugenius IV in 1435 and Pius II in 1459 (Hofmann 1951: 285–6).

In 1217, Mount Sinai was also visited by the German pilgrim Thietmar, who provides the most detailed account that we have of the monastery in the period of the Latin kingdom:

At the foot of Mount Sinai, in the place where the bramble bush was growing at which Moses was astonished, believing it to be burning without being consumed, there is built a beautiful church in honour of Our Lady the Blessed Virgin; externally it is covered with polished marble and roofed with lead internally it contains many lamps. That church has a bishop and monks, religious men, Greeks and Syrians, over whom the bishop has temporal and spiritual authority. It is to be noted moreover that these men all have one house (*curia*), which has only one door, strong and made of iron. It is surrounded by a strong high wall. One and the same house indeed comprises all [the monks], but they have subdivided cells, such that two, that is to say an old man and a youth, live together, so that the young man may support the old. They have their own sleeping chambers, their own altars and their own chapels; but they have in common the large main church, to which at a given signal (for they have no bells) they all come together at night until the morning hours. For they perform the night office with much greater solemnity than the day office. They all have in common one large and beautiful refectory, and similarly one long table placed in the middle of the refectory at which their bishop sits at the end and the others around it, two by two, eating from the bare table without a table cloth. On alternate days and feast days they eat in the refectory, and on other days they eat bread and water in their cells. I ate with them in their refectory. They eat without a reading, but with discipline. They always drink water, except on a few solemn feast days when they partake of a little wine. They have enough good fish from the Red Sea, adequate bread, turnips, dates and a sufficiency of oil. They never eat meat. They dress wretchedly and sleep miserably, almost on the bare ground without a mattress or coverlet. Most of what they have is brought to them from Cairo (*Babilonia*).

In the *chevet* (*in capitello*) of the same monastery there is also the place where the bush was standing; it is venerated by all, both Saracens and Christians, and is reverently laid out (*preparatus*) and separated within the monastery itself. No one, neither bishop nor monk, Christian nor Saracen, dares enter this place without removing their shoes. Even the great sultan, the king of Cairo [Malik al-Ādil], had presented himself there at that time [1217] and reverently entered that place in humility and in bare feet. I too adored the place barefooted. Indeed the bush has been carried off and divided among the Christians for relics; however, a golden bush has been made out of gold sheets in the likeness of the real bush, with a golden image of the Lord above the bush, and a golden image of Moses standing to the right of the bush and taking off his shoes. And there is another golden image of Moses to the left of the bush, showing him barefoot after he had removed his shoes . . . In this place stones are still being dug out, having on them, as though painted, a representation of the bush; these are effective against various infirmities.

It is also to be noted that in the same church next to the choir in a prominent position towards the east is located the tomb of the blessed Catherine. The tomb is indeed short and nobly made of the whitest marble. Its lid is raised just like a coffin, and it is opened and closed. When the bishop of that place learnt my wishes and the reason for my coming, after preparing himself with devotion, prayers and chant, and with

lighted lamps and thuribles, he went to the sarcophagus of the blessed Catherine, opened it and bade me look inside. And I saw clearly, face to face and without doubt, the body of the blessed Catherine, and I kissed her uncovered head. The limbs and bones indeed, held together by sinews, still float in the self-same oil, which exudes not from the tomb but from the individual joints, just as in a bath sweat erupts in droplets from the pores of the human body. (ch. xviii, 12–xix, 6 (ed. Laurent, 41–3))

Thietmar goes on to relate the story of the miraculous translation of St Catherine's body by angels to a mountain top near the monastery, and another miracle that occurred while he was staying at the monastery (ch. xix, 7–23 (ed. Laurent, 43–4)). With the help of a guide provided by the bishop, he also ascended Jabal Musa, visiting on the way the chapel of St Mary (no. 151) and the chapel of St Elias (no. 152), before arriving at the chapel of St Moses (no. 153) on the summit. Before leaving the monastery four days later, he again visited the tomb of St Catherine with the bishop, who gave him some of the precious oil, besides fish, fruit and bread to eat on his journey back to Acre (ch. xxvii, 2–5 (ed. Laurent, 50–1)).

A somewhat briefer description of the church is given in an anonymous Greek account written sometime after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin:

There Moses beheld the holy burning bush. The timber church [roof] is covered with lead and is held up by twelve columns. The *bema* [chancel, here meaning the apse] is chequered with mosaic, representing the Transfiguration of the Lord. There are sited there in a marble repository the remains of St Catherine, above which hang three lamps. Behind the *bema*, below the holy table, burn three lamps. Within the body of the church are chapels of the holy abbots, who were slaughtered on Mount Sinai and in the town of *Raithou* [at-Tur], and their remains are preserved in them. Near the nave (*katholikon*) are to be seen another six chapels. And there are yet more chapels in the monastery in which fourteen priests celebrate the liturgy. There is also a well, from which Moses supplied his sheep with drinking water. (Anon. Graecus, ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984))

What most impressed the Muslim geographer Yāqūt, writing of *Dayr Tūr Sīna*, or *Kanīsat al-Tūr*, around 1225, was the solidity of the walls, which he describes as seven ells thick and with three gates, that on the west being operated by a moving stone (trans. Le Strange, 435).

A French account that was incorporated into the chronicle of Ernoul (c.1231) distinguished the monastery on the mountain itself from that down below:

In this mountain, where the law was given, the angels carried the body of St Catherine, when she had her head cut off in Egypt. There she lies in the oil which her body emits. And above [on the mountain top, see no. 153] there is an abbey of Greek monks (*moines Gris*). But the abbot of that house does

not reside there at all, but rather at the foot of the mountain. There is the abbot and convent . . . (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 63–4; de Mas Latrie, 69)

Another contemporary French account describes the tomb of St Catherine as made of marble, and issuing an oil which would cure many maladies (*Pelerinages* (c.1231), xii (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 98); cf. *Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), iii, 15 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 197)).

From the thirteenth century onwards, the dedication of the church seems to have been transferred from St Mary to St Catherine (Mayer 1990: 280–1). Antony of Cremona, however, who visited the monastery in January 1331, says that the church was dedicated to St Sophia (Holy Wisdom). On entering it he saw the chapel of the Bush and the tomb of St Catherine (1327–31: 165–6). The latter was duly opened for the pilgrims, and was seen to contain the saint's head, both shins, and some other small bones, the remainder of the body having by this time been removed. Small amounts of oil still issued from the bones (1327–31: 169). The experience of James of Verona, who visited in September 1335, was broadly similar; he counted some 100 monks living in the monastery, and is also one of the first Westerners to mention the existence of the mosque and minaret (1335: 230–1; cf. Frescobaldi 1384: 59; Perera 1553b: 58).

Nicolas of Poggibonsi wrote most of his description of the church and monastery on a pair of plastered tablets that he carried with him. The details that he provides are therefore of great value for understanding the medieval arrangement of the church:

The holy monastery is made thus. Outside and inside it is walled with high walls, situated on a slight slope; the first entrance is a gate of iron, facing between east and north. In this place are the houses where the pilgrims lodge when they come there. When you enter the gate, to your right you go up by a stone stair and come to an earth terrace, and there are many rooms there in which people are lodged; to one side is an oven. The first iron gate, where certain Greek monks (*calogeri*) stand guard, is very obscure; and then, near to that one, is found the other gate. Being now within the monastery, inside there are two streets, one to the right which goes to a chapel, while the other street goes to the church of St Catherine. The church of St Catherine is covered over with lead, and the façade in front is sculpted (*intagliata*).

Seven stone steps rise up from the entrance to the church. The door is large and arched; the woodwork of the door is of cypress (*arcipresso*), all decorated with figures (*tutta di figure*). In front of the door is placed a black cloth. The door faces towards the west.

Inside this church there is something like a narthex (*trassanna*), five feet wide; and in it there is another large door, and this does not open at all. Above this door there is worked in

mosaic St Mary with her Little Son in her arms: on one side stands that precious saint, Catherine, and on the other, Moses; and in front of these figures, that is above the door, there always burn three silver lamps; and one is as large as a grain bushel. Beside this door, three paces on either side, there is a small door, each one with a black cloth in front of it; and through these two doors one enters the church.

The church is made thus. It is the most devout church that exists overseas. Inside it is made with three naves, with five [*recte* 6] columns per nave, making fifteen [*recte* 12] columns in all; and they are of marble. Within the walls of the church there are eight chapels; in the central nave there is a small choir; in front of the choir there is a wall, with a door in the manner of the Greeks [i.e. an iconostasis containing the royal doors]. Within the wall there is a large beautiful altar. In front of [i.e. above] the altar, in the apse (*tribuna*), there is depicted the Saviour: to the right is St Mary and to the left there is St Catherine. On the right-hand side [of the choir] there is a small wall against the apse, perhaps six paces above the ground; and there is the tomb of St Catherine.

The most holy tomb of St Catherine is made thus. It is all of white marble, with a vine carved on the said marble and with a cross on the right-hand side of the tomb; and the tomb is five palms long, and nearly two wide. Inside, the tomb is divided through the middle. On the side towards the altar there is the most holy body of St Catherine, but not all; and the head is turned with the mouth underneath, because from the mouth issues the holy manna. Under the mouth there is a gold cup, with a silver spout, which passes into the other part of the tomb, where the holy manna drips and becomes like oil; but this tomb is not shown to everyone. And the manna of the precious St Catherine is made in three [two] ways, almost like turpentine; then from this there exudes an extremely clear oil, more so than rose-water. The tomb is covered over with a beautiful cloth of gold. In front there always burn two torches, and above three lamps continually burn.

In the church of St Catherine there are many lamps . . . as far as I could understand and from what the monks also said, there were more than one thousand five hundred lamps, among which there were many of gold and silver. As we have said above, the church has three naves; and at the end of the first nave and of the third there is a small door, each of which leads into a chapel; and at the left hand door [i.e. in the north wall of the north chapel] there is a door which leads outside the church.

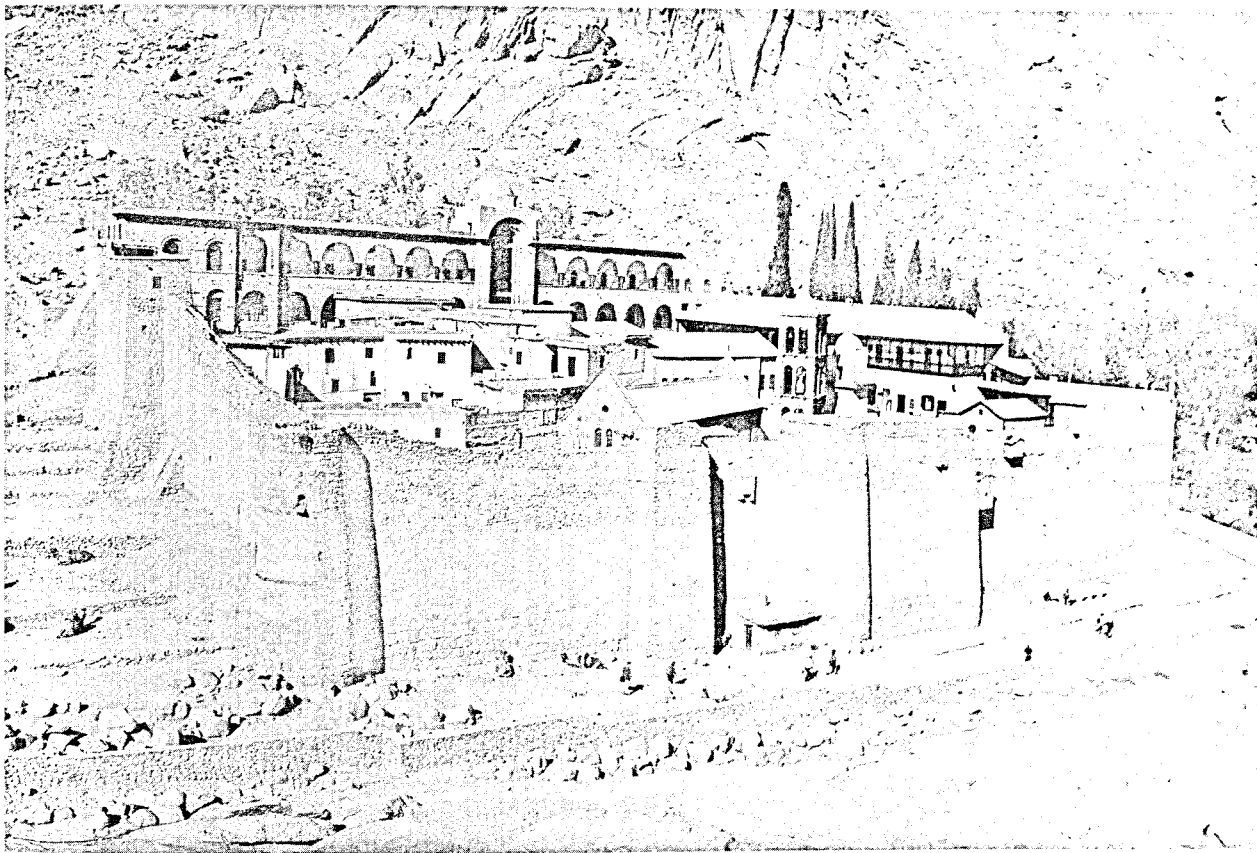
Behind the apse there is a beautiful and very devout chapel; and precisely there God appeared to Moses as a fire, as the Holy Scripture says in the Old Testament. . . . This above-mentioned tree exists thus. That is, it is said that it is below the altar of this chapel, but that one cannot see it; above it lies a very large fine stone, of marble; above this stone there is a silver goblet and in it there is oil, very small and beautiful, which it is said comes out of the said tree, and certain people take from this oil with a silver stylus. Above this stone there are four upright columns; above the columns there is another stone, where Mass is said. In, around and below, the said chapel is covered with beautiful carpets and hangings (*è coperta di belle sarge*). (1346–50: 124–7)

Brother Nicolas, who went up both Jabal Musa and Jabal Katarina, also mentions the existence of twenty-five chapels inside the monastery, and around the mountain he heard that there were another fifteen, served by anchorites (1346–50: 128).

The monastery continued to be visited by Western pilgrims over the following centuries, though their descriptions add little to those already given. From them, however, it is possible to document the stages by which Latins were gradually excluded from celebrating Mass in the main church. Thus in 1384, Italian pilgrims received Holy Communion from the archbishop himself (Frescobaldi 1384: 64); and in 1425 Fr Antonio of Fano celebrated Mass in the main church (Bagatti 1948b: 64 n.1), as did Fr Francesco of Brescia in August 1458 (Mitchell 1964: 145). Following the formal separation of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches after the council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–45, however, the Latins found themselves excluded from the main church, though until as late as the early eighteenth century they were permitted to say Mass in one of the hostel rooms, known as the chapel of the Franks (Meistermann 1909: 121, 136–7; Bagatti 1948b: 64 n.1). It was there that Felix Faber and his companions said Mass in a chapel which he describes as a narrow oblong chamber, with a finely decorated altar to St Catherine and walls of mud, covered by mats woven from palm leaves (1480–3: II, 547, 549, 599, 612–13; cf. Adorno 1470–1: 226–7).

Brother Felix was permitted to see the relics of St Catherine, under the watchful eye of the abbot. All that remained by this time was the head, the left hand, some ribs, shins and other bones; the bones no longer issued any oil (1480–3: II, 599–604). When Francesco Suriano arrived at the monastery in February 1494, the Arabs had just killed the abbot, Macarius III (1485b: 187–8; cf. 5); like Felix, he was only allowed to celebrate Mass in the hostel room where the pilgrims slept (1485b: 189). Around this time, Pope Innocent VIII (1484–92) instituted a confraternity of St Catherine, consisting of men and women willing to pay at least a florin a year for the upkeep of the monastery in return for a plenary indulgence on their death (Hofmann 1951: 289–91).

At times, as for example in 1431, 1479 and 1516, the monastery seems to have been temporarily abandoned (Perera 1553b: 58; Meistermann 1909: 121–2). In 1553, Juan Perera found there some forty monks and as many Arabs (1553b: 58). Francesco Quaresmi, who records that the main church was dedicated to the Saviour, also says that the Latin chapel had been built originally by the Venetians and had recently been restored (1626a: II, 752; 1626b: 452–4).



xxxii Mount Sinai, monastery and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150): from the south-east.

In 1801, during Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, General Kléber sent masons from Cairo to repair the monastery's walls, which they accomplished, adding on the north side the bastion that still bears his name (Meistermann 1909: 124). A new entrance was made on the west in 1861, a church tower was added in 1871, and a new wing housing the library, icon gallery and monks' refectory in 1951.

An architectural and art-historical survey of the monastery was undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s by the Universities of Princeton, Michigan and Alexandria, the publication of which is still in progress (see Forsyth 1968; Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973; Galey 1980; Weitzmann 1973; 1976; 1982).

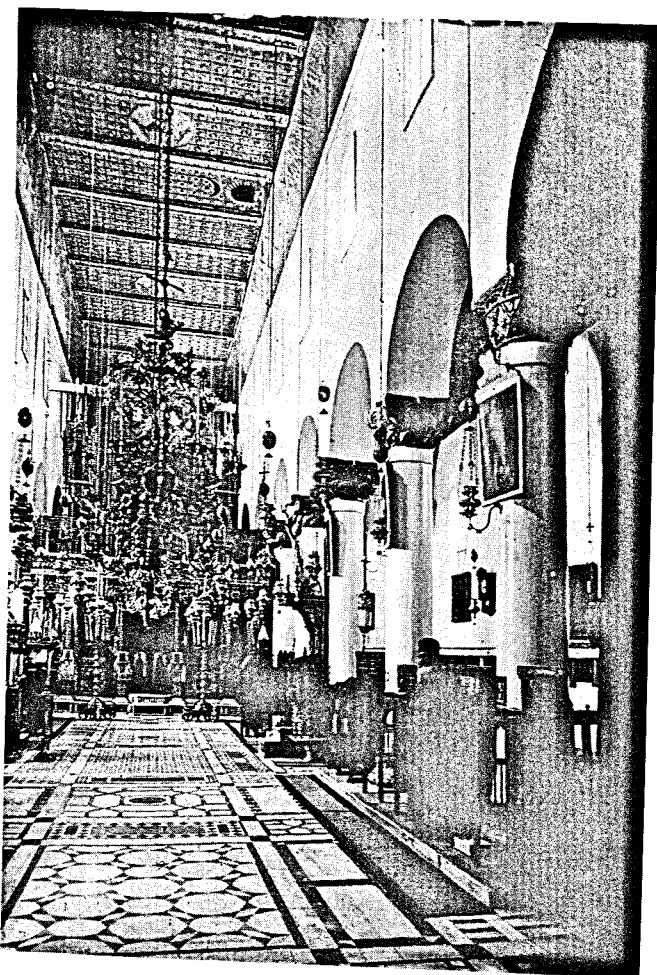
Description

Justinian's church is aligned east–west, with the site of the Bush lying originally just outside it, to the east of the apse (pl. xxxii; fig. 11). Because the site slopes down towards the east, the western part of the building, including its eleventh-century narthex (a), is terraced into the hill slope. Steps lead down into the narthex, from which three doors open into the main church. The

central one, 3.63 m high and 2.4 m wide, still has its original sixth-century doors of cypress wood, designed with four valves and twenty-eight carved panels (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. xliiii–lxvii; Forsyth 1980: 58; Weitzmann 1980: 81–2; Galey 1980: pl. 26).

The church measures overall some 20 m north–south by 34 m east–west from the west wall inside the narthex to the outside wall of the apse. It is a three-aisled basilica, with rows of subsidiary chapels flanking the north and south aisles, and a pair of square chapels covered by domes flanking the apse. It is built in good ashlar, cut from local stone. Inside, the nave arcades are supported on two rows of six granite columns (now plastered) with capitals also of granite (pl. xxxiii). The clearstorey is lit by plain rectangular windows, while the aisles have rounded-arched two-light windows above the level of the flanking side-chapels. The latter are now barrel-vaulted, though they seem originally to have had flat timber roofs (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. lviii–lxxv; Forsyth 1980: 59–60).

The timber roof of the central nave, though now hidden by an inserted eighteenth-century ceiling, was originally open. The joists are decorated with carved ornament and in three cases with inscriptions, referring



xxxiii Mount Sinai, monastery church of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150): nave looking east.

respectively to Justinian, to the memory of his empress, Theodora, who died in 548, and to Stephen of Aila (Aqaba), the builder of the church. On this evidence the roof should date between 548 and 565 (Ševčenko 1966; Weitzmann 1980: 82–3; Galey 1980: pls. 31–5; Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. LXVI–LXXXIII; Forsyth 1980: 57–8).

The *bema*, or chancel (e), encloses the western bay of the central nave. The present iconostasis was made in Crete in 1612 (Galey 1980: pl. 28), but parts of the original marble chancel screen also survive, as does the original altar table, carried on five colonnettes and now enclosed in seventeenth-century marquetry. On the south side of the chancel lies the tomb of St Catherine. In its present form this dates from the eighteenth century, but incorporates parts of the sixth-century chancel screen in its base. Marble clergy seats line the hemi-cycle of the apse (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. LXXXIV–LXXXIX; Forsyth 1980: 60; Weitzmann 1980: 83–4; Galey 1980: pls. 37, 39).

In the semi-dome of the apse (f) is a sixth-century mosaic representing the Transfiguration, with Christ shown in a mandorla, flanked by Moses and Elijah, with the Apostles John, Peter and James below. Medallions containing busts of the Twelve Apostles are arranged around the soffit of the triumphal arch, and around the base of the semi-dome runs another row of medallions containing busts of sixteen Old Testament prophets with King David in the centre. The corner medallions show Abbot Longinus and Deacon John, who presumably commissioned the work. In the spandrels of the triumphal arch two angels offer an orb and sceptre to the Lamb; and above this is a two-light window, flanked by panels depicting (to the left) Moses and the Burning Bush and (to the right) Moses receiving the Law (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. CIII–CXXV, CXXXVI–CLXXXVII; Forsyth 1980: 61–3; Weitzmann 1980: 84–6; Galey 1980: pls. 119–36). Below the mosaic, two seventh-century encaustic paintings on the marble revetment to the pilasters that flank the apse show the sacrifice of Isaac to the left and the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter to the right (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. CXXX–CXXXIII, CLXXXVIII–CXC; Weitzmann 1980: 86–7; Galey 1980: pl. 169).

A bronze door in the east end of the north aisle leads into the north-east chapel (j), dedicated to St James the Less. This is roughly square, covered by a dome and with a fifteenth-century painting decorating the apse. A door in the south wall, behind the iconostasis, leads into the chapel of the Bush (i). In the sixth century the Bush would have stood in the open air. Precisely when the chapel was enclosed is uncertain, though it may be noted that the mosaic in the apse, showing a cross-in-circle, bears an inscription naming Archbishop Solomon, who lived in the early eleventh century. The chapel was certainly enclosed by 1217, when Thietmar entered it. It has a flat roof, and the walls are now covered with seventeenth-century Turkish tiles. The site of the Bush is marked by a marble slab within the apse. From here another door leads into the south-eastern chapel (k) dedicated to the Holy Fathers, or Forty Martyrs (formerly St John the Baptist), which is similar to the other chapels (Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973: pls. xciv–ci; Forsyth 1980: 51–2, 63–4; Weitzmann 1980: 87–8; Galey 1980: pl. 38).

Movable Objects

Among the collection of over two thousand icons contained in St Catherine's monastery and the outlying monasteries are a number that were produced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Greek artists.

working at the monastery and elsewhere, and a highly significant group of 'Crusader' icons that were apparently produced in the Levant in the same period by Westerners, including artists from England, Germany, Italy and France (for discussion, see: Boase 1967: 99; 1977: 135-7, pls. xlv-xlvii; Folda 1977: 266-8, 286, pls. xlv-xlvii; Kühnel 1994: 61, 63, 64, 90, figs. 67-8, 70; Weitzmann 1963; 1966; 1972a; 1972b; 1973: 24-7; 1980: 94-5; Galey 1980: pls. 52-117).

Only one Latin manuscript survives in the library. This, a ninth-century psalter, appears to have been taken to Sinai, as the colophon in Arabic tells us, by the monk Gerasimus in 1241, two years after the return of Jerusalem to the Franks (Gribomont 1957: 105-6; cf. Lowe 1955). That there were at one time more Latin manuscripts at Mount Sinai, however, is suggested by the fragments that were used for repairing other books from the sixteenth century onwards (Weitzmann 1980: 154; cf. 153-8).

Among movable objects may be noted a crystal cross from Murano, a Limoges enamel, and a silver chalice that was given by Charles VI of France in 1411 (Weitzmann 1980: 158; Galey 1980: pl. 140). According to Antony of Cremona, who visited in 1331, the copper cauldrons used by the monks for preparing food for four hundred persons at a time had been made in Venice (1327-31: 167).

Associated Buildings

The walls that enclose the monastery, dating in the main from the sixth century, form a rough parallelogram, measuring 80 m east-west by 75 m north-south (fig. 12). A small chapel is contained within the thickness of the wall on the south-west; the original portal, now blocked, lies on the north-west, with the modern entrance to the left of it.

Apart from the church, most of the buildings within this enclosure are of relatively recent date. Notable exceptions include: the mosque and minaret, converted from a sixth-century guest-house in the early eleventh century; and the medieval refectory, a rectangular building measuring 5 by 17 m and covered by a pointed barrel-vault.

Epigraphy

Above the door to the monastery is a bilingual inscription in Greek and Arabic recording its foundation by the emperor Justinian; this appears to date from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and is probably a copy of an earlier text (Meistermann 1909: 123). An Armenian

inscription above the third right-hand panel on the right-hand valve of the sixth-century door to the church reads *Sēdat*, apparently from the name Seda; it appears to be twelfth-century or later, and was presumably made by a pilgrim (Stone 1982: 89). Other *graffiti*, including blazons and names of Western pilgrims, survive on the door of the church and on the walls and table of the refectory; these date mostly from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (Rabino 1935: 55-65, figs. 5-9). In addition to the pilgrim inscriptions at the monastery itself, a large collection of Armenian, Georgian and Arabic inscriptions has been recorded along the route to the monastery through the Wadi Hajjaj; they include ones in Armenian dated AD 852 and 971-2, and one in Arabic dated to the ninth century (Stone 1979: 3; 1982: 8, 11).

Visited 15-16.5.95.

Sources

Albert of Aachen, xii, 21 (*RHC Occ.* iv, 702-3) (1116); Anon. v (1180s), 3, 1 (*IHC*, iii, 36; *PPTS*, vi, 31); Anon. Graecus (1187-), ix (*PG*, cxxxiii, 984); Benjamin of Tudela (1169-71) (ed. Adler, 107; trans., 77); Brightman and Hammond, i, 501 (1166); de Broussillon, i, 101, no. 138 (1161-6); *Chemins et pèlerinages* A (-1265), iii, 15; B (1268), iii, 15 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 185-6; 197); Ernoul (c.1231) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 63-4; de Mas Latrie, 69); Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, i, 123, no. 709 (1217); ii, no. 5789 (1226)); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, i, 56 (ed. Moschi, 95; *IHC*, iii, 326); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxvi (*RHC Lois*, i, 417); Kohler, 'Documents', 8, no. 1 (1128-52); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), xii (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 98); Philip of Savona (1283), i (*IHC*, iv, 242); *Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, iii, 35-6, no. 17 (1217); 195-7, no. 148 (1226); *RRH*, 240-1, no. 897 (1217); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), xx (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104⁷); Sanudo, iii, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 176); Stern, *Fātimid Decrees*, 46, no. 4 (c.1134); Tafel and Thomas, ii, 146-50, no. 233 (1216); Thietmar (1217), xviii, 12-xx, 8; xxvii, 1-4 (ed. Laurent, 41-5; 50-1); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 150); Yāqūt (trans. Le Strange, 435).

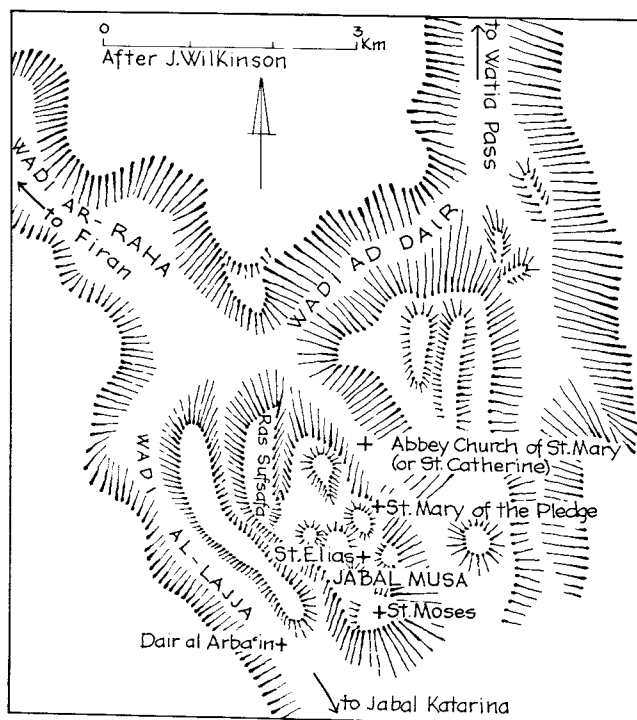
Adorno 1470-1: 224-32; Affagart 1533-4: 190-1; d'Anglure 1395a: 51; Antony of Cremona 1327-31: 165-9; Boase 1967: 99; 1977: 101, 135-7, pls. xlv-xlvii; Brygg 1392a: 382; 1392b: 79-80; Casola 1494b: 385-6; Deschamps 1939a: 44-5; Eckenstein 1921; Faber 1480-3: ii, 546-627; Folda 1977: 266-8, 286, pls. xlv-xlvii; Forsyth 1968; 1980; Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973; Frescobaldi 1384: 58-65; Galey 1980; Gregoriadis 1875; Gucci 1384: 111-20; Guide Bleu 1979b: 680-4; Guillou 1955; Hamilton 1980: 160, 168-9, 182, 185, 312, 319-20; Hofmann 1951; James of Verona 1335: 230-8, fig. p. 235; Johns 1937: 34 (t.8); Kamil 1991; Krautheimer 1975: 272-3, 289-90, 511-12.

513, fig. 218; Kühnel 1994: 61, 63, 64, 90, figs. 67–8, 70; de Laborde 1836: 228–37, pls.; Lagrange 1897a: 108–14, figs.; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 346–7; Mandeville c.1356–66: 156–9; Mango 1978: 12, 32, 41, 85, pls. 115–16; Marmardji 1951: 74–7; de Martoni 1395: 606–10; Mayer 1990: 54, 62, 139–40, 211–14, 280–1; Meistermann 1909: 110–62, figs. 25–34; Mitchell 1964: 143–8, pl. opp. p. 114; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 122–34; Papaioannou n.d.; Perera 1553b: 56–8, 76–7; Posniakov 1561: 301; Prawer 1975a: i, 612; Prescott 1957: 77–96; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 746–56; 1626b: 446–54; Rabino 1935: 55–65, figs. 5–9; 1938; Rey 1877: 13–16, 62–3; Roberts 1842b: v, 18–47, pls. 106–17; Seton-Williams and Stocks 1993: 724–30, figs.; Sigoli 1384: 195–7; Skrobucha 1966; Stanley 1912: 41–4; Stone 1982: 89; Suriano 1485b: 182–3, 185–7; Tsafirir 1971; 1993: 315–33; Weitzmann 1963; 1966; 1972a; 1972b; 1973: 24–7; 1980; 1982; Wilkinson 1977: 171; Wilson 1880b: iv, 121–31.

No. 151 Chapel of St Mary of the Pledge 0490.7750

History

The chapel of St Mary of the Pledge was the first chapel to be encountered by medieval pilgrims making the ascent of Jabal Musa (fig. 13). The date of its foundation is uncertain. It may possibly be identified with the



13 Mount Sinai, map showing the location of the monastery of St Mary, or St Catherine (no. 150), and associated churches and chapels (nos. 151–4).

church lying between St Elias (no. 152) and the monastery of St Mary (no. 150) that was recorded by the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* around AD 808; the dedication of this church is unknown, owing to a lacuna in the text, though the editors restore it as 'Elisha' (ch. (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; trans. Wilkinson, 138)).

In 1217, Thietmar visited the chapel and recounted the story connected with it. There was a time when the monks were on the point of abandoning the monastery because they had no oil with which to tend the lamps. At this spot the Virgin Mary appeared to them and commanded them to return, assuring them that their oil jar would in future never run dry. Thietmar was shown the jar in the chapel (Thietmar (1217), xxii, 2–xxiii, 8 (ed. Laurent, 46–7)). An anonymous Greek pilgrim text also mentions the church of St Mary half way up the mountain, and notes that it was known as *Engytria*, because of the promise that St Mary made to the monastery (Anon. Graecus (1187–), ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984)).

In the accounts of the legend given by later pilgrims, the Virgin, who is assisted in some versions by Moses, provides the monks with the food and other supplies that they need, rather than simply oil, and also rids the monastery of an infestation of fleas. The church was known as St Mary of the Apparition or St Mary of the Pledge (*S. Maria della Piaggeria*); and in 1384 it had monks officiating at it (Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 166–7; James of Verona 1335: 232–3; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 129–30; Frescobaldi 1384: 60–1; Gucci 1384: 114–16; de Martoni 1395: 608; Faber 1480–3: ii, 551–3).

Description

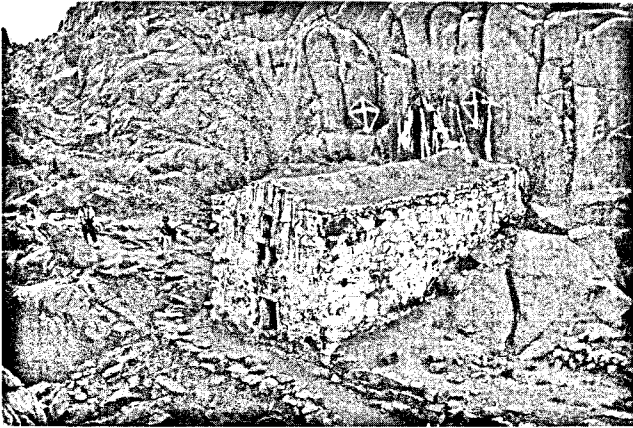
The present building is a plain rectangular structure with its east end abutting the rock face and a smaller chamber annexed to its north side; both appear to be relatively recent in date (pl. xxxiv).

Visited 16.5.95.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–), ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984); Thietmar (1217), xxii, 2–xxiii, 8 (ed. Laurent, 46–7).

Adorno 1470–1: 234; Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 166–7; Brygg 1392a: 382; 1392b: 79–80; Faber 1480–3: ii, 551–3; Frescobaldi 1384: 60–1; Gucci 1384: 114–16; James of Verona 1335: 232–3, fig. p. 235; Kamil 1991: 72–3; Mandeville c.1356–66: 158–9; de Martoni 1395: 608; Meistermann 1909: 142–3; Mitchell 1964: 146; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 129–30; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 747; 1626b: 448; Seton-Williams and Stocks 1993: 730.



xxxiv Mount Sinai: chapel of St Mary of the Pledge (no. 151).

No. 152 Church of St Elias 0490.7740

History

Already in 384 Egeria refers to the upper part of Mount Sinai as Horeb (*Choreb*) and mentions there a church. In front of its door was the cave where Elijah had hidden (1 Kings 19.8–18), and near by the stone altar set up by the prophet for offering a sacrifice to God (ch. iv, 1–3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 41–2; trans. Wilkinson, 95)). The cave, though no church, is also mentioned in the sixth and seventh centuries (Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570), xxxvii (CCSL, CLXXV, 148; trans. Wilkinson, 87); Epiphanius, vii (trans. Wilkinson, 119)); and a church of St Elias is recorded around 808 (*Commematorium de Casis Dei*, l (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; trans. Wilkinson, 138)).

Thietmar, in 1217, came to the chapel of St Elias after passing the two stone gateways through which the path to the summit of Mount Sinai leads (ch. xxiii, 9–10 (ed. Laurent, 47)); and a Greek pilgrim text post-dating 1187 also mentions the church of Elias and the cave in which he fasted (ch. ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984)).

The church is also mentioned by later pilgrims (Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 167; James of Verona 1335: 233, fig. p. 235). According to Nicolas of Poggibonsi it contained three chapels (1346–50: 130), which Frescobaldi (1384: 61) and Gucci (1384: 117) identify as being dedicated respectively to St Elias, St Elisha and St Mary the Egyptian. Anselm Adorno records there being three churches, side by side, dedicated respectively to Elijah, John and Enoch (1470–1: 234). Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Felix Faber describes the building as

a great and fair church. There are three chapels, all joined together, enclosed within one wall; the first is the chapel of St. Marina, the second is the chapel of the holy prophet Elisha,

and the third is the chapel of the holy prophet Elijah. The entrance is through a small and low door, through which lowly portal we came into the chapel of St. Marina the Virgin.

The cave in which Elijah lived was situated behind the altar in his chapel (1480–3: ii, 554–6; cf. Suriano 1485b: 182).

Description

The chapel is situated at an altitude of 2,097 m, a third of the way up the mountain. The present building is of no antiquity (cf. Galey 1980: pl. 41), consisting of two contiguous chapels dedicated to Moses (or Elisha) and to Elijah respectively. The first recalls the stationing of Moses with the seventy elders of the people part of the way up the mountain (Exodus 24.1–11), while the second encloses on the south side of its altar the cave of Elias on Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19.8–18; cf. Meistermann 1909: 146–8, fig. 30).

Visited 16.5.95.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–), ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984); Thietmar (1217), xxiii, 9–10 (ed. Laurent, 47).

Adorno 1470–1: 234; Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 167; Brygg 1392a: 382; 1392b: 80; Faber 1480–3: ii, 549, 554–6; Frescobaldi 1384: 61; Galey 1980: pl. 41; James of Verona 1335: 233, fig. p. 235; Kamil 1991: 73–4; de Laborde 1836: 241, pl.; Mandeville c.1356–66: 159; de Martoni 1395: 608–9; Meistermann 1909: 146–8, fig. 30; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 130; Perera 1553b: 58, 76; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 747; 1626b: 448; Seton-Williams and Stocks 1993: 730; Stanley 1912: 60; Suriano 1485b: 182; Wilkinson 1977: 171.

No. 153 Chapel of St Moses 0490.7732

History

The chapel on the summit of Mount Sinai, or Jabal Musa, recalled the place to which Moses was called five times to receive the Law and where he fasted twice for forty days and nights (Exodus 19.20; 24.17–18; 34.2–4; 34.28). When Egeria and her companions reached the summit in 384, she recalled:

The church which is now there is not impressive for its size (there is too little room on the summit), but has a grace all its own. And when . . . we . . . reached the door of this church, there was the presbyter, the one who is appointed to the church, coming out to meet us from his cell . . . All there is on the actual summit of the central mountain is the church and cave of holy Moses. No one lives there. (ch. iii, 3–5 (CCSL, CLXXV, 40; trans. Wilkinson, 94))

According to Eutychius (877–940), the church had been built, or more likely rebuilt, by Justinian (ch. xvii, 6 (trans. Pirone, 294)). This would have been the building seen by the Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570), who also mentions a small chapel, some 6 feet square, to which the monks would ascend each day; the only inhabitant of the mountain top was the pagan priest officiating at the Saracen idol near by (chs. xxxvii–xxxviii (CCSL, clxxv, 148–9; trans. Wilkinson, 87)). The church 'where the Lord spoke with Moses on the summit of the mountain' is also recorded by the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, around 808 (ch. I (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; trans. Wilkinson, 138)).

The author of the *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), while repeating Jerome's description of the twelfth camp site in the desert (*Epist.*, Lxxviii (CSEL, lv, 62–4)), adds some further details:

On the summit of Sinai is a venerable and beautiful church, situated on the spot where God gave to Moses the Law written with His own finger on tablets of stone. Of so venerable dignity is the before-named church, that none dares to enter it, or even to ascend the mountain, unless they have first rendered themselves acceptable by confession, and afflicted themselves by fastings and prayers. So religious are the monks and hermits, that they serve God alone without any affection of body and mind . . . They have their houses (*cenobia*) through Egypt and Persia, around the Red Sea and in Arabia, from which all that they require flows most liberally . . . Around the mountain they dwell, each in his own cell, living not in community but of the community.

The author, who evidently did not visit Mount Sinai, appears to have been unaware of the abbey at the foot of the mountain (no. 150), though he mentions that the Bush was still to be seen (ch. xviii (IHC, II, 84–6); trans. adapted here from PPTS, v, 16–17).

The writer of the description that was incorporated into the chronicle of Ernoul (c.1231) also relates that there was an abbey of Greek monks (*moines Gris*) on the mountain overlooking the place where St Catherine's body lay, but that the abbot and most of the convent resided at the foot of the mountain,

for it is not possible to go up the mountain on horseback, nor carry sufficient provisions to allow them all to live up there.

But up there (*var.*: on top of the mountain) there are thirteen monks, who live a hard life. There they are brought bread, nothing more; and all of them eat no more than three times a week, bread and water; and they all eat with their bread raw herbs which they cultivate up there. On this mountain, Moses fasted forty days, without eating until the Law had been given there. (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 63–4; de Mas Latrie, 69)

It is of course very likely that these thirteen monks would have been spread between the various churches

on Jabal Musa, rather than being all concentrated at the summit.

The church is mentioned by other thirteenth-century pilgrims (Anon. Graecus, ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984); Thietmar (1217), xxiii, 11–17 (ed. Laurent, 47)); and in the fourteenth century there is mention of a mosque (Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 168). James of Verona also mentions the impression left by Moses in the rock and the cave near by in which he fasted (1335: 233–4, fig. p. 235). As before, the account by Nicolas of Poggibonsi is both precise and detailed:

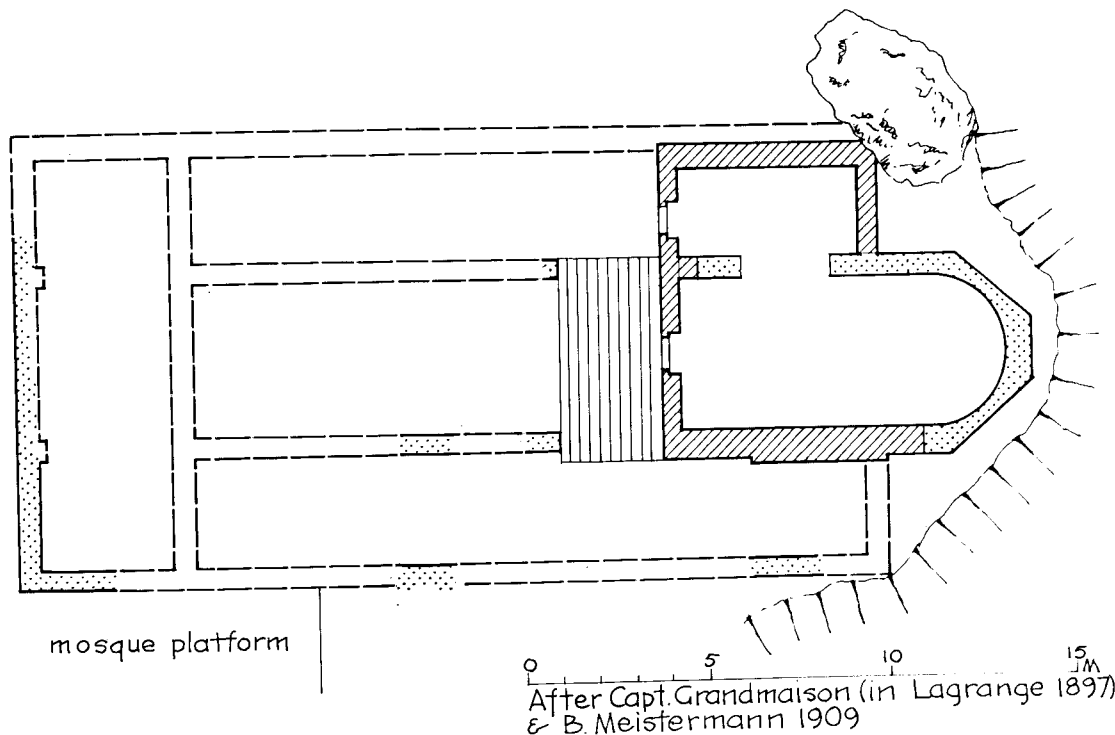
The church is very beautiful and is small and situated on the summit of the mountain. This church faces towards the east, and is divided [inside] by a little wall; and above the wall there is a painted panel showing how Moses divided the Red Sea with a staff in his hand, and how the people of Israel passed through, and how Pharaoh's army drowned in the Red Sea . . . In this church the whole of this story of Moses is painted in sequence. Beside it, to the right, there is a chapel; and there is the exact place where Moses remained in prayer when God gave him the two tables of the law. Outside this church, eight paces away, there is a mosque of the Saracens, and at it two cells for doing penance; and they are below ground. (1346–50: 130–31)

The existence of two altars and paintings is confirmed by Frescobaldi, who also refers to burials, including that of Elisha (1384: 61), and by Gucci, who also describes the difficulty that he had in detaching small splinters of rock to take away as souvenirs (1384: 117–18).

In the late fifteenth century, Felix Faber records that two monks were living next to the chapel (1480–3: II, 558–60). In the early seventeenth century, Francesco Quaresmi notes that in one of the two chapels the Latins were allowed to say Mass (1626a: II, 747; 1626b: 448). These two chapels survived into the early part of the twentieth century (pl. xxxv), but in 1934 were replaced by a single more solidly built chapel, whose walls incorporate ashlar and decorated *spolia* from the ruins of the sixth-century church (Papaioannou n.d.: 40).

Description

On the summit of the mountain, at an altitude of 2,244 m (716 m above the monastery), lie the foundations of a three-aisled basilica with narthex, measuring about 12 by 22.4 m, with a semi-circular apse in a five-sided projection adding a further 4 m on the east (fig. 14). Below the south aisle, a fissure in the rock is spanned by a barrel-vault. The present chapel (built in 1934) overlies these remains, occupying no more than the central apse and presbytery and measuring some 10 by 5.3 m. Before the rebuilding, on its north side there



14 Mount Sinai, chapel of St Moses on Jabal Musa (no. 153): plan.

was a subsidiary chapel (of St Michael), occupying the east end of the former north aisle (Meistermann 1909: 150-1, figs. 32-3); but this has now been suppressed (pls. xxxv-xxxvi).

The mosque stands to the south-west of the chapel, and covers a cave, 2 m square and 1.5 m high, identified as that where Moses fasted (Meistermann 1909: 151-2).

Epigraphy

Two Armenian inscriptions on the peak are dated 1351-1450 and 1463 respectively (Stone 1982: 9, 67-8, 83-4), while others in the cave below the mosque are dated to the seventh century and after the ninth century respectively (Stone 1982: 75-7).

Visited 15-16.5.95.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187-), IX (PG, cxxxiii, 984); *Descriptio locorum* (1131-43), xviii (IHC, II, 84-6; PPTS, v, 16-17); Thietmar (1217), xxiii, 11-17 (ed. Laurent, 47).

Adorno 1470-1: 234; d'Anglure 1395a: 51; Antony of Cremona 1327-31: 167-8; Brygg 1392a: 382; 1392b: 80; Faber 1480-3: II, 558-60; Frescobaldi 1384: 61; Galey 1980:

pl. 42; Gucci 1384: 117-18; James of Verona 1335: 233-4, fig. p. 235; Kamil 1991: 74, pl. 10; de Laborde 1836: 243-4; Lagrange 1897a: 118-21, figs.; Mandeville c.1356-66: 159; de Martoni 1395: 609; Meistermann 1909: 122, 148-52, figs. 31-3; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 130-1; Papaioannou n.d.: 40; Perera 1553b: 58, 76; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 747; 1626b: 448; Seton-Williams and Stocks 1993: 730; Stanley 1912: 60; Stone 1982: 9, 67-8, 75-7, 83-4; Suriano 1485b: 182; Wilkinson 1977: 171.

No. 154 Church of St Mary in the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs (Dair al-Arba'in, Dair al-Lajah) 046.775

History

Travelling from *Pharan* (Wadi Firan) in 384, Egeria and her companions seem to have approached Mount Sinai through the Wadi al-Lajah, where they came to some cells (*monasteria*).

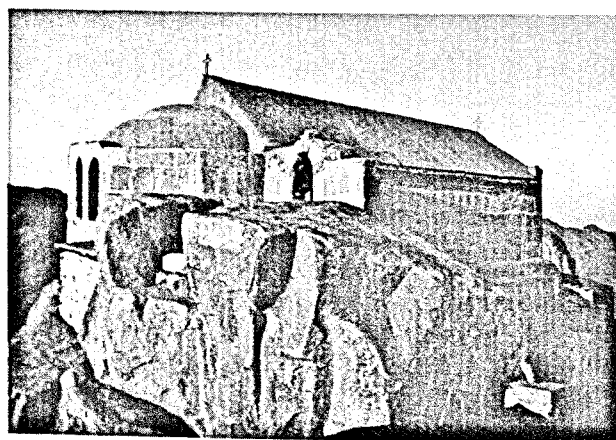
The monks who lived in them received us most hospitably, showing us every kindness. There is a church there with a presbyter.

After spending the night there, the party set off next morning to climb the mountain (ch. III, 1 (CCSL, CLXXV, 39; trans. Wilkinson, 93)).

In the Middle Ages most pilgrims seem to have proceeded from Mount Sinai (Jabal Musa) to the Wadi



xxxv Mount Sinai: chapel of St Moses (no. 153) on the summit of Jabal Musa as it appeared from the south-west c.1900.



xxxvi Mount Sinai: chapel of St Moses (no. 153) on the summit of Jabal Musa, viewed from the north-east.

al-Lajah before climbing Jabal Katarina. There was located the monastery of the Forty Martyrs (Dair al-Arba'in), also known as Dair al-Lajah (Anon. Graecus. ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984)). This area also belonged to the abbey, and is included as *Liiah* in Honorius III's letter of 1217 (*Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, iii, 35–6, no. 17; 195–7, no. 148; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, i, 123, no. 709; ii, no. 5789); *RRH*, 240–1, no. 897).

Thietmar does not seem to have ascended Jabal Katarina, and therefore makes no mention of the monastery of the Forty Martyrs. However, from the fourteenth century onwards it was commonly used as a place for an overnight stay. Estimates of the number of monks vary from four (James of Verona 1335: 233–4, fig. p. 235), to eight (Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 131–2; Frescobaldi 1384: 59, 62–3), to about twenty

(Gucci 1384: 118–20). Frescobaldi gives the church's dedication as St Mary of Mercy, and notes that the monastery was associated with a nearby chapel of St Onuphrius (1384: 59, 62–3); to Nicolas de Martoni it was the church of St Mary of the Green Valley (1395: 609).

In the late fifteenth century Felix Faber found two brothers there, living in cells of woven reeds plastered with mud and surrounded by a wall. The church was supposed to contain the tombs of the forty slain monks, while near by was the chapel of St Onuphrius in a cave (1480–3: ii, 582–3, 587; cf. Perera 1553b: 76).

Meistermann describes the church as ancient and vaulted (1909: 158–9), though the monastery had been restored shortly before 1897 (Lagrange 1897a: 122).

Not visited.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–), ix (PG, cxxxiii, 984).

Adorno 1470–1: 236; Brygg 1392a: 382; 1392b: 80; Faber 1480–3: ii, 562, 565, 581–4, 587–8; Frescobaldi 1384: 59, 62–3; Gucci 1384: 118–20; James of Verona 1335: 233–4, fig. p. 235; Lagrange 1897a: 122; Mandeville c.1356–66: 159; de Martoni 1395: 609; Meistermann 1909: 158–9; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 131–2; Papaioannou n.d.: 42; Perera 1553b: 76; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 749; 1626b: 450; Seton-Williams and Stocks 1993: 730; Suriano 1485b: 182.

Church of St Catherine on Jabal Katarina 047.770

Jabal Katarina lies 4 km south-west of Jabal Musa, and rises to a height of 2,637 m. It was supposedly there that in the late eight or early ninth century the monks of St Mary's monastery were guided by divine inspiration to find the body of St Catherine, miraculously transported there from Alexandria, which they then placed in their monastery church (Meistermann 1909: 159–60).

Only from the fourteenth century onwards does Jabal Katarina seem to have become a normal place of pilgrimage. Thietmar apparently did not visit it, but saw it from the top of Jabal Musa (ch. xxiii, 23 (ed. Laurent, 48)). Antony of Cremona, however, did ascend it and saw the impression of St Catherine's body in the rock, but no chapel (1327–31: 168–9; cf. Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 132–3). According to Ludolph of Sudheim, however, although there was no chapel, the impression of St Catherine's body was marked with stones (1336–41a: 347); John Mandeville assumed that these stones had come from an earlier chapel (c.1356–66: 159), but Felix Faber describes them as

forming a drystone wall (1480-3: II, 570-1). In time this seems to have become formalized as an open-air chapel (cf. Perera 1553b: 58), in which Francesco Quaresmi and his companions were to celebrate Mass (1626a: II, 749; 1626b: 450). The present drystone-built chapel was constructed in the early eighteenth century (Meistermann 1909: 159).

Not visited.

MOUNT TABOR

Jabal at-Tur; Hebr. Har Tavor

No. 155 Abbey Church of the Saviour, or the Transfiguration of the Lord 1871.2325

History

In the Gospel accounts, the Transfiguration of our Lord before the apostles Peter, James and John in the presence of Moses and Elijah, took place on a high mountain (Matthew 17.1-8; Mark 9.2-8; Luke 9.28-36). The precise location is not specified, but by the mid fourth century it was being identified as Mount Tabor, also known in antiquity as *Itabyrion* (ELS, 320-1, no. 493 (Cyril of Jerusalem); 321, nos. 494-5 (Jerome), 321 n.1 (Epiphanius of Salamis); cf. Wilkinson 1977: 173).

Mount Tabor is an isolated oval-shaped eminence with a level summit, which rises on the north-east side of the valley of Jezreel, or Esdraelon, to a height of some 500 m above the plain and 588 m above sea level. In the time of Christ it seems to have been virtually deserted. In the third century BC, however, the plateau had been occupied by a fortified settlement, which fell to the Seleucid King Antiochus III in 218 BC; and during the Jewish revolt against the Romans, in AD 66, the summit was again surrounded with a circuit of walls by Josephus Flavius, falling to Vespasian the following year (Josephus, *Life*, xxxvii (188) (*Loeb*, I, 70); *Jewish War*, iv, 8 (54-61) (*Loeb*, III, 18-20; trans. Williamson, 227); Baldi 1955a: 318 n.; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 99).

In outlining a proposed pilgrimage to Marcella in 392-3, St Jerome wrote, 'We shall continue to *Itabyrium* and to the tabernacle of the Saviour, perceiving it not, as Peter formerly wished, with Moses and Elias, but with the Father and the Holy Spirit' (*Epist.*, xlvii, 13 (CSEL,

liv, 344; ELS, 321, no. 495)). This appears to be the earliest indication that a church had been built on the site. Indeed, according to an anonymous Life of Constantine, dating from the tenth or eleventh century, St Helena was herself responsible for founding and endowing a church of the Saviour and the Holy Apostles at the place of the Transfiguration (*Vita Constantini* (ed. Guidi, 50; ELS, 326, no. 503; trans. Wilkinson, 203-4); cf. Abel 1967: II, 205). Some credence may be given to this tradition by the fact that Constantine I is known to have founded a city named *Helenopolis* somewhere close to Mount Tabor; later this was identified as having been the seat of a bishop (Sozomen, II, 2 (PG, lxxvii, 936); Abel 1967: II, 203-5, 301; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 64; Hunt 1984: 49).

Whether or not *Helenopolis* was Dabburiya at the western foot of Tabor, as Abel suggests (1967: II, 205, 301), a church would certainly have existed on the mountain itself by 518, when Prestutus, bishop of the Holy Mount Tabor, attended a synod in Jerusalem (Schwartz, III, 80; Petrozzi 1976: 147). In 570, the Piacenza Pilgrim saw three basilicas on Mount Tabor in the place where Peter had said, 'Let us make here three tabernacles [; one for thee, and one for Elias, and one for Moses]' (ch. vi (CCSL, clxxv, 131; ELS, 321, no. 497; cf. Matthew 17.4 [AV])).

Towards the end of the seventh century, Bishop Arculf also saw three large church buildings on the level summit of the mountain; these together with a monastery of monks and many smaller cells were surrounded by a stone wall (Adomnán, II, 27, 1-5 (CCSL, clxxv, 219-20; ELS, 321-2, no. 498; trans. Wilkinson, 109)). According to Anastasius of Armenia, there was an Armenian monastery on Mount Tabor at this time (trans. Alishan, 398-9), though it seems unlikely that the entire establishment was Armenian. At all events, another Armenian monk, named Yegishus (or Elisaeus Vardapet), who climbed the mountain some time in the seventh century, provides a vivid description of the life of the monks in his Sermon on the Transfiguration. He describes the buildings as follows:

In the place where the Lord Himself appeared in shining glory, which is to the east, three churches have been built in conformity with Peter's words: they are separate from one another, and have many ministers, who have forsaken worldliness and all bodily desires . . .

One of the three churches is larger than the others and is called the church of the Lord. In the two small churches are preserved relics of those Apostles who laid the foundations on the very day on which they said that three tabernacles should be built. These are called the Holy Martyria, and commemorate and are named after Moses and Elias. (ELS, 322-5, no. 499; cf. Bagatti 1971d: 112-13; Wilkinson 1977: 173)

In 724 St Willibald visited Mount Tabor and saw there 'a monastery for monks, and a church consecrated to the Lord, and to Moses and Elias' (Hugeburc, xiii (ed. Tobler, 25-6; ELS, 325, no. 500; trans. Wilkinson, 128)). At the beginning of the following century the churches of the Saviour, Moses and Elijah are again mentioned in the *Commematorium de Casis Dei*, together with a fourth unnamed one. By this time the number of monks had declined to only eighteen (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; ELS, 325, no. 501; trans. Wilkinson, 138), a figure which finds support from another ninth-century writer who counted only twelve (Epiphanius the Monk, xii (ELS, 325-6, no. 502; trans. Wilkinson, 121)). The *Commematorium* also records the existence of a Greek bishop, named Theophanes.

The church seen by Yegishus was doubtless that of the Saviour and the Holy Apostles which the tenth- or eleventh-century writer of the Life of Constantine attributed to St Helena (see above). The only imperial visitor known with certainty to have visited Tabor before the Crusades, however, was John Tzimisce, who ascended the mountain during his Syrian campaign in 975 (Matthew of Edessa, i, 19 (RHC Arm, i, 16; trans. Dostourian, 30)).

From the very beginning of the Frankish kingdom it seems that Westerners were attracted to seek a life of solitude and devotion on Mount Tabor. Gerard of Nazareth, writing around 1140-61, records at least four Latin hermits living in caves on the wooded slopes. One of these, John, a monk from Carrara in northern Italy, had been there since the time of the Crusaders' siege of Antioch, and when discovered many years later, seminaked, emaciated and sun-burnt, he was still unaware that the city had been taken (*de Conversatione Servorum Dei*, ii, iii, v, xxxix (ed. Kedar, 71-2, 74; cf. 61, 65-6)).

William of Tyre recalls that Tancred, who was recognized as prince of Galilee after the capture of Tiberias in 1099, devoted great attention to the establishment of churches throughout his principality, mentioning in particular those of Tiberias itself (no. 255), Nazareth (no. 169) and Mount Tabor. These he provided not only with buildings and furnishings (*ecclesiastica . . . ornamenta*) but also with ample endowments for their economic support (ch. ix, 13 (CCCM, LXIII, 438; trans. Babcock and Krey, i, 399); ELS, 326-7, no. 504). This last statement is supported in the case of Mount Tabor by the existence of a charter of 1101, by which Tancred reconfirmed a list of *casalia* and their tithes which had belonged to the church of the Saviour 'from antiquity' and which, during the lifetime of Duke Godfrey (d. 1100), he had granted to the church and its newly

appointed abbot, Gerard (or Gerald). The geographical distribution of these villages, which were confirmed to the abbey by Baldwin I in 1107, suggests that the church's possessions had formerly been extensive, covering both sides of the Jordan, though some of them were by this time deserted, in the hands of the Muslims, or, albeit temporarily, granted to Frankish knights (*Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 897-8, appx., no. 1; *RRH*, 5-6, no. 36; *RRH Ad*, 2, no. 36; cf. *Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 825-6, no. 2831 (1107/1256); 898, appx., no. 3 (1107); *RRH*, 10, no. 51; *RRH Ad*, 3, no. 51; Prawer 1975a: i, 255-6; Hamilton 1980: 146; Mayer 1990: 249-53). That a community already existed on Mount Tabor by 1101 is also shown by the existence of a copy of Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* that was produced there at that date (Voisin 1840: 295; Meistermann 1900: 84; Enlart 1925: ii, 381).

The appointment of a Latin abbot marked the transformation of what had formerly been an Orthodox monastery into a Benedictine house. It seems that Abbot Gerard also appropriated the episcopal title of his Orthodox predecessors, for in 1102 he appears as a bishop in the proceedings of the council of Jerusalem (Mansi, xxi, 74). In Byzantine times, the metropolitan see of *Palaestina II* had been at Scythopolis (Baisan) (Abel 1967: ii, 201). Since the mid eighth century, however, Baisan had declined to little more than a village, and no attempt was therefore made to restore its metropolitan status. Instead, when on 29 July 1103 Pope Paschal II took 'the monastery of the Holy Saviour of Mount Tabor' and 'the servants of God' living there under his protection and confirmed its possessions, he addressed Brother Gerard as archbishop of Mount Tabor, conferring on him the archdiocese of Tiberias and Galilee and the episcopal cope, or *pallium* (*Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 826-8, no. 2832 (1256); 898, appx., no. 2; *RRH*, 6-7, no. 39; *RRH Ad*, 3, no. 39; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 92-9, no. 5; Hagenmeyer 1911: 84-5; Hamilton 1980: 60).

This arrangement, however, was not to last, for by 1109 a bishop of Nazareth had also been appointed, and the metropolitan see was transferred there by 1128 (see no. 169). In 1112, the authority of the abbot of Mount Tabor was accordingly curtailed by the patriarch and papal legate, Gibelin of Arles. Henceforth the house became subject to the patriarch, who took responsibility for the ordination of the abbots and monks and the consecration of the major church. The bishop of Nazareth's rights were guaranteed in such matters as the consecration of oils and the administration of parish churches, though an accommodation was made concerning the allocation of tithes (*Cart. des Hosp.*, ii,

899, appx., no. 4; RRH, 15, no. 69; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 109-11, no. 11; Hamilton 1980: 60-1).

The special status of Mount Tabor, including the abbot's right to wear the *pallium*, was upheld in confirmations of its privileges issued by Pope Eugenius III on 4 May 1146 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 823-5, no. 2829 (1256); 902, appx., no. 9; RRH Ad, 3, no. 39; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 187-90, no. 61) and by Alexander III on 12 January 1161 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 825, no. 2830 (1256); 904, appx., no. 12; RRH Ad, 3, no. 39; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 227-31, no. 84; cf. *Tractatus de locis* (ed. Thomas, 151)). John of Ibelin later lists the prior (*sic*) of Tabor as a suffragan of the archbishop of Nazareth (*Livre*, CCLXIV (RHC Lois, I, 416); cf. James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 58 (IHC, III, 328)).

The first pilgrim to give an account of Mount Tabor following the establishment of the Benedictine convent there is Saewulf in 1101-3. Although his description is coloured by that of his fellow countryman, Bede (*de Locis Sanctis*, XVI (CCSL, CLXXV, 276-7)), he records:

Three churches (*monasteria*) constructed on its summit in antiquity still remain: one in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and another in honour of Moses. The third, however, that of Elias, is a little further away. (CCCM, CXXXIX, 74; ELS, 327, no. 505)

A more fulsome description of Mount Tabor is given by the Russian Abbot Daniel in 1106-8:

Mount Tabor is covered all over with trees of every kind, figs and carobs and olives in great abundance . . . And on the very top of this mountain there is a place to the south-east like a small pointed rocky hillock and this is the place where Christ Our God was transfigured. And there is a fine church here dedicated to the Transfiguration, and another dedicated to the holy prophets Moses and Elias is to the north of the Transfiguration.

The place of the holy Transfiguration is surrounded by a solid stone wall with iron gates; here there used to be a bishopric and now there is a Latin monastery. In front of this wall on top of the mountain there is a beautiful little glade . . . and on this mountain there are fields and fine vineyards and many fruit trees . . .

. . . They treated us with great honour in the monastery at the Transfiguration. We dined there and, having had a good rest, we rose and entered the church of the Holy Transfiguration and worshipped in the holy place where Christ our God was transfigured, and having kissed that holy place with love and great joy, and receiving the blessing of the abbot and all the brethren, we left that holy monastery and went round all the holy places on that holy mountain. (chs. LXXXVI-LXXXVIII (trans. Ryan, 161-2; cf. de Khitrowo, 66-8; ELS, 327-9, no. 506))

In June 1113, there occurred a disaster. While Toghtekin, atabeg of Damascus, attacked Tiberias and inflicted a severe defeat on Baldwin I's army at Sinn an-Nabra, a

band of Muslims devastated the monastery on Mount Tabor, killing all the monks (Albert of Aachen, XII, 9-11 (RHC Occ, IV, 694-5)). According to a source of the fifteenth century or later, whose information may in any case be questionable, the martyrs numbered seventy-two, all of them Germans (Anselm Gemblac (PL, CLX, 241); Berlière 1888a: 559; Meistermann 1900: 87-9; Enlart 1925: II, 382; Prawer 1975a: I, 291-2).

Evidently the monastery was soon re-established, for in June 1115 Abbot Raymond and the monks Martin and Raynald received certain possessions in the West from Richard, count of Calabria (RRH, 17-18, no. 77). In December 1139, Abbot Geoffrey undertook to keep a lamp burning near the place of the Transfiguration for the salvation of Raymond II, count of Tripoli, and his forebears, in return for a grant of land (RRH, 47, no. 191); and in 1152, Hugh of Baisan (Bethsan) asked to be buried in the church in an agreement that he made with the abbey concerning the payment of tithes (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 903-4, appx., no. 11; RRH, 70, no. 277; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 202-3, no. 68).

At some time during the twelfth century, the old Byzantine church of the Transfiguration was taken down and replaced by the Romanesque basilica whose remains may still be seen. Documentary sources give little help in determining when this took place. Indeed, most pilgrim texts of the mid twelfth century merely recount the events of the Transfiguration, without mentioning the existence of buildings at all. Often they quote the words heard by the Apostles and those spoken by Peter. Thus Fretellus (1137) quotes Matthew 3.17 and Mark 9.5 (or in one version Matthew 17.4) respectively (ch. CCCVIII (ed. Boeren, 25)). Others from around 1148 onwards, however, quote consistently Matthew 17.5: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui: ipsum audite* (This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him (AV)) and Matthew 17.4: *Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis, faciamus hic tria tabernacula, tibi unum, Moysi unum, et Eliae unum* (Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles . . . (AV): e.g. Anon. VI (c.1148), 6 (IHC, III, 62); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, CXXXIII, 996); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 81)). Since we know from a later account (see below) that Matthew 17.4 and 17.5 were the texts quoted in the mosaics decorating the sanctuary walls, it seems possible that the pilgrimage writers' choice of texts was not fortuitous, and that the east end of the new church may have been standing by the middle of the century.

The monastery's association with Cluny, first attested by the visit paid to Mount Tabor by Pontius of Cluny on his resignation of the abbacy in 1122 (Orderic Vitalis,

xii, 30 (ed. Chibnall, vi, 310)), seems to have resulted in Mount Tabor adopting the reformed observance of Cluny by c.1130. This is made clear by a letter sent to the monks by the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, at about that date (*Epist.*, lxxx (ed. Constable, i, 214–17); cf. xxxi (ed. Constable, i, 105–6); cf. Marrier and Duchesne 1614: 600d; Enlart 1925: ii, 382; Constable 1967: ii, 291–2; Hiestand 1992: 177 n.23). A property transaction between Raymond of Tripoli and Abbot Bernard, in 1163, gives the names of the prior, sub-prior, precentor and cellarer, besides fourteen other monks and more than twenty lay brothers (RRH, 102–3, no. 389); and another of 1175 between the abbey and the Holy Sepulchre was witnessed by the abbot, Garinus, and twelve monks, including the prior, treasurer and precentor (Bresc-Bautier, 310–11, no. 159; 353–4, appx., no. 4; *Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 907–8, appx., no. 18; RRH, 141–2, nos. 529–30). Among the lay brothers recorded in 1163 was Radulph *de Turcopolis*, whose presence suggests that by that time the abbey may have been maintaining a garrison for its own defence (cf. Rey 1883: 26; Enlart 1925: ii, 382). Certainly, John of Ibelin later records that the abbot owed the service of 100 sergeants (*Livre*, cclxxii (RHC Lois, i, 426); cf. Sanudo, iii, 7, 1 (ed. Bongars, 174)).

The feast of the Transfiguration was celebrated by the Jerusalem church on 6 August – ‘especially among the Syrians’ according to John of Würzburg, who also sets out the special liturgy performed on Mount Tabor around 1160–5 (ch. i and appx. (CCCM, cxxxix, 81; 140); cf. ELS, 325, n.2; Petrozzi 1976: 86–90). The Greek Cypriot St Neophytos unfortunately gives no details concerning his visit to Mount Tabor in 1158 (*Typikon*, iv (ed. Warren, 12)).

In 1169 or 1172, the church of the Saviour, served by monks under the authority of an abbot, was seen by the pilgrim Theodoric, who also observed that it was said that ‘in this church . . . the office of the Mass was celebrated for the first time’ (ch. xlvi (CCCM, cxxxix, 192; ELS, 329–30, no. 509)). This appears to be an allusion to the traditions associated with Abraham’s meeting with Melchizedek, which the Orthodox celebrated at this time in a nearby cave church (no. 158).

In 1183, Abbot John agreed to receive the Benedictine community of St Paul in Antioch into his monastery in the event of a Turkish invasion or their eviction by the prince (RRH, 168, no. 634; de Vogüé 1860: 354). In the event it was to be the Tabor monks who were to find themselves in the greater danger when, on 29 September, Saladin crossed the Jordan into Galilee. One Muslim detachment climbed Mount Tabor, which William of Tyre recalls was a feat hitherto unknown,

and after sacking the Greek monastery of St Elias (no. 157), tried to break into the larger Latin monastery.

But the monks together with their entire household and some people from the nearby villages had withdrawn within the precincts of the monastery, which were defended by a wall and towers; and they vigorously repelled from all sides of the monastery those of the enemy who had gone up the mountain. (William of Tyre, xxii, 27(26) (CCCM, lxiii, 1052; trans. Babcock and Krey, ii, 495))

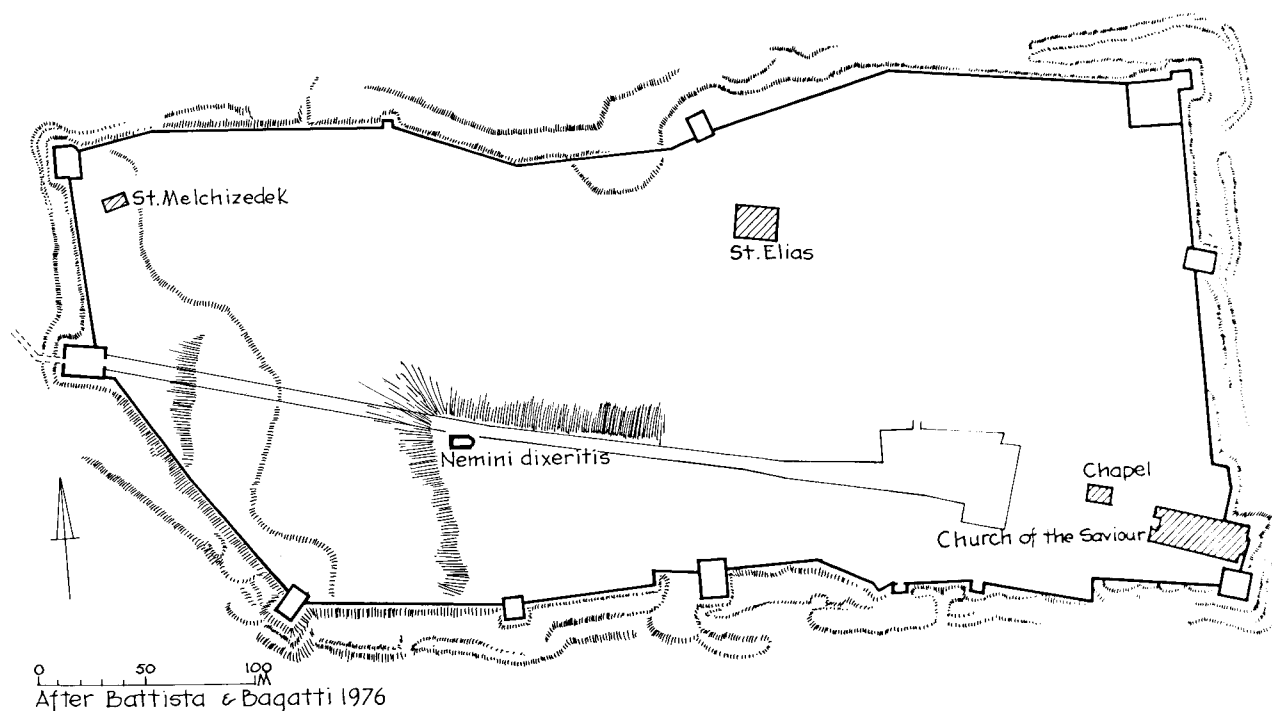
Having failed to bring the main Frankish army to battle, Saladin retreated across the river on 8 October (Runciman 1951: ii, 437–9).

In 1185, the Greek John Phocas also records there being two monasteries on the mountain, a Latin one and an Orthodox one.

And the Saving Transfiguration of Christ took place on the summit of the mountain at the site of the Latins’ monastery. In the sanctuary of the church is the place where the Lord was transfigured in the presence of Elijah and Moses, and of his three chosen disciples, Peter, John and James. This place is enclosed with bronze railings. And at the place where the Lord’s feet were set one sees a white boss, in the middle of which is engraved the Holy Cross. From this there wafts an inexpressible fragrance, which delights the nostrils of any one who approaches it. (ch. xi (trans. Wilkinson, 321; PG cxxxiii, 937; cf. PPTS, v, 14; ELS, 330–1, no. 510))

In June 1187, before the battle of Hattin, Tabor was raided by Saladin and the place of the Transfiguration profaned (*de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, lxvi, 219; IHC, iii, 110); ‘Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 37, 99); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 83); however, there is no clear evidence of any major destruction (cf. Battista and Bagatti 1976: 17–18; *pace* Enlart 1925: ii, 383). The community appears to have moved to Acre (q.v.), where they are later recorded, though it is possible that the granting to them of the Greek monastery of St Mary in Constantinople (*monasterium S. Marie de Costa*) in July 1205 by Cardinal Peter of S. Marcello was intended to provide them with alternative temporary accommodation (*Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 912–13, appx., no. 24; RRH, Ad, 52, no. 806).

With the ending of a six-year period of truce between the Ayyubids and the barons of Acre in September 1210, a state of war once more existed between Muslims and Christians. On 5 Hijjah 609/20 May 1212, al-Malik al-‘Adil laid the foundation for a massive fortification on Mount Tabor, strategically placed as it was beside the main road between Egypt and Syria and dangerously close to Frankish Acre. A series of dated inscriptions shows work continuing under al-‘Adil’s son al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, until Rabi’ II 612/30 July 1212. (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 26–33, 72–119; RCEA,



15 Mount Tabor: site plan showing the location of the church of the Saviour (no. 155), the monastery chapel (no. 156), the church of St Elias (no. 157), the cave church of St Melchizedek (no. 158) and the modern chapel of *Nemini dixeritis*.

nos. 3660, 3705, 3721–3, 3744, 3753; *Eracles*, xxxi, 6 (RHC Occ II, 317); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, II, 108); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, v, 156–7); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 85–90); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 153, 156; Prawer 1975a: II, 124). The fortress comprised a massive defensive wall which surrounded the whole of the upper plateau of the mountain and, on the east, incorporated the *chevet* of the Latin church; it was strengthened by thirteen projecting rectangular towers and fronted by a rock-cut ditch (fig. 15). A number of rainwater cisterns were also built, to ensure the garrison's water supply (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 41–68, fig. 33, pls. 1–9). The walls and towers of the Muslim fortress were seen from the outside by the Christian pilgrim Thietmar in 1217; he also mentions the existence of the Benedictine abbey church, though it is doubtful whether he was able to see what condition it was in (ch. I, 14–17; xxx, 3 (ed. Laurent, 4.54)).

The Christian response to al-Ādil's provocation was voiced by Pope Innocent III at the opening of Fourth Lateran Council on 11 November 1215, when he used the Muslims' fortification of Mount Tabor as an argument for launching the Fifth Crusade (Powell 1986: 19; Van Cleve 1969: 379). Two years later, in early December 1217, an expedition led by King John of Brienne, Leopold of Austria and the masters of the three main military orders established their camp at the

Springs of Cresson (*ruissel dou Cresson*: 'Ain Kasyun, Grid ref. 1870.2296; cf. Abel 1967: II, 422), below the mountain on the south-east. From here they made two attacks on the Ayyubid fortress on 3 and 5 December, before withdrawing again to Acre on the 17th. Despite the Franks' lack of siege equipment, the attack had come near to succeeding. In order to prevent the fortress falling into Christian hands in the future, al-Mu'azzam ʿIsā therefore superintended its destruction, which was completed by the summer of 1218 (*Eracles*, xxxi, 12; xxxiii, 2 (RHC Occ, II, 324–5; 330–1; cf. 311, 312); James of Vitry, *Lettres*, III, 16–21; IV, 177–87 (ed. Huygens, 98, 108); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 411); Oliver of Paderborn (ed. Hoogeweg, 164–7); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, v, 163–6); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 90); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, II.i, 113–14); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 165, 181; Prawer 1975a: II, 140–2; Powell 1986: 131–2; Van Cleve 1969: 391–2; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 33–40).

That the church of the Transfiguration had survived this military phase relatively intact is suggested by the Muslim geographer Yāqūt, writing in c.1225 after the destruction of the fortress. He writes, 'On its summit there stands a vast church, well constructed with solid walls. Each year a crowd of pilgrims flocks there to organize public rituals' (trans. Marmardji, 134). Muslim veneration for Jesus and the place of the Transfiguration

itself may explain how the building came to be saved (cf. Yāqūt (trans. Le Strange, 434–5)).

From c.1230 onwards, French pilgrim texts speak of a monastery of Latin black monks established once more on Mount Tabor (Michelant and Raynaud, 101 (c.1231), 1041 (c.1230), 233 (c.1280); *ELS*, 332, nos. 513–14). Although the area was apparently not as yet under direct Frankish control, the restoration of a monastic presence may have been made possible by Frederick II's treaty with al-Malik al-Kāmil in 1229, under which Nazareth became a Frankish enclave (Deschamps, 'Étude', 97–8; Prawer 1975a: II, 197–20, map VII). There appears to be no evidence, however, to support the statement of C. Enlart (1925: II, 383), following Boniface of Ragusa (1577: 259; cf. Meistermann 1900: 109–10; Baldi 1955a: 337, no. 525), that the monks who returned to Tabor were Hungarian.

Mount Tabor was formally ceded to the Franks by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142); Prawer 1975a: II, 286, map VIII). On 24 March 1251, King Louis IX and Queen Margaret went up Tabor before proceeding on pilgrimage to Nazareth (Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici*, IV (IHC, IV, 104); Prawer 1975a: II, 344; Enlart 1925: I, 383–4). The area was confirmed in Christian hands under a treaty made with the Mamluks in 1255 (Prawer 1975a: II, 452).

By this time, however, it was clear that the Benedictines had little hope of rebuilding the life of their community in so remote and dangerous a position, let alone of managing their estates. Therefore, on 1 April 1255, with the agreement of the abbot, Pope Alexander IV granted Mount Tabor with all its estates and attendant rights and privileges to the Hospitallers, on the understanding that so long as peace with the Muslims were to hold they would build there within ten years a fortress, garrisoned by forty knights. Those of the Benedictine community who remained were to be accommodated in other houses or otherwise provided for by the Hospital as long as they lived, under the arbitration of the archbishop of Tyre, the abbot of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (now in Acre), and certain others (Alexander IV, *Reg.* (ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, I, 83–4, no. 311; 102, no. 344; *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 777, no. 2726; cf. 778–9, no. 2729); *RRH*, 324, no. 1230; *Eracles*, xxxiv, 3 (*RHC Occ.*, II, 442); *Annales* (ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 446); *Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 166); Sanudo, III, 12, 5 (ed. Bongars, 220); Riley-Smith 1967: 135, 324 n.7, 401, 413–17). Alexander IV also confirmed to the Hospital the bulls of his

predecessors, Paschal II, Eugenius III and Alexander III, which took the monastery under papal protection and confirmed its possessions (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 823–5, nos. 2829–30; 826–8, no. 2832), as well as Baldwin I's charter confirming its privileges (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 825–6, no. 2831; cf. Riley-Smith 1967: 516–17). One source gives the price paid by the Hospitallers as 1,100 bezants (*Lanercost Chronicle* (ed. Stevenson, 61)). By the end of June, the Hospitaller castellan, Brother Jocelmus of Tornell, had begun taking formal possession of nearby villages (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 784, no. 2739; *RRH*, 325–6, no. 1237; *RRH Ad.*, 76, no. 1238a; cf. Riley-Smith 1967: 415, 427–8, 430).

Under the protection afforded by the Hospitallers from Tabor and by the Templars from Safad pilgrimages may once more have been possible (cf. *de Constructione Castri Saphet* (ed. Huygens, 44, lines 285–9)). If any building work was undertaken at Mount Tabor, however, it is not recorded; and the precariousness of the Hospitallers' hold on the monastery's estates is illustrated by the decision of Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, on 8 February 1263, to renounce his diocesan jurisdiction over them (*Cart. des Hosp.*, III, 66–7, no. 3053; *RRH*, 344, no. 1316).

On 22 February, Sultan Baybars set up his camp at the foot of Tabor, probably to the south-east at 'Ain Kasyun beside the road between Egypt and Damascus. From there he negotiated with the Franks in Acre until, in mid April, he finally lost patience and destroyed the church of Mount Tabor, along with those of Nazareth (no. 169) and at-Tabgha (no. 249) (*Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 166); Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guirot, II, 161–2, no. 344); Röhricht 1884: 374; Prawer 1975a: II, 442, 451–2; Riley-Smith 1971: II, 199–200).

On 4 June 1283, Tabor was included in Muslim territory in the treaty between Qalāwūn and the Franks of Acre (*RRH*, 378, no. 1450; Prawer 1975a: II, 524). Burchard of Mount Sion writes of it in the same year:

[There] today are shown the ruins of the three tabernacles or cloisters built according to Peter's wish; there are moreover in the same place exceedingly large ruins of palaces, towers and regular buildings, in which lions and other beasts now dwell.

He adds that the mountain had now become a royal hunting ground of the Mamluks (ch. VI, 9 (ed. Laurent, 47; *IHC*, IV, 156; *PPTS*, XII, 43; *ELS*, 332–3, no. 515); cf. Sanudo, III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253)). The destruction of the place was also bemoaned by Ricoldus of Montecroce in 1289–91 (ch. I, 32–5 (ed. Laurent, 106; *IHC*, IV, 262; *ELS*, 333, no. 516)).

In 1335, James of Verona was still able to pray in the ruins of the 'three tabernacles' (1335: 275; cf. Baldi 1955a: 334, no. 519). The following year, Ludolph of Sudheim records that, although the monastery was destroyed, each year on 6 August the local Christians assembled there for the feast of the Transfiguration, decking the ruined churches with flags and celebrating Mass after an overnight vigil (1336-41a: 358-9; cf. Baldi 1955a: 334, no. 520). This appears to have represented the continuation of a custom already alluded to by John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) and Yāqūt (1225), and also recorded in the centuries following (Meistermann 1900: 115-17; Petrozzi 1976: 97-103).

The feast is also mentioned by Nicolas of Poggibonsi, who is the first after the Crusader period to give a description of the main church:

On the summit there is a level area, where there was once a town (*terra*), but now it is destroyed. And in the centre there is a church, and in the middle of the church there was a vault (*tomba*), rising above every other building. And there our Lord Jesus Christ . . . was transfigured, and there appeared suddenly Moses and Elias speaking with Him; and the voice was heard from heaven, and thus it is written in letters of gold, up on the vault, and they say:

HIC EST FILIUS DILECTUS,

IN QUO MIHI BENE COMPLACUI, IPSUM AUDITE

And on the ground are the shapes of the astonished St Peter, St John and St James falling to the ground, because of the great splendour; and where St Peter falls there is written:

DOMINE, BONUM EST NOBIS HIC ESSE, etc.

The church is almost destroyed, but not the vault; and they have a feast there on 6 August. (1356-50: 73; cf. Baldi 1955a: 334-5, no. 521)

What Nicolas saw appears to have been the remains of the principal apse and sanctuary, rather than the crypt. The gold lettering of the apse decoration suggests mosaic work; and, as has been remarked above, the fact that the two texts (Matthew 17.5 and 17.4 respectively) are the same as those quoted by several pilgrim writers from c.1148 onwards suggests that the decoration seen by Nicolas may date from that period.

The remains of a church were still visible a century later (de la Brocquière 1432-3: 298-9). In 1485, Fr Francesco Suriano compared the size of the former settlement on the summit of Tabor to that of Foligno, in Umbria.

In the centre of it (*var.*: Almost at the end of it, to the east) was built a church with three apses, like three tabernacles, pieced together. And where Christ was transfigured there was built a stairway of fine marble of eight steps, four cubits wide; and at the top of the said stairway is a stone set up like an altar.

Here the Franciscans celebrated Mass, under the pro-

tection of an armed escort (1485a: 143; 1485b: 157; cf. Baldi 1955a: 336-7, no. 524).

Boniface of Ragusa would also have visited Mount Tabor during his time as father guardian of Mount Sion between 1551 and 1564. He records:

On the summit of this mountain is . . . a church with three chapels. The main chapel is in the place where Christ was seen in glory; to the right, where Moses was standing, is a side chapel dedicated to St Moses; and to the left, in the place where Elias was standing, is a second side chapel dedicated to St Elias.

In the main chapel is preserved by God's will a representation of the Saviour, transfigured and seen in majesty by the three Apostles, Moses and Elias; this appears most fine. Moses, the bearer of the heavenly law, is observed depicted on the side wall to the right, Elias to the left.

Boniface also repeats the tradition that the church was built by St Helena. Then, more curiously, he adds:

The great monastery was built by the kings of Hungary. In it, with large revenues, was established a great multitude of Hungarian monks of the order of St Paul, the first hermit. (1577: 259; cf. Baldi 1955a: 337, no. 525)

A few years later Johann Zvallart explains that the chapels had been preserved because they had been turned into mosques; however, for the same reason, the pictures had by then been defaced, so that only traces remained visible (1585a: cf. Castelas 1603; Levaillant 1613: 407; Petrozzi 1976: 168). By the time of Francesco Quaresmi, no more than foundations survived above ground, with caves below (1626a: n. 634; 1626b: 396-8; Baldi 1955a: 338-9, no. 528).

In 1631, the Druze amir, Fakhr al-Din, at the request of Francesco da Verrazzano, consul of the grand duke of Tuscany at Sidon, granted the Franciscans permission to reside on Mount Tabor and to celebrate the divine offices there (Meistermann 1900: 120-1; Petrozzi 1976: 172-3; Baldi 1955a: 339 n.1; 1973: 230). Although the amir was murdered three years later (1635), the right of the Franciscans of Nazareth to visit the sanctuaries on Mount Tabor was also upheld by Ottoman *firmāns* in 1641, 1685, 1692 and 1710 (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: 261-4, nos. 171-2; 409-10, no. 254; 431-2, no. 267; 478-9, no. 288). It seems, however, that obstacles were put in the way of a permanent Christian presence being established.

Because the last standing remains of the main church had by now collapsed, the place chosen by the Franciscans for celebrating Mass, notably on the second Sunday in Lent and on the feast of the Transfiguration on 6 August, appears to have been within the vaulted underground chambers of the Ayyubid castle. Fr Eugène Roger describes three chapels joined together on the

southern side of the summit, and provides a crude sketch plan of their layout (1664: 66–7; Baldi 1955a: 339–40, no. 529; Meistermann 1900: 121–2; Petrozzi 1976: 172–4, fig. 20). The vaults were also described by M.J. Doubdan, whose drawing suggests that the area in question was within the remains of the Ayyubid *hammām*, below the site of the present Franciscan reception room (Doubdan 1657: 570, pl.; Petrozzi 1976: 176, fig. 21; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 58–9). These chambers, with their semi-circular niches reminiscent of chapels, are the ‘tabernacles’ described by visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (e.g. Kootwyk 1619: 354–5; Goujon 1690: 73–6; Laffi 1683: 438; Brémond 1679: II, 221; Maundrell 1697a: 478–9; van Bruyn 1725, pl.; cf. Meistermann 1900: 122–3; Petrozzi 1976: 176–8, fig. 22; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 58).

In 1763, a small chapel was built amidst the ruins by the father guardian of Nazareth, Giovanni Lorenzo (Meistermann 1900: 124; Petrozzi 1976: 180). In 1854, the site was visited by M. de Vogüé, who identified several groin-vaulted underground rooms as the crypt of a Romanesque church; it seems, however, that he was merely describing the Ayyubid bath-house (de Vogüé 1860: 353–4).

It was not until August 1858, when the Franciscans began excavating to the north of their chapel, with the intention of building a new one, that remains of the Crusader church began to come to light (Petrozzi 1976: 182–3; Baldi 1955a: 340 n.1). With advice from de Vogüé, they uncovered the collapsed crypt below what would have been the central nave of a three-aisled basilica, entered from the west down a flight of partly rock-cut steps (Guérin 1880: I, 146–8; Petrozzi 1976: 184).

In 1872, a wall was built around the property, and from 1873 to 1888 the Franciscans constructed a chapel and a hospice on the south, making use of the structures of the Ayyubid castle (Baldi 1955a: 340 n.1; Meistermann 1900: 124; Petrozzi 1976: 186–8, figs. 24–5). Excavations on the church continued from 1895 to 1897 under the direction of Fr Marcello Neuvillac, and from 1897 to 1900 under that of Fr Barnabé Meistermann, who produced a plan showing the western entrance to have been flanked by a pair of smaller chapels (1900: fig. p. 136; Schollmeyer 1913; Petrozzi 1976: 188, fig. 27; Battista and Bagatti 1976: fig. 2).

In 1912, the engineer Giulio Barluzzi and the custos Roberto Razzoli began studies for the erection of a new church on the old foundations. But the Italo-Turkish war intervened, followed by World War I; in 1915 the Italians were deported and some of the excavated archaeological materials were removed by Jamāl Pasha

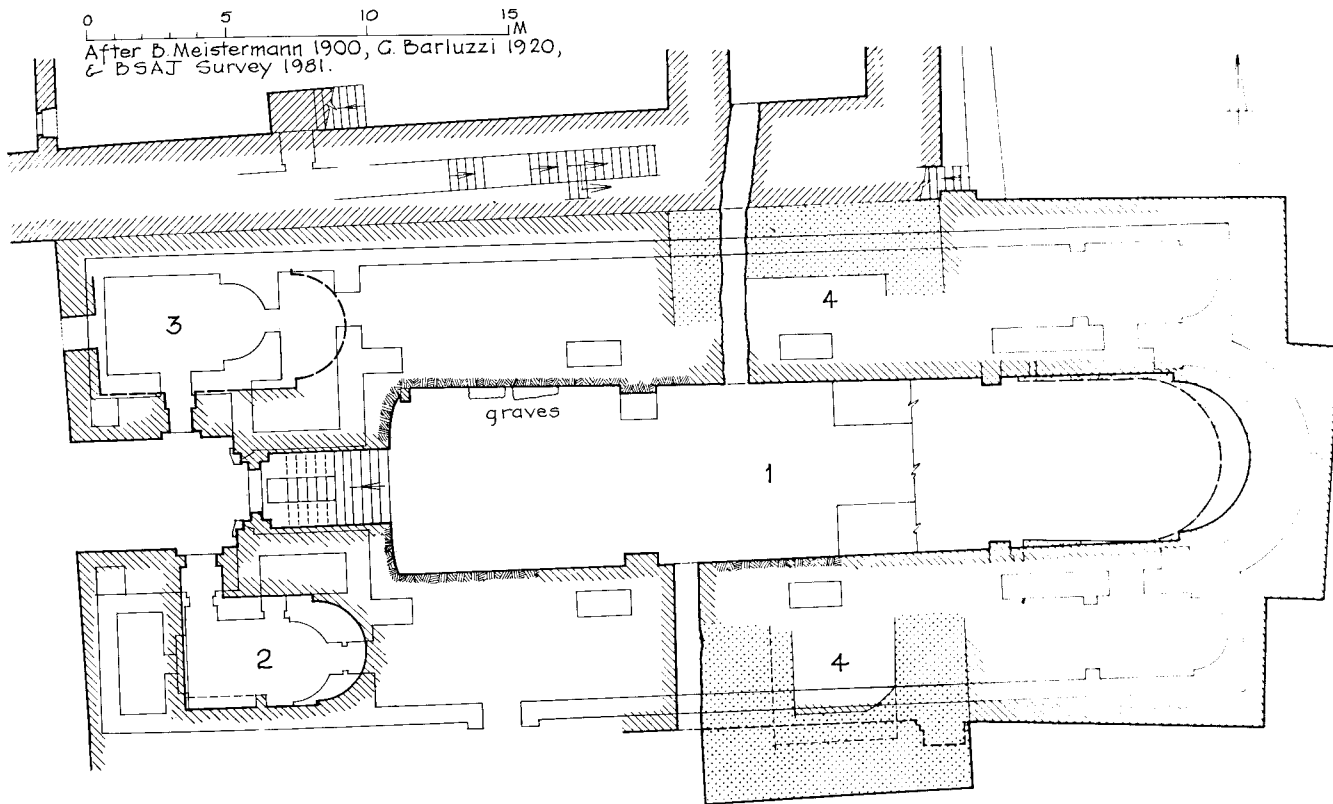
(Petrozzi 1976: 191). Work on a new church began after the war, on 21 October 1919; and the building was completed in 1924 to the design of Antonio Barluzzi, the engineer’s architect brother, and with wall mosaics by A. Villani. The style chosen by Antonio Barluzzi was fifth-century North Syrian, with the excavated foundations of the two western chapels forming the bases for twin towers flanking the entrance to the basilica; the nave pavement was set at the same level as the entrance, with the steps leading down into the crypt moved to the east end and the high altar raised on a barrel-vault above it (Baldi 1955a: 340 n.1; 1973: 230; Barluzzi 1951; Petrozzi 1976: 191–3, figs. 28–9). These works involved the demolition of some of the buildings of the Benedictine monastery and Ayyubid castle, though at the instance of the Department of Antiquities record drawings were made by both Barluzzi brothers (Petrozzi 1976: 183, 193; fig. 29; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 45, figs. 4–6).

Description

The medieval church, whose substructure now forms the foundation for A. Barluzzi’s church of 1919–24, stood on the south-eastern edge of the upper plateau of the mountain. The site was evidently chosen to enclose, beneath the main altar, the outcrop of rock on the edge of the mountain that was held to be the place where Christ had stood when He was transfigured before the apostles. The medieval builders would have been led to this location by the existence of a Byzantine church in the same position.

The excavations of the 1860s revealed that the apse of the medieval church’s crypt was built over the remains of an earlier apse, apparently of Roman–Byzantine date (see pls. xxxvii, xxxix; fig. 16; cf. Petrozzi 1976: 184, 218, figs. 45–6). Indeed, it was Meistermann’s view that the Crusader church occupied precisely the foundations of its Byzantine predecessor (1900: 135–40). This was contested by C. Enlart, who pointed out that a room lying adjacent to it on the south, paved with a fifth- or sixth-century mosaic and identified (for no apparent reason) as a baptistery (pl. XL; fig. 18.5), is aligned more towards the north-east (1925: II, 385, 389; cf. Petrozzi 1976: 221–2, fig. 48). It is not unlikely, however, that this deviation was due to the shape of the hilltop, which is restricted towards the east.

Apart from the apse, some other early building remains may be seen incorporated into the foundations of the medieval church (fig. 16.4). They appear to consist of a massive rectangular structure, built with a facing of large coursed irregular blocks and measuring



16 Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): plan at crypt level.

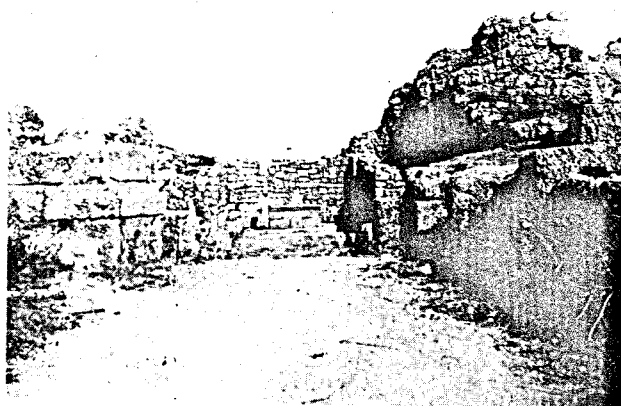
some 10 m east-west and (though the central part is cut away by the medieval crypt) 21 m north-south, with walls 2.5–3 m thick. The north face is flush with the north wall of the Frankish church, while the south face projects by some 2–2.5 m (pl. xli). If these do not pre-date the Roman-Byzantine church altogether, they may perhaps be interpreted as transepts or side chapels; following this idea, the original church would have been cruciform with a simple nave flanked by rectangular transepts and ending in a semi-circular apse.

During the construction of the present church, a cave with plastered walls was also discovered beneath the crypt; unfortunately it had to be filled in for structural reasons before it could be properly investigated and its date and function are unknown (Enlart 1925: II, 386; Petrozzi 1976: 195–6). However, another cave complex, including a chapel, was recorded to the east of the church by A. Barluzzi in 1921 (Petrozzi 1976: 147, fig. 17); and a cave with plastered walls and Greek inscriptions of fifth- to sixth-century date was found beneath the Frankish north range in 1955 (Petrozzi 1976: 201, fig. 33; Bagatti 1977b). It seems therefore that the Roman-Byzantine church stood within the area of a monastic *laura*, though

whether this preceded the building of the church is more difficult to determine.

The foundations of the Roman-Byzantine church were subsequently incorporated into those of the medieval church. These form on plan an elongated rectangle, measuring overall some 46 by 19 m, with a rectangular projection on the east accommodating the central apse (pl. xxxviii) and two projections on the west representing the bases of twin bell-towers flanking the west door. The eastern third of the building which projects beyond the enclosing monastery buildings is skewed slightly to the south, as though the builders had attempted to correct the orientation derived from the earlier building as they worked westwards; whether this kink would have been carried through into the upper parts of the church, however, is less certain, as these do not survive.

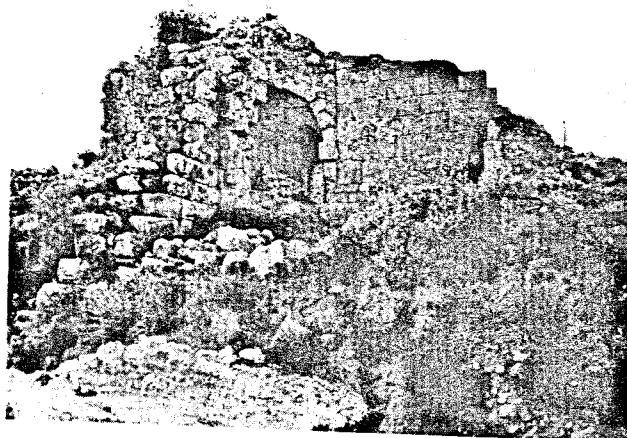
The foundation enclosed a crypt, 6–6.5 m wide and 31 m long, which terminated at the east in a semi-circular apse, set slightly east of that of the earlier church. A stone-built altar (2.3 by 1.2 m) was set up on the chord of the apse. A photograph taken during the construction work of 1919–24 shows that it was built on the rock and was preceded by two stone steps



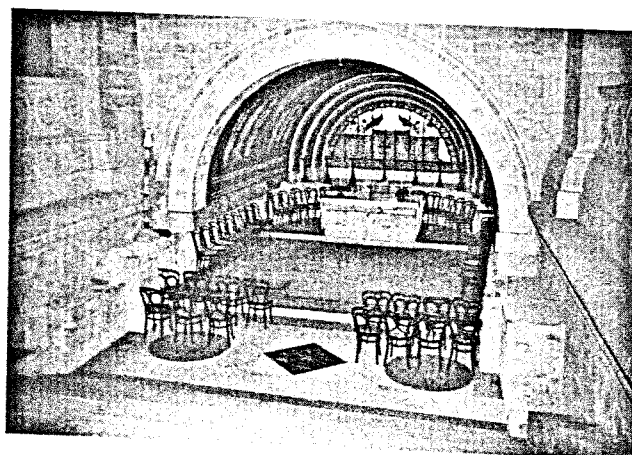
xxxvii Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (**no. 155**): the excavated crypt, as it appeared sometime between 1897 and 1919.



xl Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (**no. 155**): mosaic pavement of the fifth or sixth century in room 5, south of the church.



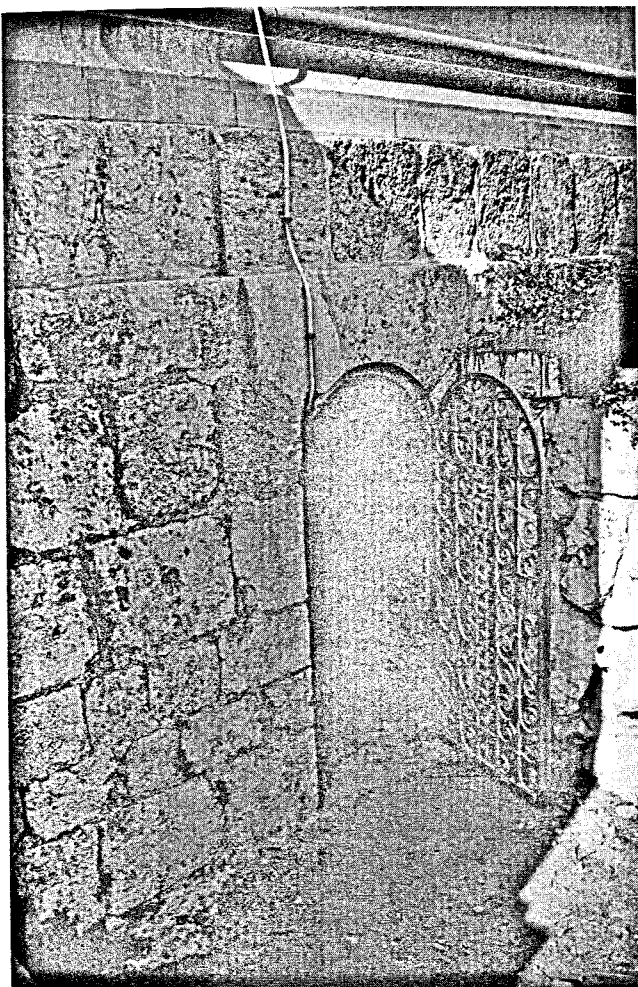
xxxviii Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (**no. 155**): the chevet of the medieval church, abutted (left) by the south-western tower of the Ayyubid castle, as photographed by K.A.C. Cresswell (c.1919).



xxxix Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (**no. 155**): remains of the Byzantine and medieval apses, incorporated into the modern church of 1924.



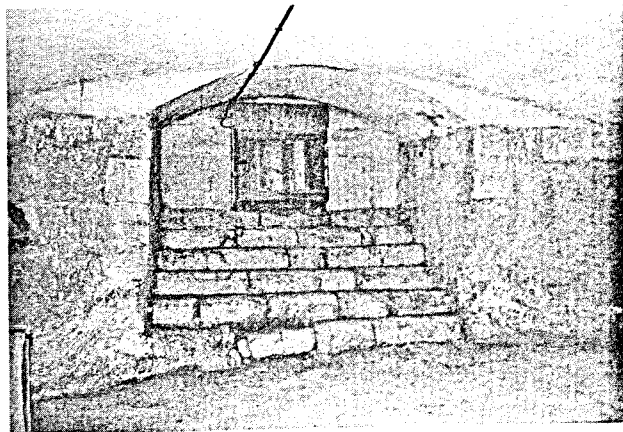
xli Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (**no. 155**): remains of the south transept or porticus of the Byzantine church, overlain by the south wall of the twelfth-century church.



XLII Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): entrance to the south passage leading into the crypt.



XLIII Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): passage leading north from the crypt into the north range.



XLIV Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): steps leading into the crypt from the west door.

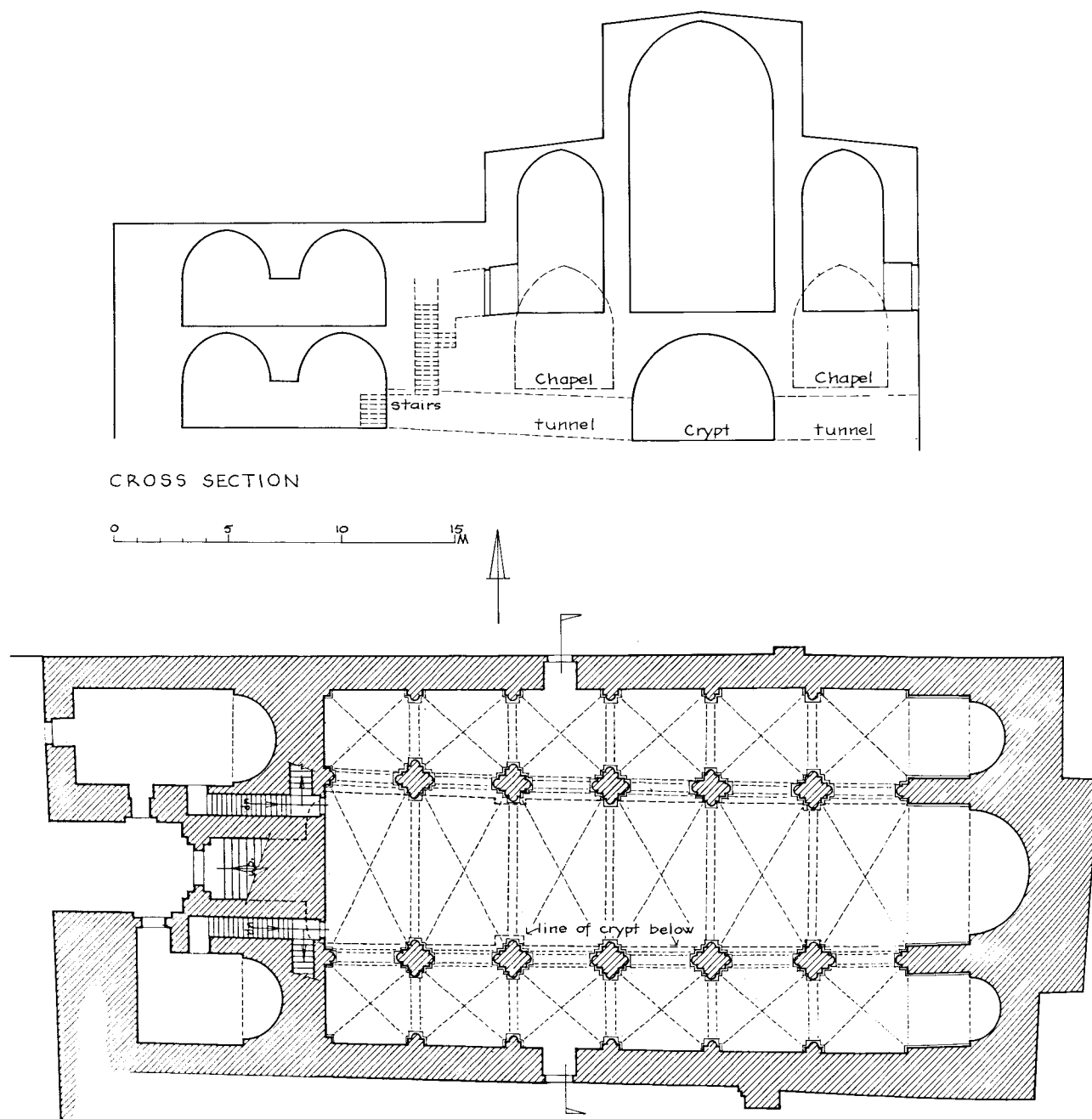
(Petrozzi 1976: 218, fig. 45); then as now the front projects slightly on a hollow moulding, but the raised back, probably the base for a retable, has now been removed, presumably as a concession to modern changes in the liturgy (see pls. XXXVII, XXXIX).

The western third of the crypt is partly rock-cut, the rest being built in good ashlar. Originally it would probably have been covered by a barrel-vault, similar in height to that now enclosing the east end, though more likely with a pointed profile. This would have been divided into three unequal bays by transverse arches, 1.3 m (west) and 0.75 m (east) wide respectively, springing from pilasters which still survive.

Two rock-cut trenches for inhumation graves may be seen against the north side of the crypt towards the west; these partly undercut the vertical rock-cut wall-face, and would perhaps originally have had architectural tombs built over them against the wall. In the north and south

walls, narrow barrel-vaulted passages (0.82 m wide) communicated with the basements of the adjacent monastery buildings; although the ends of these tunnels are well built (pls. XLII-XLIII), they appear to have been cut through the foundations and in places through the natural rock, in a secondary phase after the construction of the north range (fig. 18.12-13) against the north side of the church. In the northern passage it appears that the rock cutting at the base was not completed, suggesting perhaps that it was not often used.

The main entrance to the crypt was from the west, down twelve steps, 2.6 m broad; these are partly built, and partly cut from the natural rock (pl. XLIV). The door was about 1.4 m wide, and to judge from the base fragments surviving *in situ* it would have been enclosed by an arch of two orders, perhaps carried on columns. The door was flanked externally by the bases of a pair of towers. Each contained on its ground floor a small



17 Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): suggested reconstruction of the plan and section.

chapel with a semi-circular eastern apse, entered in each case through a narrow door opening from the enclosed court in front of the door to the crypt.

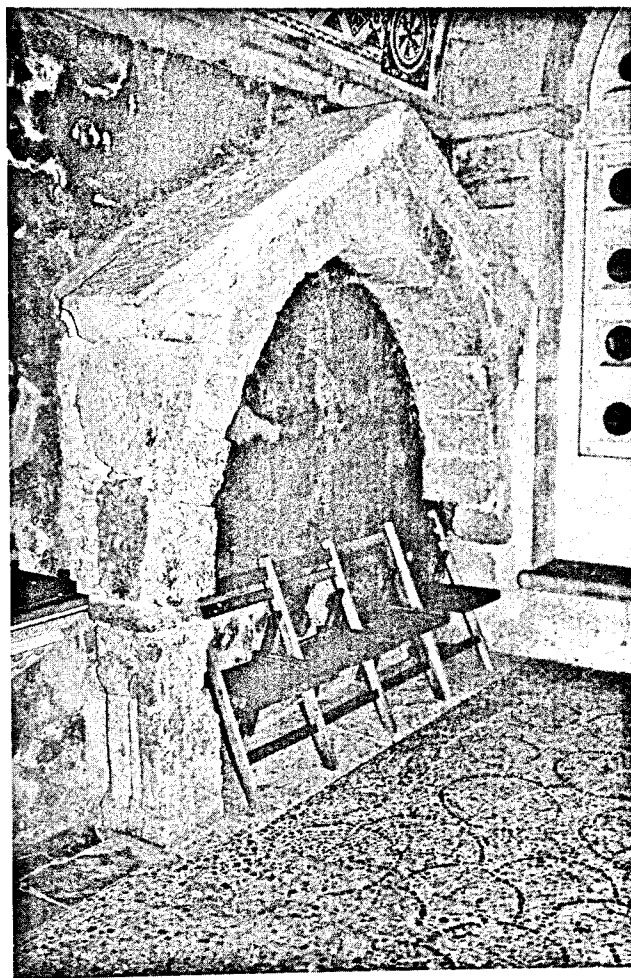
The door to the south chapel (2) was recessed and 1.04 m wide, opening into a passage 1.44 m wide. Inside, Barluzzi's reconstruction preserves the south and west lines of the chapel, but the north wall has been rebuilt some 0.2–0.6 m to the south and the apse about 1.3 m to the west; originally the chapel would therefore

have measured internally some 3.25 by 6.2 m including the apse. The western half of the south wall preserves the pointed-arched *arcosolium* of a tomb, supported on the right by a corbel and on the left by a four-shafted column with minuscule colonnettes between the main shafts (pl. xlv); this may originally have been intended to support another *arcosolium* to the east, but no trace of such now remains. The tomb chest has also gone, though it is reported that on excavation the tomb below

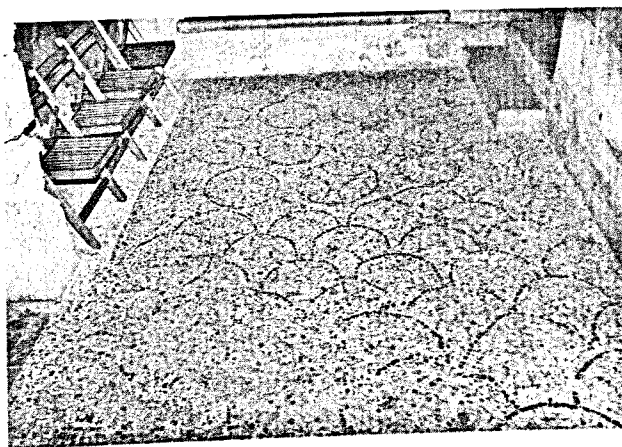
it was found to contain human remains (Petrozzi 1976: 184). The chapel is paved in a mosaic, which was restored and relaid in 1924 (Petrozzi 1976: 214-15), the northern edge being trimmed to fit the restricted space. The design, beginning from the east, appears to be a crude medieval attempt at copying the fish-scale pattern represented on the fifth- to sixth-century mosaic in the so-called baptistery (5) on the south side of the church; however, as work proceeded the mosaicist appears to have lost interest in this idea, and has represented a series of circles instead (pl. XLVI).

The door to the north chapel (3) lay slightly west of that to the south chapel, and was only 0.75 m wide; the plans by Meistermann and Barluzzi also suggest the existence of a west door (Petrozzi 1976: figs. 27, 29). Nothing now remains of the chapel itself, though Meistermann's plan indicates that the position of the south wall was visible on excavation. In a position corresponding to that of the north wall, there was found in 1919-20 a tomb containing the body of an ecclesiastic, dressed in violet silk cloth and wearing a pectoral cross; however, the body disintegrated on contact with air (Petrozzi 1976: 184, 195).

The pavement level of the main church would have corresponded roughly with that of the present church's raised sanctuary, some 2 m above the level of the two medieval western chapels, whose level corresponds with that of the modern nave. Since nothing remains of the medieval church at this level, interpretation of the layout can be only conjectural (see fig. 17). Later medieval pilgrims, however, saw three apses still standing; and the foundations of the central apse and one of the side apses, still surmounted by a pointed arch and with remains of an altar and a mosaic floor, were still visible at the time of V. Guérin's visit (1880: I, 147). This evidence and the form of the ground plan suggest that the church would have been a three-aisled basilica, the central nave overlying the crypt and the two side aisles terminating at the west end in twin bell-towers. Some indication of the articulation of the nave arcade may perhaps be provided by the spacing of the transverse arches in the crypt, which appears to support Enlart's reconstruction of a three-aisled basilica of six bays incorporating the bell-towers at the west and terminating in deep sanctuaries at the east (1925: II, 386-8, 390, fig. 21). He was wrong, however, in thinking that the west door gave access to the main church; for it is plain from the surviving evidence that it led down into the crypt. Although it is quite possible that some form of internal communication would have been provided between the tower chapels and the nave, the principal doors into the church must have been in



XLV Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): tomb in the south chapel (2).



XLVI Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): mosaic floor in the south chapel (2), looking west.

the north and south walls, accessible from the adjoining monastic buildings (cf. Pringle 1987: 353–4, fig. 2). Meistermann's view that the west door to the crypt was a thirteenth-century addition, made after the main upper church had been destroyed, does not merit serious consideration (1900: 142–4).

Various marble column drums and capitals were found during the excavations (Guérin 1880: I, 147; Petrozzi 1976: 223); but there is insufficient evidence to allow a stylistic assessment of the building to be made.

Decoration and Furnishings

Among the pieces of architectural sculpture noted by Guérin as having come from the excavation of the church was a capital decorated with lioness-like creatures and one with a ram's head (1880: I, 147; Petrozzi 1976: 223). Other fragments discussed by Enlart include a number of very small pieces of fine historiated capitals still bearing traces of colouring (1925: II, 391–2, 394, pl. 152, figs. 488–9) (see pl. XLVII). Enlart dated only one piece, a capital with human heads, to the thirteenth century; but as the precise provenance of these fragments is unknown, it is not possible to tell with certainty whether they came from the church or the surrounding monastic buildings.

Among the furnishings of the church may be noted the tympanum of a small marble aedicule (Piccirillo 1981: 308; 1983: 65; Petrozzi 1976: 224, fig. 49; Enlart 1925: II, 392–4, figs. 477–477 bis; Jacoby 1982a: 333, fig. 19), and marble posts and panels from a chancel screen (Petrozzi 1976: 223).

The floor mosaic in the south tower chapel has been described above. The excavation of the main church also yielded large quantities of tesserae from wall mosaics, including some of gilded glass and others of white, black and red stone (Bagatti 1939: 46, no. 53; Petrozzi 1976: 223; Enlart 1925: II, 389). This appears to bear out the testimony of Nicolas of Poggibonsi (1356–50: 73), Boniface of Ragusa (1577: 259) and Levaillant (1613: 407) that the main apse was decorated with a representation of the transfigured Christ, flanked by Moses to the right and Elijah to the left, with the three Apostles, Peter, James and John, prostrate on the ground below (cf. de Sandoli 1974: 291–2, nos. 391–2; Enlart 1925: I, 384).

Relics

In the twelfth century the church of S. Lorenzo in Laterano, in Rome, contained a relic of 'the stone on which the Lord was transfigured on the mount' (John the Deacon (PL, LXXVIII, 1390)); it is possible, however,

that this had already reached Rome by the pontificate of Leo III (AD 795–816) (Petrozzi 1976: 156–7).

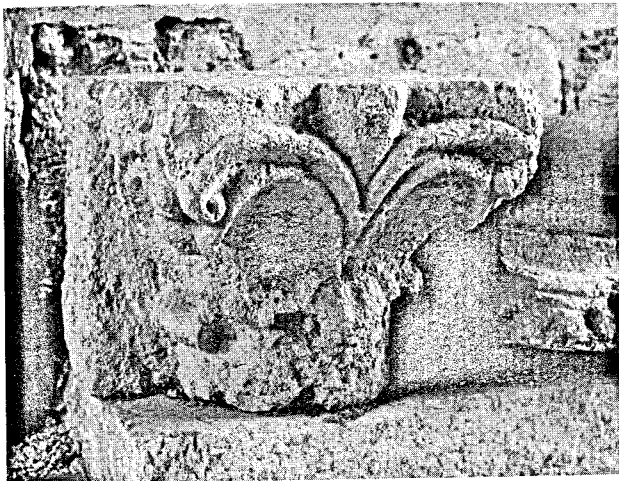
The Monastery Buildings

Flanking the church to north and south and extending west for some 110 m are the buildings of the Benedictine monastery (fig. 18). These incorporate earlier Byzantine remains, including on the south a room (some 4 by 6 m) with a mosaic of fifth- to sixth-century date, which has been interpreted by some as a baptistery (5); there is no evidence to support such an interpretation, though the fact that its floor has been crudely repaired with marble tiles indicates its continued use in the Middle Ages. Elsewhere our understanding of the monastic layout is hindered by the additions made by the Ayyubids between 1212 and 1217, the destructions of 1217–18 and 1263, and the clearance and building operations of 1858–1924.

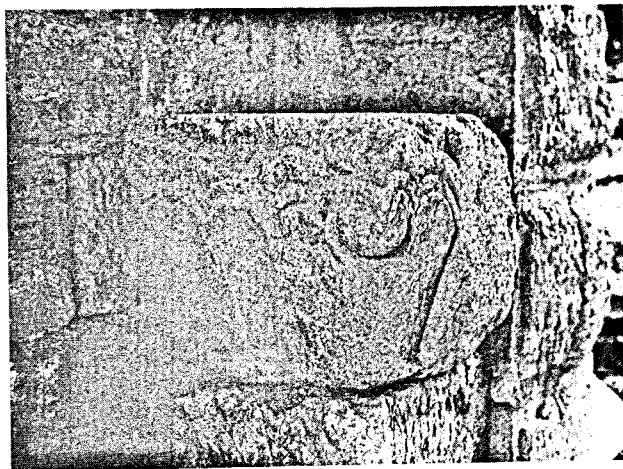
It is clear nevertheless that the general form of the monastery was unlike that of a normal Benedictine house. Before the church lay an open courtyard, giving access to the main door to the crypt and to the tower chapels. Long ranges of buildings of at least two storeys flanked it to north and south, and enclosed the church itself for two-thirds of its length. To the west the plan becomes more difficult to interpret because of later constructions. It appears, however, that there was no enclosed monastic cloister, and that pilgrims and lay folk visiting the church would have been obliged to pass through the monastery to reach it. Since there must still have been a formal physical division between the enclosed area reserved for the monks and that open to lay people, it seems possible that this distinction was made by placing the enclosed quarters on the first floor of the buildings. As has been shown, only from the first floor was access possible into the main body of the church, which was itself at roughly that level.

The south range contained on its ground floor a kitchen and a bakery with a capacious oven (8). To the south-west are remains of a bath-house (11), apparently an Ayyubid addition (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 58–62, figs. 3–4). It seems logical to assume that the first floor of this range, which has now gone, would have contained the refectory, with the quarters for the lay brothers perhaps located towards the west.

The north range consisted in its first phase of a rectangular structure, 45 by 16 m with walls 2.1–3 m thick, built against the north wall of the church. Its east end (12) is partitioned off by a thick cross-wall, containing a narrow rounded-arched doorway; the rest of the interior (13) was enclosed by groin-vaults,



a



d



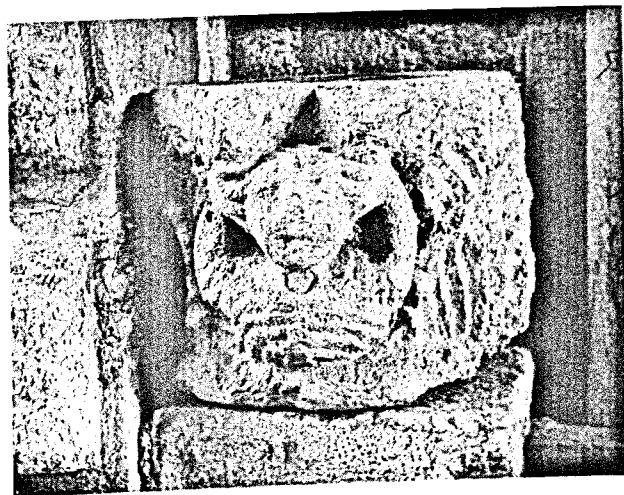
b



e

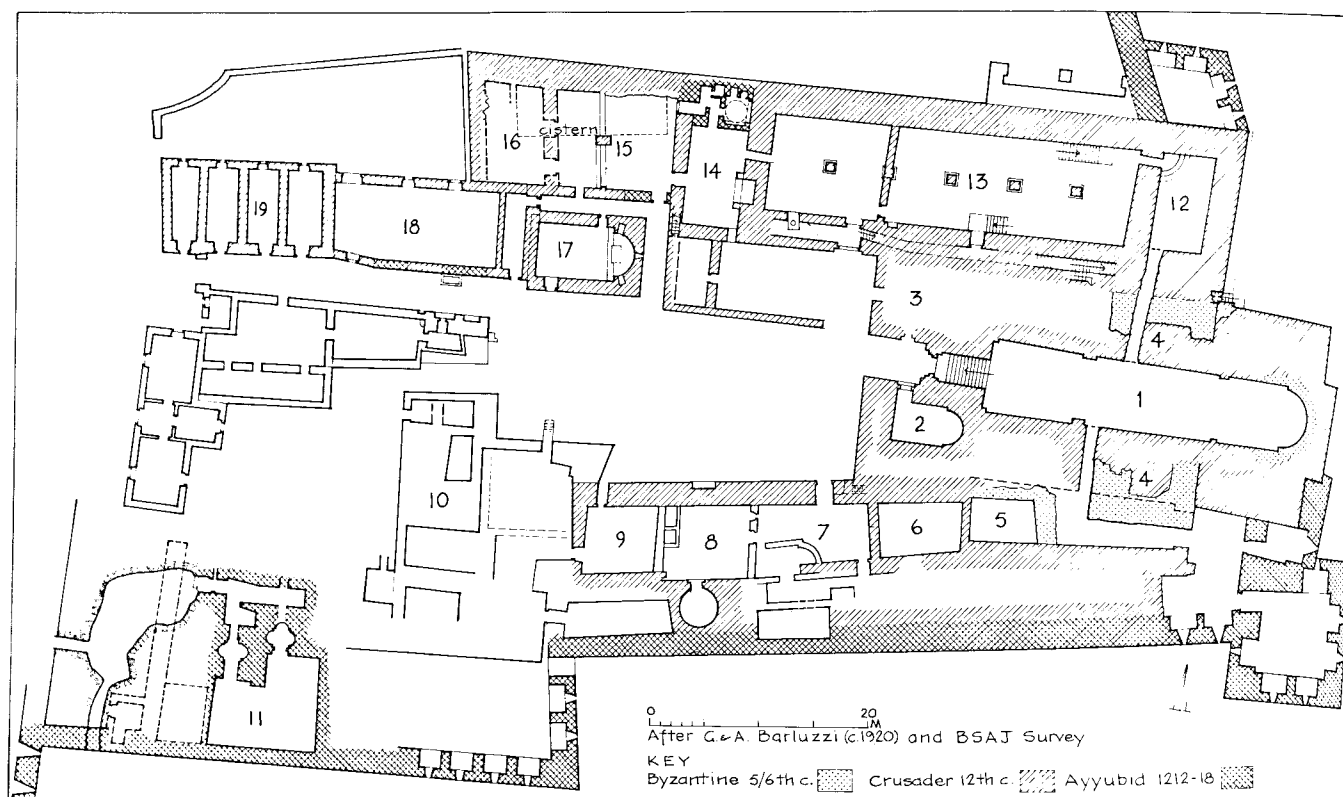


c



f

XLVII Mount Tabor, church of the Saviour (no. 155): capitals and fragments of cornice frieze found during the excavation of the church and monastery.



18 Mount Tabor, monastery buildings, including the church of the Saviour (no. 155) and the monastery chapel (no. 156): plan.

springing from five square piers. Stone stairs to north and south gave access from the floor above, those on the south communicating through a door with a passage and stair inside the south wall. This undercroft was probably intended for no more than storage and to support another one or possibly two floors above. No trace of these remains. However, one could expect them to have accommodated such rooms as the chapter house, book and document stores, day rooms and dormitory, the latter being located within easy reach of the church and very possibly with latrines overhanging the edge of the mountain.

This block was subsequently extended some 26 m towards the west (14–16). The extension includes a chapel (no. 156) on its south side and has a small bath-house inserted in a secondary phase into its north-east corner, accessible from rooms 14 and 15; a series of pits beneath the basement are probably cisterns required for the bath's operation. The bath is normally assumed to be Ayyubid like the larger one to the south-west, though Bagatti points out that the Rule of St Benedict permits baths to be taken by the sick (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 62–6, figs. 5–6, pl. 10). It may be noted, however, that

it is too small for use by more than two or three people at a time; and while this would not necessarily prove inconvenient in a monastic situation it might also suggest that it was intended for private rather than general use. If Ayyubid it might have been attached to the residence of the castle's commander, if Frankish perhaps to that of the Hospitaller castellan or (if twelfth century) the abbot. This would in any case be a plausible location for the abbot's house, to which a private chapel would also have been a suitable adjunct; however, the important part of such a building would have been on the first floor, and that unfortunately no longer survives. The date and function of the bath therefore remain open questions.

Epigraphy

The mosaic in the main apse contained quotations from Matthew 17.4 and 17.5 (see above). Seals of three abbots of Mount Tabor, Pons (1152), John (1180–3 or 1214–6) and Andrew (1220), are known (Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 127–8, nos.

143-4; de Vogüé 1860: 354; de Sandoli 1974: 292-3, nos. 393-5; 333, appx. no. 7).

Discussion

Documentary sources of the later sixth century to the first decade of the ninth speak of three churches on Mount Tabor, one dedicated to the Saviour, one to Moses and one to Elijah. The latter two were also associated with the apostles. Hugeburc (724) and the *Vita Constantini* (tenth to eleventh centuries), however, refer to only one church incorporating all three dedications. As Wilkinson has suggested (1977: 173), it is possible to reconcile this apparent conflict of evidence if one assumes that the three churches all formed part of the same building. Indeed, the cruciform plan of the early church whose remains underlie those of the twelfth-century one is capable of just such an interpretation, with the central nave being dedicated to the Saviour and the side chapels (or *porticus*) to Moses and Elijah respectively.

In the first decade of the twelfth century Saewulf (1101-3) recorded three churches built in olden times, those of the Saviour and Moses being together and that of Elias some way off. Daniel (1106-8) identifies the church of the Transfiguration as being within the Latin monastery, and another church dedicated to Moses and Elijah standing to the north of it. It seems likely that Saewulf's church of Elijah and Daniel's church of Moses and Elijah is represented by the Greek church of St Elias (no. 157). Saewulf's church of Moses might possibly be the otherwise unidentified chapel within the Latin monastery (no. 156), if that existed by this date. But if, as appears to be the case, the three churches recorded by earlier writers had in effect been one church, there may be no need to look for a third church at all; the difficulty faced by pilgrims searching for three churches had been caused by the Latins appropriating the old triple church of the Transfiguration, and the Greeks building a new church of St Elias to the north of it.

When the Latins rebuilt the old church of the Transfiguration around the middle of the twelfth century, the tradition of containing three separate chapels within it was retained, the crypt chapel being associated with the actual site of the Saviour's Transfiguration and those beneath the north and south bell-towers probably being dedicated respectively to Elijah and Moses. All three chapels would have been accessible to pilgrims and lay people approaching the church from the west. In the main church above, the mosaic decoration of the central apse confirms that the dedication of the high altar was to the Saviour. The dedication of the chapels in the other

two apses, however, is less certain; one would expect the apostles Peter, James and John to be commemorated somewhere in the building, in addition to Moses and Elijah.

Visited 27.5.79, 12.1.80, 27.7.81, 29.7.81, 12.10.81

Sources

Albert of Aachen, xii, 9 (*RHC Occ.* iv, 694-5) (1113); Alexander iv, *Reg.* (ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, i, 83-4, no. 311; 102, no. 344) (1255); *Annales* (ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 446) (1255); Anon. Saec. xiii, iii (*IHC*, iv, 342); Bresc-Bautier, 310-11, no. 159 (1175); 353-4, appx., no. 4 (1175); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 9 (ed. Laurent, 47; *IHC*, iv, 156; *PPTS*, xii, 43); *Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 777, no. 2726 (1255); 778-9, no. 2729 (1255); 784, no. 2739 (1255); 823-8, nos. 2829-32 (1256); 834-5, nos. 2847-8 (1257); 897-913, appx., nos. 1-24 (*Chartes du Mont-Thabor*); iii, 66-7, no. 3053 (1263); Daniel (1106-8), lxxxvi-lxxxviii (trans. Ryan, 161-2; de Khitrowo, 66-8); Deschamps, 'Étude', 97-8 (c.1239); *ELS*, 326-33, nos. 504-16; *Eracles*, xxxiv, 3 (*RHC Occ.* ii, 442) (c.1255); *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, lxvi, 219; *IHC*, iii, 110) (1187); Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici*, iv (*IHC*, iv, 104) (1251); Gerard of Nazareth, *de Conversatione Servorum Dei*, ii, iii, v, xxxix (ed. Kedar, 71-2, 74); *Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 166) (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 92-9, no. 5 (1103); 109-11, no. 11 (1112); 187-90, no. 61 (1146); 202-3, no. 68 (1152); 227-31, no. 84 (1161); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 37, 99); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.* (1217-40), i, 54; i, 58 (*IHC*, iii, 324; 328); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxiv, cclxxii (*RHC Lois*, i, 416, 426); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 81; 140); John the Deacon (*PL*, lxxviii, 1390) (twelfth century); *Lanercost Chronicle* (ed. Stevenson, 61) (1255); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), ix (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 233); *Pelrinaiges* (c.1231), xviii (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 101); Peter the Venerable, *Epist.*, xxxi; lxxx (ed. Constable, i, 105-6; 214-17; *PL*, cxxxix, 226-7) (c.1130); Phocas (1185), xi (*PG*, cxxxiii, 937; *PPTS*, v, 14; trans. Wilkinson, 321); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289-91), i, 32-5 (ed. Laurent, 106; *IHC*, iv, 262); *RRH*, 5-6, no. 36 (1101); 6-7, no. 39 (1103); 10, no. 61 (1107); 15, no. 69 (1112); 17-18, no. 77 (1115); 47, no. 191 (1139); 70, no. 277 (1152); 102-3, no. 389 (1163); 141-2, nos. 529-30 (1175); 168, no. 634 (1183); 324, no. 1230 (1255); 325-6, no. 1237 (1255); 327, no. 1244 n.1 (1261); 344, no. 1316 (1263); 378, no. 1450 (1283); *RRH Ad.* 2, no. 36 (1101); 3, no. 39 (1103); 52, no. 806 (1205); 76, no. 1238a (1255); 77, no. 1249a (1256); Saewulf (1101-3), xxviii (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 74; *PPTS*, v, 25; trans. Wilkinson, 111); *Sains Pelrinages* (c.1230), iii (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104¹); Sanudo (c.1321), iii, 6, 8; 7, 1; 12, 5; 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 157, 174, 220, 253); Theodoric (1169-72), xlv (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 192; *PPTS*, v, 67); Thietmar (1217), i, 14-17; xxx, 3 (ed. Laurent, 4, 54; *IHC*, iii, 254); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 151); Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, 161-2, no. 344) (1263); William of Tyre, ix, 13 (1099); xxii, 27(26) (1183) (*CCCM*,

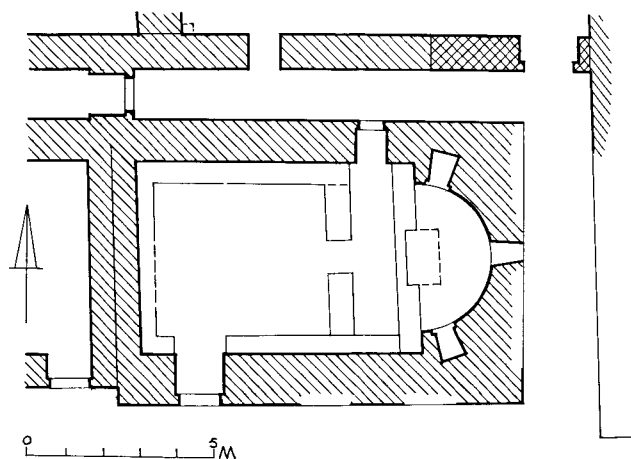
LXIII, 438, 1052; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 399; II, 495); Yāqūt (1225) (trans. Le Strange, 434–5; Marmardji, 134).

Adorno 1470–1: 312; Ariosti 1463: 47; Bagatti 1939: 46, no. 53; 1977b; Bahat 1982; Baldi 1955a: 326–40; 1973: 229–31; Barluzzi 1951; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 14–16, 18–22, pl. 33; Benvenisti 1970: 19, 166, 344–6, 358–62, figs.; Berlière 1888a: 558–9; 1888b: 486–9; Beyer 1945: 216–17; Boase 1977: 110–11; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 259; Brémond 1679: II, 221; de la Brocquière 1432–3: 298–9; van Bruyn 1725: pl.; du Cange 1869: 828–30; Castelas 1603; Conder and Kitchenner 1881: I, 367–8, 388–91, fig.; Deschamps 1939a: 13 n.1, 100 n.3; Doubdan 1657: 570, pl.; Enlart 1925: I, 54, fig. 20; II, 380–94, pls. 11, 150 bis, 152; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 61–7; Friedman 1982; Gariador 1912: 73–83; Gassi 1925; Goujon 1670: 73–6; Guérin 1880: I, 143–63; Hagenmeyer 1911: 84–5; Hamilton 1980: 60–1, 101, 130, 146, 167, 294, 300–1, 361; Hiestand 1985: 68–73; Hoade 1978: 708–10; Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 261–4, nos. 171–2; II, 409–10, no. 254; 431–2, no. 267; 478–9, no. 288; Iohannides 1867; Jacoby 1982a: 333, fig. 19; James of Verona 1335: 275; Johns 1937: 22 (D6); Kedar 1983a: 61, 65–6; Kootwyk 1619: 354–5; Ladoire 1720: 310–16; Laffi 1683: 438; Langé 1965: 140, 159, 186–7, figs. 76, 104; Levaillant 1613: 407; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 358–9; 1336–41b: 125–6; Mandeville c.1356–66: 186; al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 83; Mariti 1769: II, 212–13; Marrier and Duchesne 1614: 600d; Maundrell 1697a: 478–9; Meistermann 1900; 1936: 554–7, fig.; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 261–3; Oderic of Friuli 1320: 146; Ovadiah 1970: 71 (no. 60); Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1356–50: 73, fig.; Parmensi 1893: pls. 126–8; Perera 1553b: 47, 73; Petrozzi 1976: 152–226, figs. 20–50; Philippe 1669: 584–5; Piccirillo 1981: 308; 1983: 65–6; Pococke 1743: II, 64–5; Poloner 1422a: 272; 1422b: 36–7; Porter 1867: 243–4; Prawer 1975a: I, 103, 255–6, 291–2, 622, 660, 663; II, 344, 452; Pringle 1987: 353–4, fig. 2; 1993: 36; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 634; 1626b: 396–8; Riley-Smith 1967: 135, 324 n.7, 401, 413–17, 427–8, 430, 458n.; 1971: II, 199–200; Röhrich 1884: 374; 1887a: 39–41; 1887b: 230–5; Roger 1664: 67; du Rozel 1644: 33–5; de Sandoli 1974: 291–3, 333; Schollmeyer 1913; Smail 1973: 151; Suriano 1485a: 143; 1485b: 157, fig. 14; de Thévenot 1687: I, 214; 1727: II, 679; Thomson 1876: 433; de Valous 1935: II, 168; Vincent 1922b: 124–5; de Vogüé 1860: 352–4; Wilkinson 1977: 173; Wilson 1880b: II, 58, pl. opp. p. 26; Zvallart 1585a.

No. 156 Monastery Chapel 1871.2325

Description

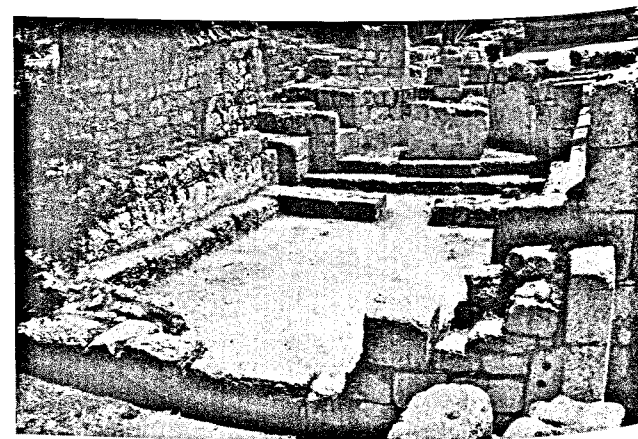
Some 20 m west of the church of the Transfiguration (no. 155) lie the remains of a small chapel, enclosed on three sides by the medieval monastic buildings and opening to the south on to the main approach to it (fig. 18.17). The building comprises a rectangular internal space, 7.3 by 5 m, with a semi-circular apse contained within a rectangular outer wall measuring overall some



19 Mount Tabor, monastery chapel (no. 156): plan.



XLVIII Mount Tabor, Latin monastery chapel (no. 156): east end.



XLIX Mount Tabor, Latin monastery chapel (no. 156): from the west.

11 by 7.5 m (fig. 19; pls. XLVIII–XLIX). It survives to between 0.4 and 1.8 m in height, and is built with a facing of coursed rough blocks inside and out, and with finer ashlar used for quoins and details. There are substantial traces of pinkish mortar containing crushed pottery and some large pieces of rilled amphorae surviving on the apse, and similar plaster coats the south side of the south door-passage.

The nave was entered by a door (1.1 m wide) near the west end of the south wall. It may be assumed that it was barrel-vaulted, and around the side walls there runs a low stone bench, 0.4–0.55 m wide, probably originally intended as a base for timber seating. This was secondary to the walls and runs over the bottom sanctuary step. However, it seems that it would have been an original feature of the chapel, for both the walls and the bench rest on bedrock, which has then been partly cut away to form a level floor to the nave and south door-passage.

The location of the chancel screen is indicated by a stone plinth which runs transversely across the nave and butts against the stone bench on the north and south. Traces of plaster remain on its west side. Within the chancel another door, only 0.65 m wide, opens in the north wall from a barrel-vaulted passage outside, which runs the length of the chapel and communicates with the adjoining buildings. Two steps lead up to the sanctuary, the upper one being on the chord of the apse and having a rectangular projection of 0.25 m in its centre, 1.45 m wide, corresponding to the original position of the altar (the present modern one being set further back). The base of a splayed window pierces the west apse wall, and in the side walls, flanking the altar, are remains of aumbries, some 0.5 m wide and 0.9 m deep, with rebates for doors; that on the north is some 0.49 m above floor level, that on the south 0.93 m.

Discussion

This chapel does not appear to be mentioned in any medieval source. It first came to light during the initial campaign of excavations conducted by the Franciscans from 1858 (Petrozzi 1976: 186), and is shown on the plan made by the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchenner 1881: i, fig. opp. p. 388). Its layout and construction suggest a twelfth-century date, contemporary with the buildings of the Benedictine monastery to which it is structurally joined. Its two doors, the north one into the chancel communicating with the adjoining monastic buildings, and the south one into the nave opening from the area of the monastery accessible to lay folk, provide another illustration of how the boundary

was drawn between the monastic and lay parts of this unusually planned monastery. It is suggested above that the building immediately adjoining the chapel could possibly have formed part of the abbot's house, in which case this might possibly have been a private chapel (see no. 155); whether or not such an interpretation is correct, it appears that the building survived the Ayyubid occupation, and was probably only demolished in 1263.

Visited 27.5.79, 13.9.82.

Sources

Baldi 1973: 231; Battista and Bagatti 1976: pl. 33; Conder and Kitchenner 1881: i, 389, fig. opp. p. 388; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 67; Hoade 1978: 710; Meistermann 1900: 134–5; Petrozzi 1976: 186, figs. 35.10, 41.

No. 157 Abbey Church of St Elias 1869.2326

History

Although sources from the later sixth century refer to a church of St Elias on Mount Tabor, in addition to those of the Saviour and Moses, it would appear that until the church of the Transfiguration and its surrounding monastery was taken over by the Latins in 1099, all three churches had been in close proximity to each other, very possibly forming part of the same building. In 1101–3, Saewulf locates the church of St Elias a little way off from the other two (ch. xxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 74)); and in 1106–8, Abbot Daniel places the church dedicated to the prophets Moses and Elias to the north of the church of the Transfiguration (ch. lxxxvi (trans. Ryan, 161)). Both pilgrims appear to be referring to the medieval church of St Elias, whose remains are now incorporated into the Greek Orthodox church of the same name, which lies 230 m north-west of the church of the Transfiguration (no. 155). The confusion over the name is understandable if it is recalled that the pilgrims would have been looking for three churches, but found only two.

During the Muslim raid on Mount Tabor in 1183, William of Tyre records that the Muslims treated the Greek monastery of St Elias (*monasterium Grecorum, quod dicitur Sancti Helie*) as they willed, leaving the reader to imagine what precisely they did to it (ch. xxii, 27(26) (CCCM, LXIII, 1052)); it seems likely that the monks would have taken refuge in the larger Latin monastery, which was better defended. Two years later John Phocas records the continued existence of an Orthodox monastery to the left of the Latin one, but without giving any

further description of it (ch. XI (PG, CXXXIII, 937; PPTS, v, 14)).

The present church was built, according to an inscription, in 1845 and was decorated with wall paintings in 1912 (Petrozzi 1976: 207–8, fig. 26). M. de Vogüé visited Tabor in 1854 and recorded seeing the remains of a small chapel with a semi-circular apse lying south of the Greek church (1860: 353; Petrozzi 1976: 181). V. Guérin does not appear to have noticed these, but records that two of the apses of the church itself belonged to an earlier building (1880: I, 144–5).

Description

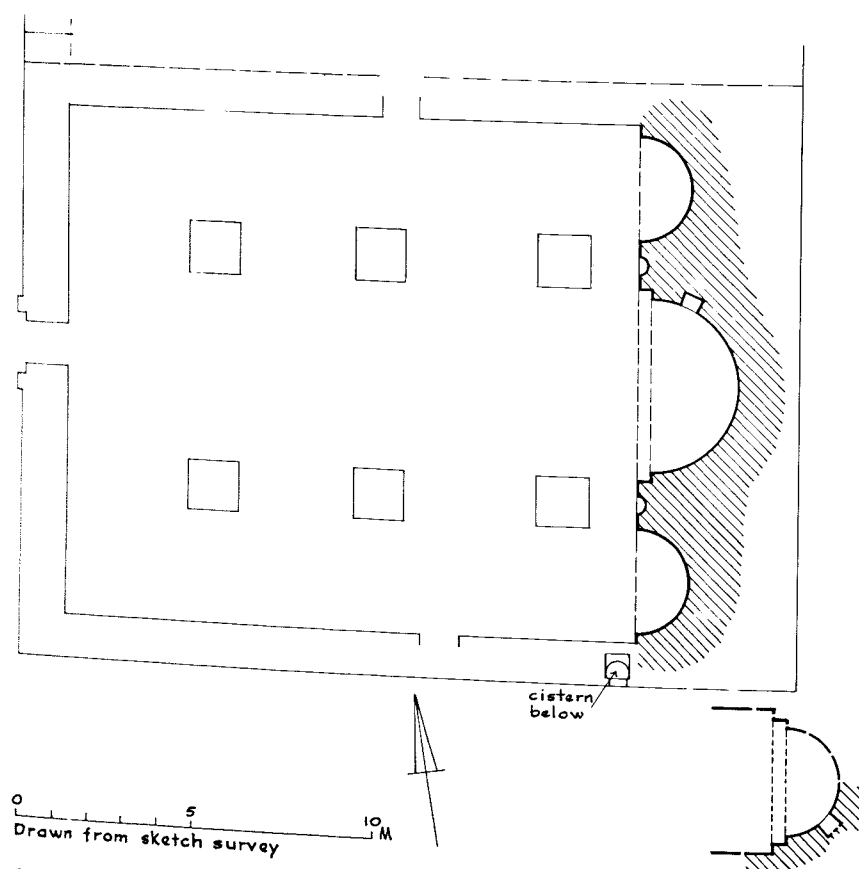
The modern church is a three-aisled basilica of four bays with a groin-vaulted nave and aisles supported on plain rectangular piers (fig. 20). The eastern bay (representing the sanctuary) is considerably shorter than the others and terminates in three semi-circular apses (pl. I). The lower parts of the southern two apses are not plastered like the rest of the church and are seen to be built in finely cut ashlar which appears medieval. The north apse, though plastered, also seems likely to reflect faithfully the medieval arrangement. However, the medieval structure does not appear to survive higher than 3 m,

and the rounded semi-domes of the apses seem nineteenth century. The two sections of wall between the apses each contain a rounded niche with a pointed head; the central apse also has a rectangular aumbry on either side of the altar.

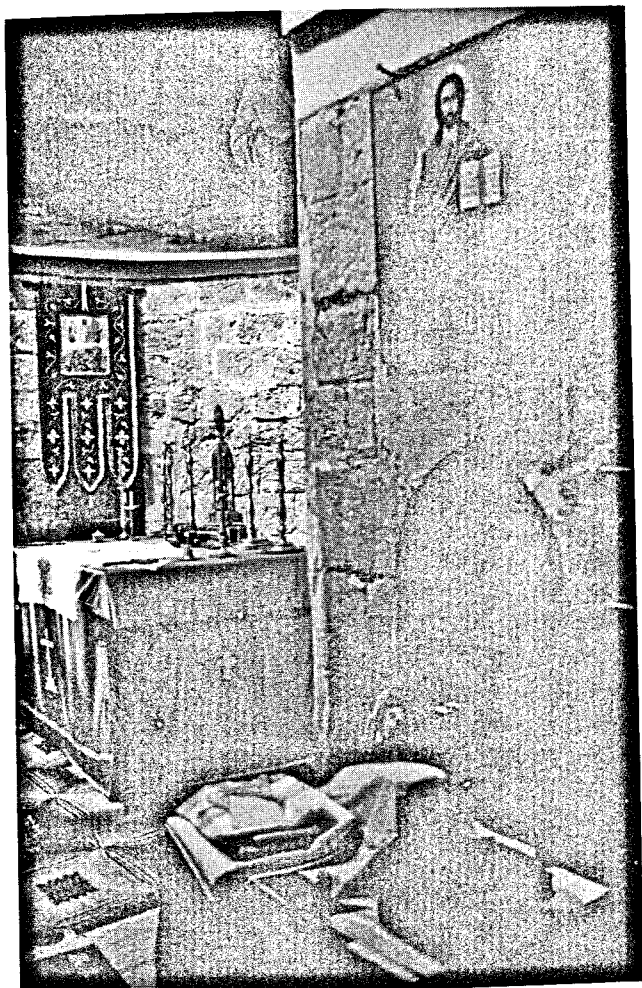
To the south of the present church there survive remains of a fourth apse, set some 4 m east of the others. Only the southern part of it survives, built in fine ashlar and standing some 1.8 m high. This also has a rectangular aumbry built into it, 30 cm wide and 60 cm high, rebated for a timber door.

Decoration and Furnishing

M. de Vogüé recorded in 1854 that the inside wall-face of the apse lying south of the Greek church was covered with white plaster, on which could be distinguished traces of rinceaux painted in red. The pavement was in mosaic and made with large white and black cubes depicting a large circle and lozenges (1860: 353). V. Guérin also noted that the nineteenth-century rebuilders of the main church had incorporated the remains of an earlier mosaic pavement into the new marble slabbed floor (1880: I, 145).



20 Mount Tabor, church of St Elias (no. 158): plan.



L Mount Tabor, Greek church of St Elias (no. 157): east end.

Discussion

De Vogüé considered the south apse to date from the fourth or fifth century (1860: 353). It seems more likely, however, to be medieval like the others and to represent with them part of the church built by the Orthodox monks who were displaced from the principal church and monastery of the Transfiguration by the Latins in 1099.

Visited 27.5.79, 29.7.81, 13.9.82.

Sources

Daniel (1106-8), LXXXVI (trans. de Khitrowo, 66-8; Ryan, 161); *ELS*, 327-8, nos. 505-6; 510, no. 330; 331 n.; Phocas (1185), xi (PG, CXXXIII, 937; *PPTS*, v, 14; trans. Wilkinson, 321); Saewulf (1101-3), xxviii (CCCM, CXXXIX, 74; *PPTS*, iv, 25; trans. Wilkinson, 111); William of Tyre, xxii, 27(26) (CCCM, LXIII, 1052; trans. Babcock and Krey, ii, 495) (1183).

Baldi 1973: 231; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 13, 16-17, pl. 33; Benvenisti 1970: 358-60, 362; Berlière 1888a: 558-9; Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 367, 388, fig. opp. p. 388; Enlart 1925: ii, 382-3, 390-1, 394-5; Freeman-Grenville 194: 67; Guérin 1880: i, 144-5; Hamilton 1980: 167; Hoade 1978: 710-11; Mariti 1769: ii, 214; Meistermann 1900: 94, 97-8, 124, 145-6; 1936: 554, 558; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 262; Petrozzi 1976: 178, 184, 207-8, figs. 26, 39; Pococke 1743: ii, 65; Porter 1867: 243; Prawer 1975a: i, 103, 255-6, 291-2, 513, 622; ii, 452; Röhricht 1887b: 230; Thomson 1876: 433; de Vogüé 1860: 353.

No. 158 Cave Church of St Melchizedek 1866.2326

History

The medieval association of Melchizedek, priest and king of Salem, with Mount Tabor stems from a gnostic tradition which appears in Christianized form in a text attributed to St Athanasius, fourth-century bishop of Alexandria, and in various Coptic sources. In the former account, the Old Testament story, in which on his return from defeating the kings of the north at Dan Abraham is blessed by Melchizedek and gives him a tenth of the spoils (Genesis 14.17-20), is considerably expanded: before meeting Abraham, Melchizedek has spent seven years in the wild on Mount Tabor living off berries and dew; Abraham, following God's command before the battle, finds, shaves and clothes him, cuts his fingernails, and receives his blessing; finally, after the battle Melchizedek offers Abraham and his companions a cup of wine in which bread had been dipped, prefiguring the sacrament of the Eucharist (Athanasius (pseudo), *Hist. de Melchisedech* (PG, xxviii, 525-30); Petrozzi 1976: 133-8).

In the various versions of this tradition, the meeting place of Abraham and Melchizedek is located either on Mount Tabor or at its foot. Both possible locations are therefore found in pilgrim texts of the tenth century onwards (Epiphanius the Monk (*ELS*, 325-6, no. 512; trans. Wilkinson, 120); *Vita Constantini* (*ELS*, 326, no. 503; trans. Wilkinson, 203)).

Two features of the story appealed in particular to Christian visitors to Mount Tabor in the Middle Ages: the example of the ascetic life practised by Melchizedek, and the prefiguring of the Eucharist. By the twelfth century, a cave church on top of the mountain was associated with Melchizedek. In 1106-8, Abbot Daniel locates this a bowshot to the west of the church of the Transfiguration (no. 155):

And on this same Mount Tabor, in a level place, there is a very marvellous cave like a small cellar cut in the rock and there was a little window at the top of this holy cave, and within the

cave toward the east there has been built an altar. The cave has small doors and you descend into it by steps from the west. In front of the doors of this cave grow small fig trees and around it grow little trees of every kind . . . In this small cave lived the holy Melchisedek.

Daniel visited it again after his visit to the Latin monastery:

For a second time we entered with love the holy cave and bowed down before the holy altar which Melchisedek and Abraham made. This altar exists even today in the cave and holy Melchisedek comes often to celebrate the liturgy in the holy cave. And all true believers who live on this holy mountain come here and they have told me the truth of this. (ch. LXXXVIII (trans. Ryan, 161–2))

Twelfth-century Latin pilgrim writers do not mention the cave church, but locate the place where Abraham met Melchizedek and offered him bread and wine on the way down the mountain (*in descensu montis*), a description that is consistent with Daniel's (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxx (IHC, II, 95; PPTS, v, 30); Anon. vi (c.1148), 6 (IHC, III, 62; PPTS, vi, 56–7); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, CXXXIII, 996); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 81–2); Theodorik (1169–72), XLVI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 192; PPTS, v, 67); cf. Albert of Stade (c.1251–2), XV (IHC, IV, 6); Oliver of Paderborn, *Descriptio*, VI (IHC, IV, 386); Anon. Saec. XIII, III (IHC, IV, 342); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), I (IHC, IV, 262); Oderic of Friuli 1330: 146).

The church was visited, however, by another Orthodox pilgrim, John Phocas, in 1185:

On the north side of the mountain is the Cave of Melchizedek, which well deserves a visit. In it are pierced many caves, which have upper and lower chambers, and remarkable lodgings and cells serving as dwellings for ascetics. On these many great saints followed the ascetic course. Near this cave is a temple [i.e. church] at the very spot where Melchizedek met Abraham returning from the battle, and blessed him and received him as a guest. (ch. XI (trans. Wilkinson, 321; cf. PG, CXXXIII, 937; PPTS, v, 14)

Later writers place the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek at the foot of the mountain on the south, beside the main road between Syria and Egypt (Burchard of Mount Sion, VI, 9 (ed. Laurent, 47; IHC, IV, 156); Sanudo, III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253); cf. Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 73).

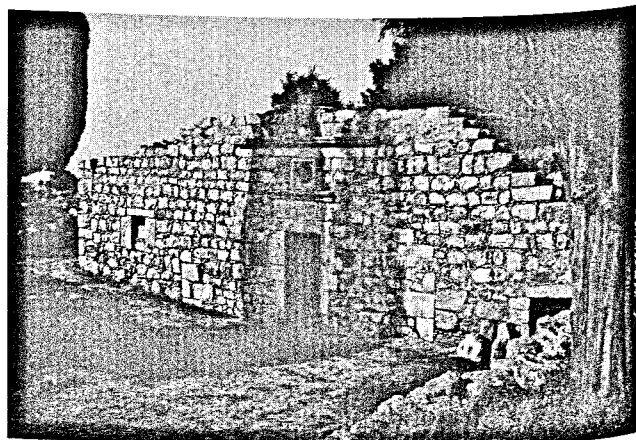
Description

The cave church of St Melchizedek lies on the edge of the upper plateau, just inside the north-western angle of the Ayyubid walls (fig. 15). Although it incorporates

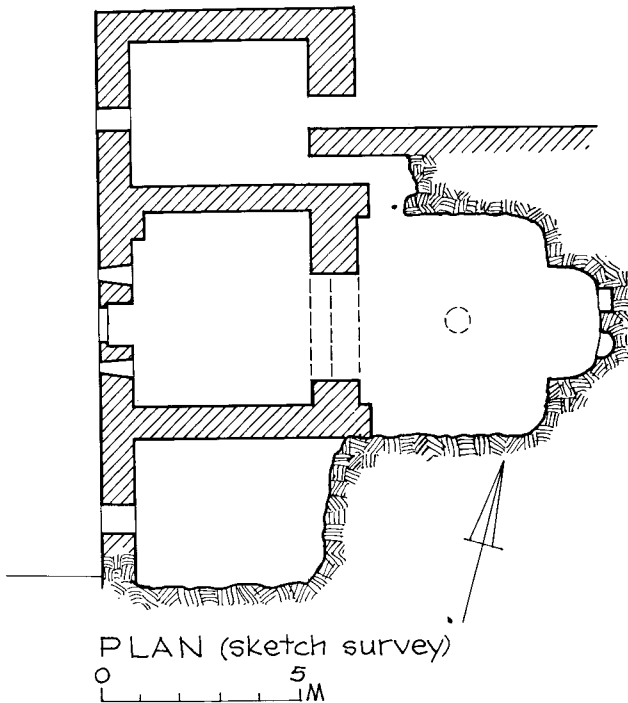
some fragments of twelfth-century work, probably originally derived from the Latin church and monastery, most of the present structure appears to be nineteenth century, restored most recently in 1974 (Petrozzi 1976: 207) (see pl. LI). However, its location is consistent with the descriptions given by Daniel and John Phocas, making it likely that it incorporates the cave church seen by them in the twelfth century.

The cave that forms the sanctuary of the church is rock-cut and roughly rectangular in plan with an irregular apse with two niches cut in it (fig. 21). The ceiling has at its centre a circular oculus, enclosed externally by a hexagonal surround of nineteenth-century date. On to the front of the cave is built a square nave, separated from it by a rounded arch, which is quite plain except for the keystone which is moulded and evidently derived from a medieval pointed arch. Externally, the lower three quoins of the nave are large blocks with the diagonal tooling commonly found on Frankish and Ayyubid buildings. However, they do not seem to be in their original positions; some are cracked at the edges and have pinnings inserted between them. It seems likely therefore that they too came from the monastery or fortress. Otherwise the masonry of the lower part of the façade consists of roughly coursed, roughly squared blocks with irregular pinnings.

Above this level, the façade of the nave has been rebuilt as part of an operation involving the construction of a pair of rooms flanking it to north and south. These do not communicate with the nave internally, and may have been intended as cells for monks. Some other fragments of Frankish masonry are built into this façade, including a horizontal cornice with a quirk, hollow and roll, above which is an oculus, and above that roll moulding. At the wall-head is a single gadrooned voussoir.



LI Mount Tabor, cave church of St Melchizedek (no. 158): façade.



21 Mount Tabor, cave church of St Melchizedek (no. 158): sketch plan.

Epigraphy

Two fragments of an Arabic inscription from the cave, interpreted as an invocation to the Saviour by a pilgrim named George, are dated to the seventh or eighth century on the basis of their Kufic script and compass-incised cross (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 164–7, pl. 31.1–2). A fragment of building stone bearing a *graffito* in Arabic, which appears to read simply 'Saint Melchizedek' above a triangular blazon, had also been found on Mount Tabor and is now in the Franciscan museum (Battista and Bagatti 1976: 119, pl. 31.3).

Visited 29.7.81.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), LXXXVIII (trans. Ryan, 161–2; de Khitrowo, 66–8); *ELS*, 328–9, no. 506 (1106–8); 331, no. 510 (1185); Phocas (1185), XI (PG, CXXXIII, 937; *PPTS*, v, 14; trans. Wilkinson, 321).

Baldi 1973: 231; Battista and Bagatti 1976: 15, 17, 164–7, pls. 32–3; Conder and Kitchen 1881: i, 368; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 67; Hamilton 1980: 167–8; Hoade 1978: 711; Meistermann 1900: 146; 1936: 558–9; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 261–2; Petrozzi 1975: 257–8; 1976: 204–7, fig. 38; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.

Cave of 'Nemini dixeritis' (?)186.232

John Phocas writes in 1185:

About a stone's throw outside the [Latin] monastery is a small cave, into which, after the awesome Transfiguration, the Lord entered, and commanded the disciples not to tell any one what they had seen until He had been raised from the dead. (ch. XI (trans. Wilkinson, 321; PG, CXXXIII, 937; cf. *PPTS*, V, 14))

This site is identified today with a ruined building of supposedly Byzantine date that was restored as a chapel by A. Barluzzi in 1921–2 (Baldi 1973: 231; Meistermann 1900: 144–5; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 262; Petrozzi 1976: 209, fig. 40). It stands 325 m west of the church of the Transfiguration, on the south side of the road (fig. 15), and consists of a rectangular structure, measuring 7.65 by 3.6 m internally, with walls 1.4 m thick standing 2.4 m high. To this Barluzzi added a semi-circular eastern apse and a door and windows on the west. It is not at all certain whether this building was originally a chapel at all, still less what its date was.

The location of the cave seen by Phocas is unknown, and there is in any case no particular indication that it was being used as a chapel. By 1283, the chapel of *Nemini dixeritis* was being identified with the remains of the former Latin parish church of Dabburiya (see Vol. 1, no. 81), at the foot of Mount Tabor on the west.

NABI SAMWIL

Cr. *Mons Gaudii, Monjoie, Montjoie, St Samuel, mons Silo, Rama, Bersamul*; Med. Ar. *Dayr Shamwil, Mār Samwīl*; Gk./Rus. *Armathem*

No. 159 Abbey Church of St Samuel 1671.1377

History

According to Eusebius (–331) and, following him, Jerome (*Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 32, lines 21–3)), the location of Rama (or Ramathaim-Zophim), where the prophet Samuel was buried (1 Samuel 25.1), was to be identified with *Remphis* or *Remfthis*, the modern Rantis (Grid ref. 152.159; see also no. 190). Other traditional locations for Rama, however, were also being shown in the early Christian centuries; and one of them,

the hill of Nabi Samwil, 7.5 km north-west of Jerusalem, seems to have supplanted the others by the early sixth century (cf. Theodosius, vi (CCSL, CLXXV, 117; trans. Wilkinson, 65)), possibly, as Fr F.M. Abel suggests, as a result of the discovery there of relics and their translation to Thrace under the emperor Arcadius that is recorded by Jerome in 406 (*Contra Vigilantium*, v (PL, XXIII, 343); Savignac and Abel 1912: 267–8; Abel 1967: II, 446; cf. Wilkinson 1977: 168). By 553–4, a monastery had been built at the site, to which the emperor Justinian had added a well and a defensive wall (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v, 9, 15 (Loeb, 359)).

With the Muslim conquest of Palestine in 636, this monastic establishment disappears from history (cf. Epiphanius, xi (trans. Wilkinson, 120)). It is not recorded in the *Commematorium de Casis Dei* (c.808), though a story recounted by al-Muqaddasī (c.985) indicates that in the tenth century *Dayr Shamwil* was the site of a prosperous village (Le Strange 1890: 433; Schwarz 1916).

At the time of the First Crusade, the hill was known to the Franks as *Mons Gaudii*, or 'Mount Joy' (*Qualiter sita* (c.1103) (IHC, I, 2); cf. Runciman 1951: I, 278; Prawer 1975a: I, 222–3). It is mentioned as such in 1114, when the village of *Meschium* (Kh. al-Misqah, Grid ref. 1606.1395) is described as 'lying beyond Mount Joy, to the left of the road leading to Nablus' (Kohler, *Chartes*, 9, no. 5; *RRH Ad*, 5, no. 76a), and in the following year, when Baldwin I confirmed to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat a piece of land lying *juxta Montem Gaudii* (Delaborde, 29, no. 6; *RRH*, 18, no. 80).

The traditional association of the hill with the prophet Samuel was also still known to eastern Christians at this time. In 1106–8, the Russian Abbot Daniel identifies it as *Armathem*, where there were to be found the tomb of Samuel, and those of his father, Elkanah, and of St Mary the Egyptian. The place was surrounded by a defensive wall, presumably that erected under Justinian (ch. VIII (trans. Ryan, 126–7); cf. Phocas (1185), XXIX (PG, CXXXIII, 960; *PPTS*, v, 34)).

The foundation of a Premonstratensian abbey at the site of Samuel's tomb is attributed to King Baldwin II (1118–31) in a later confirmation of that house's rights, granted by Baldwin V in 1185 (Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 68), and in the obituary list of the abbey of Prémontré itself (van Waefelghem, 43 (10 Feb.); cf. Mayer 1964: 37–8). It seems, however, that Baldwin's original intention had been to establish a Cistercian house at the site, for in a letter written by St Bernard of Clairvaux to the abbot of Prémontré around 1150 we read:

Near Jerusalem King Baldwin [II], during his lifetime, gave to us the place of Saint Samuel and at the same time 1000 gold

aurei with which to build; you, by our gift, both have the place and have received the money. (*Epist.*, CCLIII (PL, CLXXXII, 454))

Further details of why St Bernard declined the king's gift of the site and an endowment for founding a new house and passed them over instead to the Premonstratensians are given in the Life of St Bernard written by Geoffrey of Clairvaux:

Finally, like a flourishing vine, he extended his shoots in all directions, except that in the land of Jerusalem, although a site had been prepared by the king, he would not agree to send his brothers because of the attacks of the pagans and the intemperateness of the climate. (*S. Bernardi Vita*, III, 7 (PL, CLXXXV, 316))

Attempts to entice the Cistercians to the Holy Land may not have been altogether abandoned, however, for another letter written by St Bernard to the patriarch of Jerusalem around 1135, after St Samuel had been given to the Premonstratensians, includes the cryptic message:

Concerning the place to which you have invited us, Brother Andrew will tell you our decision. (*Epist.*, CLXXV (PL, CLXXXII, 337))

Several decades later, Cistercian houses were established at 'Ain Karim (Vol. I, no. 8) and possibly at 'Allar as-Sufla (Vol. I, no. 9; see also Pringle 1992). St Bernard's continuing concern for the Premonstratensians in the Holy Land is also illustrated in an undated letter sent to Queen Melisende, though it is not clear to which, if any, particular house of the order this should be related (*Epist.*, CCCLV (PL, CLXXXII, 557–8); cf. Mayer 1964: 39).

The Premonstratensian abbey of Saint Samuel was a daughter house of Prémontré itself (Hugo, I, 39, no. 38; Mayer 1964: 39–40). Its abbot had the status of a suffragan of the patriarch of Jerusalem, with the right to a cross but not to a mitre nor a ring (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXI (RHC Lois, I, 415)). Two twelfth-century abbots, Theodoric and Hugh, are recorded in the obituary list of Prémontré, drawn up before 1175–8 (van Waefelghem, 75; 165); and a third, whose name began with R, is also recorded in 1156 (Bresc-Bautier, 144, no. 54; *RRH*, 83, no. 323).

Although a church of some kind would doubtless have existed before the death of Baldwin II in 1131, the first specific mention of one is not made until c.1158–9, when Gilbert Papiasius sold to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre a vineyard, 'near to the church of Mount Joy, that is to say directly adjoining the cemetery of that church' (Bresc-Bautier, 245, no. 121; *RRH*, 88, no. 340). Around 1169–71, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela was

apparently following the Western tradition in identifying this site as Shiloh, rather than Rama, the traditional Old Testament location of Samuel's tomb; but he evidently considered some explanation necessary for this change of location:

When the Christians captured Ramlah, the Ramah of old, from the Mohammedans [1099], they found there the grave of Samuel the Tamathite close to a Jewish synagogue. The Christians took the remains, conveyed them unto Shiloh, and erected over them a large church, and called it St. Samuel of Shiloh unto this day. (trans. Adler, 26)

Ramla (**q.v.**) of course had only been founded around AD 715, and although it contained a synagogue the discovery and translation of these evidently spurious relics is not otherwise attested. At about the time of Benjamin's visit, however, the Christian pilgrim John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) identified the site as both Mount Shiloh and as Ramah, 'where the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle of the Lord remained from the coming of the Children of Israel up till the time of the prophet Samuel and King David' (CCCM, cxxxix, 85). But it was left to a later pilgrim, Theodoric (1169–72), to contradict the Biblical narrative and assert that this Shiloh was indeed the burial place of Samuel,

whence, having changed its original name, the same place is called At St Samuel (*Ad Sanctum Samuelem*); and there also exists there a community, monastically professed, who are called Grisi (the greys). (ch. xxxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 185))

The rights and possessions of the abbey of St Samuel, including its church on Mount Joy, were confirmed by Baldwin V in December 1185 (Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 67–71).

In July 1187, Malik al-Ādil, having captured *Mirabel* (Majdal Yaba: **q.v.**), provided its inhabitants with a safe conduct as far as the monastery of St Samuel, where his escort of up to 400 Turks was attacked by the Templars and men from Jerusalem and forced to withdraw (*de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 229–30)); however, the abbey also fell to Saladin by the end of the year (*de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 239–40; IHC, III, 114)). During the Third Crusade the hill was occupied in turn by the Muslims and the Christians, including on separate occasions both King Richard I (*Eracles*, xxvi, 7 (RHC Occ, II, 184, var. d); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, cxxxii (ed. Morgan, 135)) and al-Ādil (Bahā' al-Dīn, clxvi, clxviii, clxxiii (PPTS, XIII, 374; 377; 390)). According to Ralph of Coggeshall, it was from the wall of a chapel at St Samuel's in June 1192 that a saintly hermit, identified by other sources as the Orthodox abbot of St Elias (see **no. 202**), extracted and presented to Richard a relic of the Holy Cross, which he had

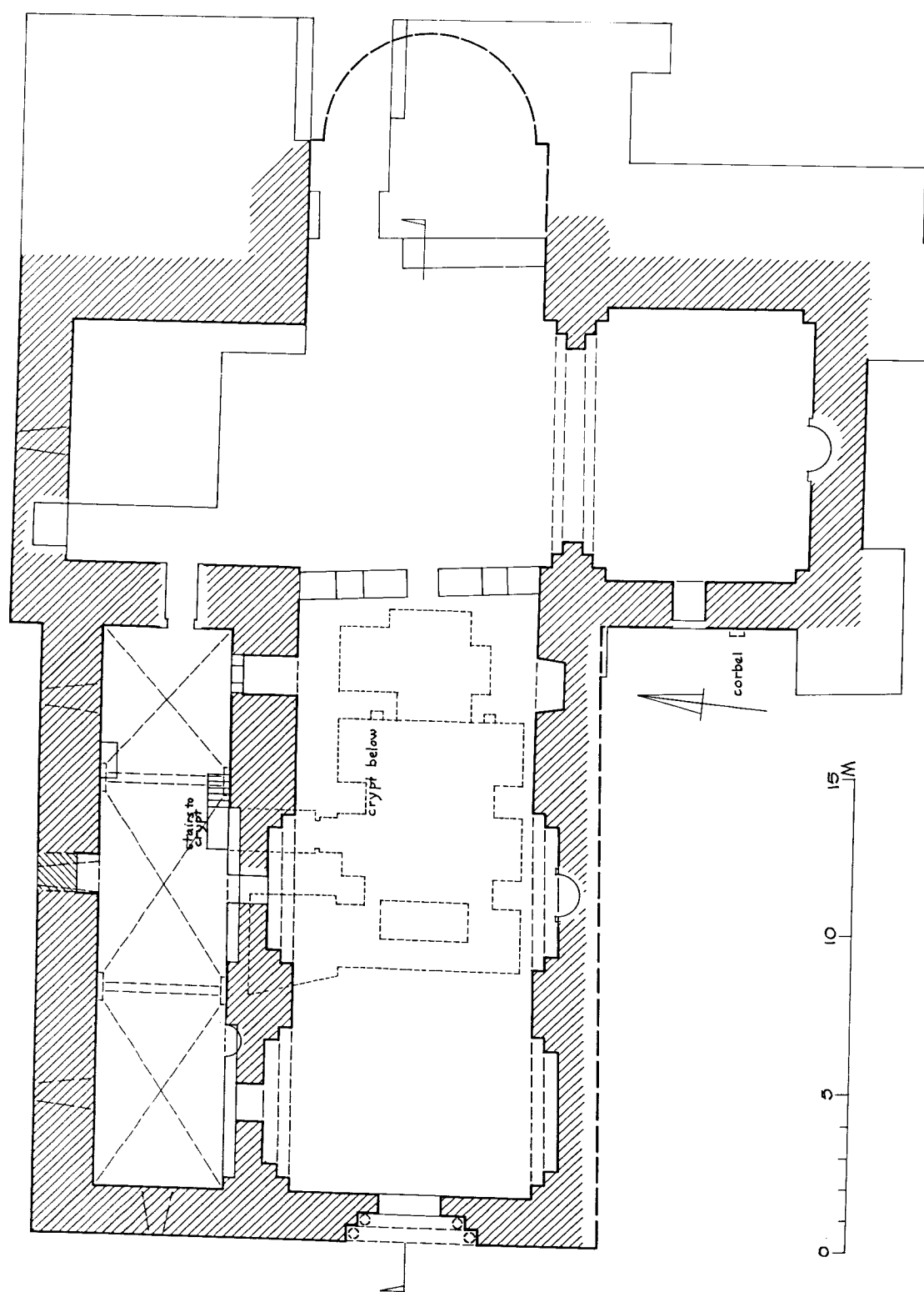
secreted there at the time of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin (*Chronicon* (RS, LXVI, 40–1)). It seems unlikely that the Premonstratensian canons ever returned to St Samuel's from Acre (**q.v.**), where they had taken refuge (cf. Mayer 1964: 41–4). Their claim to the monastery's possessions, however, was restated by Abbot Gervaise of Prémontré in letters to the patriarch of Jerusalem and to the emperor, Frederick II, between 1217 and 1227 (RRH, 242–3, no. 906; Hugo, I, 38–9, no. 38; 117, no. 130).

In 1241, Dair Samwil (*Bersamul*) and other places on the road between Lydda and Jerusalem were formally ceded to the Franks (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142–3)), but all would have been lost in 1244 (Prawer 1975a: II, 310–13; Runciman 1951: III, 224–7). *St Samuel* and *Mons Gaudii* are marked *cas(trum) et monasterium* on Matthew Paris's map of the Holy Land of c.1252. The 'house of Samuel' was visited by Ricoldus of Montecroce around 1289–91 (ch. III, 8–9 (ed. Laurent, 107)); and in 1335 James of Verona records many Jews going to the tomb (1335: 181).

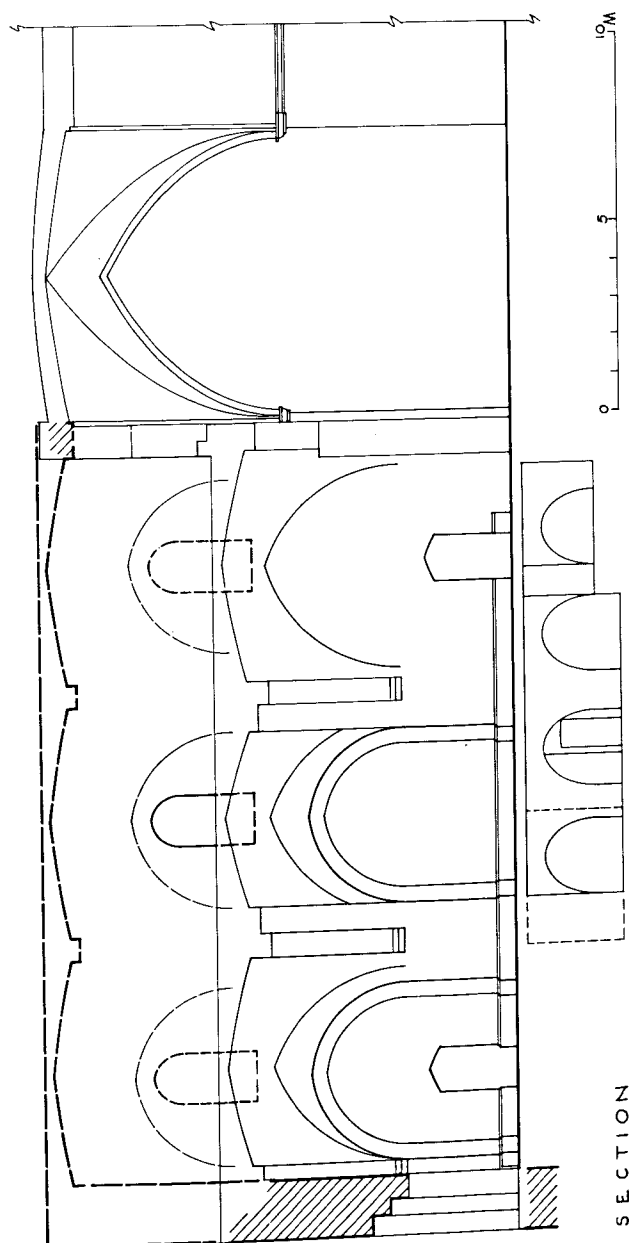
In the seventeenth century a mosque built on the ruins of the church is referred to by J. Goujon (1670: 290; cf. Nau 1679: 497ff.); but the nave was already ruined by the nineteenth century, when its remains were seen by Count Melchior de Vogüé (1860: 339–40), V. Guérin (1880: I, 362–84) and the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 149–52). Around 1912, the Muslim authorities began building a larger mosque over the nave and in so doing brought to light the foundations of the church. These were surveyed at that time by Frs Savignac and Abel (1912); and the other early structures surviving amongst the village houses of the hilltop (mostly destroyed since 1967: cf. Billings 1987: fig. p. 118 [reversed]), have been studied by P. Lohmann (1918) and Fr Vincent (1922a). In 1917 the mosque was badly damaged by Turkish artillery, and was subsequently repaired. Camille Enlart's description written shortly after this is confused and somewhat misleading (1925: II, 277–82).

Description

The siting of the Premonstratensian church of St Samuel was determined by that of the tomb traditionally identified as the prophet's. There had probably been a church on this site from the fifth century (see above), but no trace has survived except for a column base, recorded by Frs Savignac and Abel (1912: 279, fig. 7), and the outline of Justinian's defensive wall, which may still be partly traced (see below).



22 Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): plan.



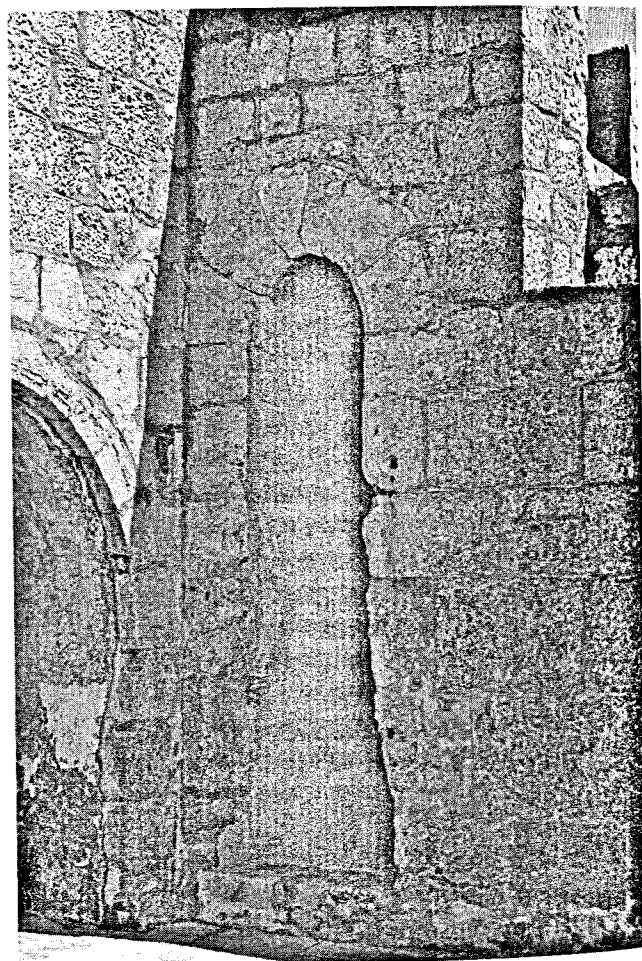
23 Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): section.

The surviving structural evidence supports the assertion made to Frs Savignac and Abel by the imam that the mosque of 1912 was built directly on the Frankish foundations. The church had a cruciform plan, with a single nave, projecting transepts and chancel, and an enclosed annexe flanking the north side of the nave, somewhat in the manner of an aisle (fig. 22). This annexe and much of the north nave wall, transepts and crossing were all reasonably intact before the Muslim reconstruction began (cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 149–52, figs.). But although the rebuilt nave follows precisely the earlier wall footings, its vault is considerably lower than the Crusader nave vault would have been.

The church was built in the local soft yellow limestone. Where Frankish masonry is exposed, it appears smoothly dressed, with pronounced diagonal striations, contrasting with the toothed-chiselled work of the later Ottoman rebuilders.

The main entrance to the nave was on the west, where the lower courses survive of a door (now blocked), 2.05 m wide, originally recessed behind an arch of two orders carried on two pairs of colonnettes (now gone) (Savignac and Abel 1912: 274). The nave itself was 20.02 m long internally, 7.65 m (east) to 7.73 m (west) wide, and about 12 m high. Remains of two clearstorey windows enclosed by vault lines survive in the north wall, above the level of the present mosque's roof (see fig. 23; pl. LII). From this evidence and from the difference in height between these vaults and the crossing arch, it may be deduced that the nave was vaulted either by three bays of groin-vaults, which would have risen towards the east–west centre-line of the nave, or else by a single barrel-vault, intersected at right-angles by vaults disclosing the windows, as in the Latin church at Ramla (no. 188); in either case, photographs taken before the rebuilding show that the bays were defined by thick transverse ribs, springing from corbels apparently in the form of elbow-columns at a level just below that of the present mosque roof (pl. LIII; cf. Savignac and Abel 1912: fig. 2). One of these corbels may perhaps be the elbow-column illustrated by Savignac and Abel (1912: fig. 6).

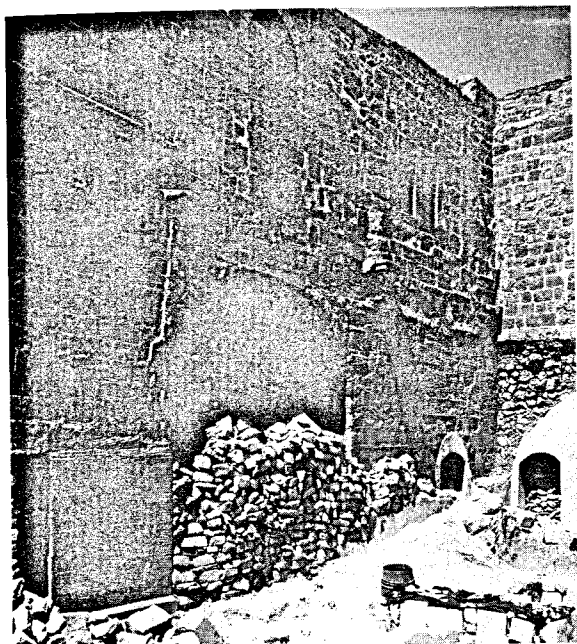
The north and south walls of each of the two western nave bays are recessed within a blind arch of two orders, but in the eastern bay the wall surface is plain (pls. LIV–LV). If the reason for this distinction is not simply structural, it may perhaps have to do with the location of the pulpitum dividing the canons' choir from the rest of the nave. Low-pointed doorways (1.13 and 1.23 m wide respectively) led from the western and eastern bays into the north annexe. Although the central bay is now



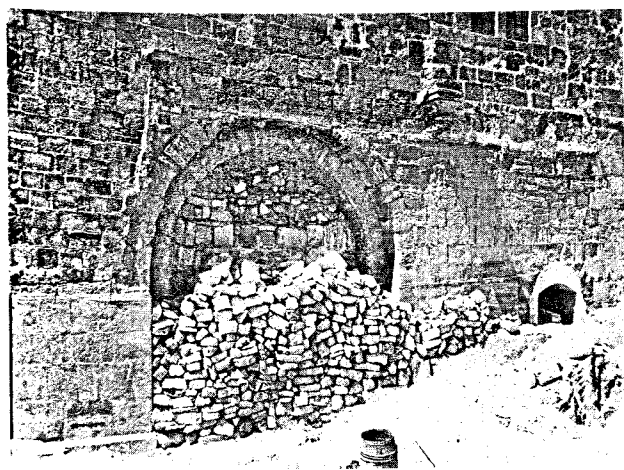
LII Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): exterior of surviving north clearstorey window.

pierced by a rectangular window, the plinth below it is continuous; it is therefore not certain whether there was always an opening here. The present windows in the south wall are all modern (as is the *mihrāb* in the central bay); but a low-arched recess in the east bay, resembling (but apparently not) a blocked door, seems to be original. The lower part of the south wall is in any case unlikely to have had windows if, as seems likely (see below), its external face was abutted by the roof of the cloister. The main lighting for the nave would therefore have come from its clearstorey windows, of which remains of two survive in the north wall. The centre one, which is almost complete (though blocked), had the form of a splayed lancet, narrowing from 1.33 m wide on the inside to 0.54 m on the outside, with a 6 cm external chamfer (pls. LII–LIII).

The transepts measure internally about 23.5 m from north to south, and the southern one is 8.5 m wide. The north transept has been greatly altered by the construction within it of accommodation for the guardian of



LIII Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): north side of the nave as photographed by Frs Savignac and Abel in 1912, showing the clearstorey.



LIV Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): north side of the nave as photographed by Frs Savignac and Abel in 1912.

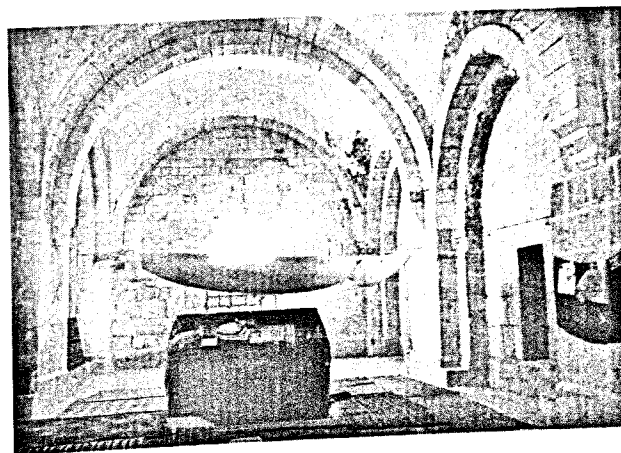
the mosque, and its vaulting and that of the crossing (pl. lvi) appear to be the products of an Ottoman reconstruction carried out before the 1870s (cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, figs.). The south transept, however, seems to be mostly original with the exception of the *mihrāb* in the south wall, the vaulting and much of its external facing and corner buttresses, the south-eastern of which supports a minaret (cf. Savignac and Abel 1912: 276).

A cyma-recta cornice moulding, which probably once

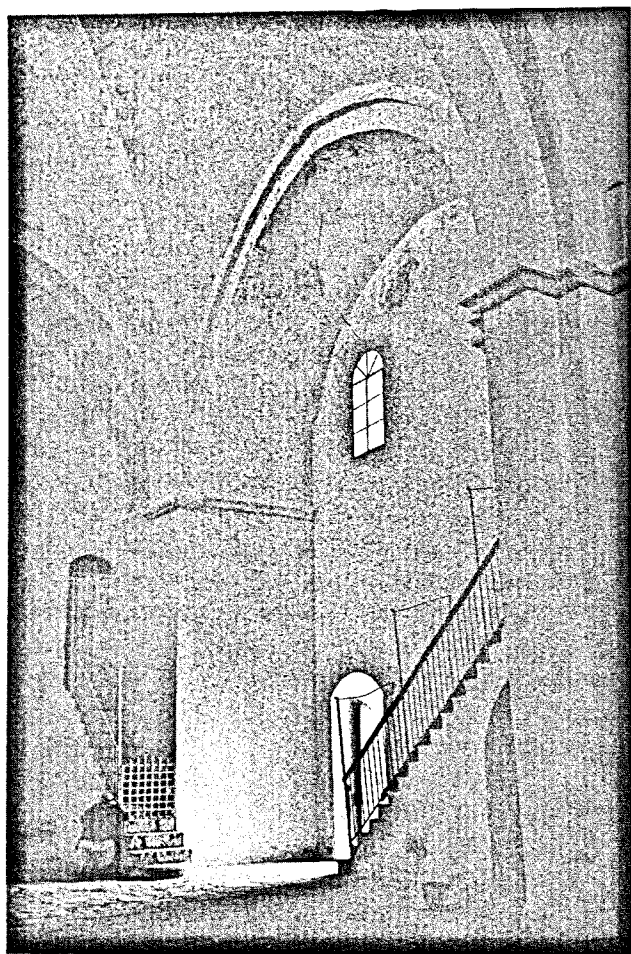
ran around the whole interior of the church (including the nave) 6.2 m above pavement level, now serves as a useful indicator of which parts of the transepts and chancel are likely to be original and which rebuilt. Using this as a guide, it may be deduced that the pilasters and transverse arch separating the south transept from the crossing is probably original, and that a corresponding arrangement on the north has been suppressed. Above this cornice the south transept was lit by lancet windows in each wall; but the only original opening below is a blocked doorway on the west that would have given into the cloister. Both transepts are likely to have been covered originally by groin-vaults; but it is not certain whether the crossing was vaulted in a similar fashion, or perhaps covered by a lantern tower.

The east end of the church had been destroyed before the 1870s. It seems likely, however, that the existing chancel arch represents at least the same profile as the original, even if it does not in fact contain elements of it. Frs Savignac and Abel were told by the imam of the existence of the buried foundations of a semi-circular apse, and saw for themselves the first stone of it on the north (1912: 276); but this is no longer evident.

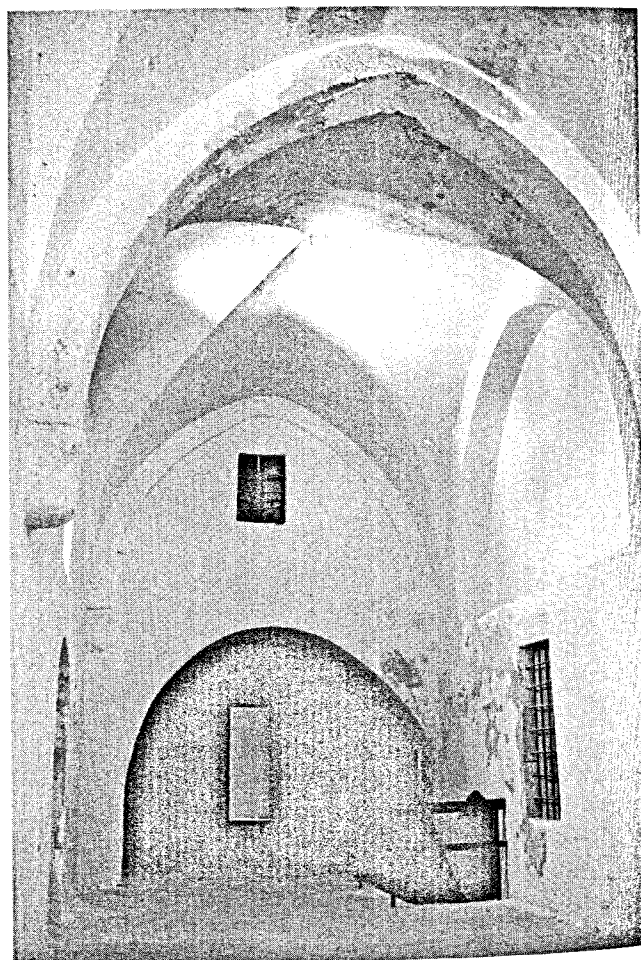
The annexe which flanks the north side of the nave could be entered from both the western and eastern bays of the nave, and also probably as today from the north transept. There was also an outside door in the centre of the north wall. The annexe is 16.6 m long by 4.2 m wide, and covered by three bays of groin-vaults divided by transverse arches springing from elbow-columns, now heavily coated in plaster (pl. lvii). It is lit by splayed lancet windows. The principal function of this annexe seems to have been to give access to the crypt in which the tomb of the prophet was located. Indeed, the outside door, which directly faces the entrance into the crypt, would have allowed pilgrims to visit the tomb



LV Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): nave as rebuilt in 1912, looking west.



LV1 Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): crossing seen from the north transept.



LVII Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): north annexe containing the entrance to the crypt, looking east.

without ever having to enter the main church, while the other doors could also have provided processional routes associated with the veneration of the tomb.

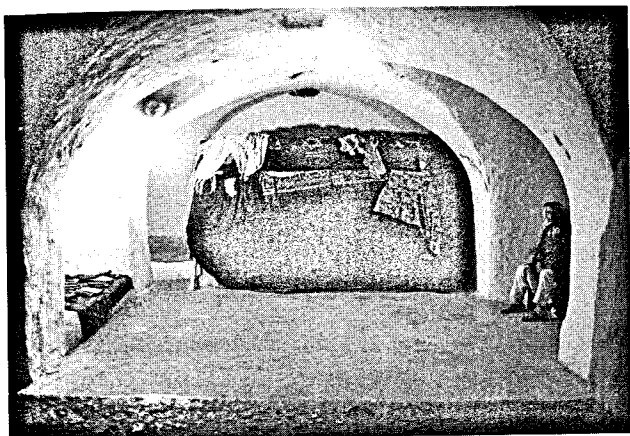
The Crypt

The crypt, which lies directly below the nave of the twelfth-century church, appears to be partly rock-cut and partly built, though the thick plaster on its wall-surfaces makes it impossible to tell rock from masonry (pl. LVIII). The main chamber is oriented east-west (7.95 by 5.90 m) and is covered by a low barrel-vault with three bays of intersecting vaults. A subsidiary chamber opens north of the western bay; and another, at a raised level, lies to the east, forming a kind of altar table flanked by niches in the east wall to left and right. The present cenotaph stands in the western bay; but the Frankish arrangement was not necessarily the same, especially in view of Abbot Daniel's observation that the site also contained the tombs of Elkanah and St Mary the Egyptian.

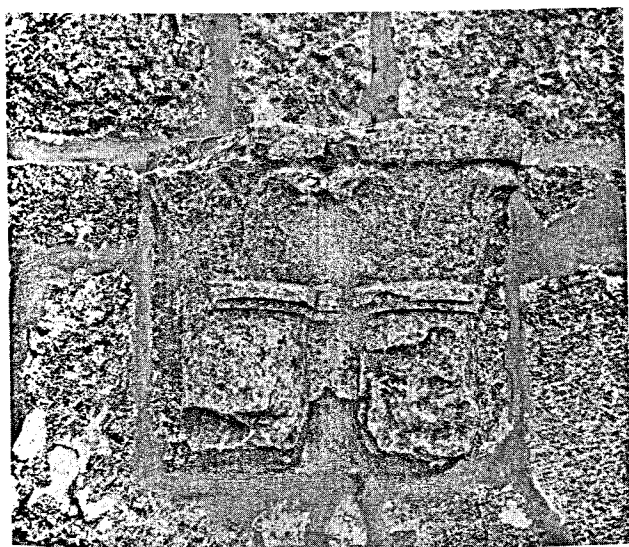
Associated Buildings

A corbel, consisting of a pair of elbow-columns and capitals with a single abacus, survives built into the west side of the south transept, 3.83 m from the south wall of the nave (pl. LIX). The springing of former vaulting may be made out just above it. It seems quite probable that this originally formed part of a groin-vaulted cloister that would have extended south of the nave, measuring perhaps some 20 m square overall. No trace survives, however, of the dormitory range that one would expect to have run south from the south transept, nor of the other ranges that are likely to have existed, though their foundations may perhaps one day be excavated. In a position that would have corresponded with the centre of the eastern side of the cloister the plan made by Fr Vincent indicates the mouth of a cistern (1922a: 387, pl. XII.m).

Fr Vincent was also able to study the layout of a defensive wall which both surrounded the abbey and



LVIII Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): crypt, looking west.



LIX Nabi Samwil, church of St Samuel (no. 159): pair of elbow-columns built into the west side of the south transept.

formed a retaining wall for the terrace upon which it was built. Some fragments of this still remain to be seen on the south-west. Sixty years ago the wall could be seen to be faced with large ashlar, some rusticated with drafted borders, and some smoothly dressed. It formed a large rectangle, measuring some 90 m (east-west) by 55 m (north-south). Vincent noted remains of a projecting tower at the north-west corner and another on the south; doubtless there were originally more. Pointed barrel-vaults, apparently of medieval date, were built against the inside of the north and west walls and supported the terrace above. It was not until 1993-4 that the excavations which Vincent hoped might further elucidate the character and dating of this structure

finally took place under the aegis of the Israel Antiquities Authority. Publication is still awaited, but in the meantime there would seem little reason to doubt Vincent's interpretation of the remains that he saw as Justinianic in origin, repaired and strengthened by the Franks in the twelfth century (1922a: 387-92, figs 1-2, pl. xii).

Epigraphy

The masonry marks of the church have been recorded and studied by Conder and Kitchener (1881: III, 149), Savignac and Abel (1912: fig. 1), de Sandoli (1974: 247) and Pringle (1981a: 184-5). The following additional types may be noted: 8-19, 20-4, 24-3 and 10-7 (but with a double vertical stem). An undated seal of the abbey shows on the obverse Samuel anointing a king of Israel, either Saul or David, and on the reverse the call of the young prophet (Piccirillo 1980).

Visited 4.2.79, 30.6.81, 25.7.81, 14.9.94.

Sources

Anon. Saec. XIII, XXIV (IHC, IV, 358); Benjamin of Tudela (c.1169-71) (ed. Adler, 42; trans. 26); Bernard of Clairvaux. *Epist.*, CCLIII; CCCLV (PL, CLXXXII, 453-4; 557-8); S. Bernardi Vita, III, 7 (PL, CLXXXV, 316); Bresc-Bautier, 144, no. 54 (1156); 245, no. 121 (c.1158-9); *Chemins et pèlerinages A* (-1265), I, 3; B (1268), II, 14 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 181-2; 196); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, CXXXII (ed. Morgan, 135); Daniel (1106-8), VIII (trans. Ryan, 126-7; de Khitrowo, 11); *Eracles*, XXVI, 7 (var. D) (1192) (RHC Occ, II, 184); *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 229-30; 239-40; IHC, III, 112; 114) (1187); Hugo, I, 38-9, no. 38 (1217); 117, no. 130 (-1220); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXI (RHC Lois, I, 415); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (RHC Lois, I, 415); Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 67-71 (1185); *Pelerinages* (c.1252); Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 67-71 (1185); *Pelerinages* (c.1252), v (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 93); *Pelerinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229-30); Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon* (RS, LXVI, 40-41) (1192); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289-91), III, 8-9 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, IV, 264); Röhrich, 'Karten', no. 4 (London, c.1250); RRH, 55, no. 216 (1143); 83, no. 323 (1156); 88, no. 340 (c.1158-9); 242-3, no. 906 (1217); Theodoric (1169-72), XXXVIII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 185; PPTS, v, 58); van Waefelghem (ed.), 43; 75; 165 (-1176/8).

Abel 1967: II, 446-7; Adorno 1470-1: 302; Antony of Cremona 1327-31: 162; Backmund 1949: I, 405; III, 616; Baedeker 1876b: 16; Bagatti 1979: 88-9, pl. 30; Baldi 1973: 164; Benvenisti 1970: 19, 125, 225, 314, 318, 344-6, 349, 362-4; Beyer 1940: 177; Billings 1987: 120, fig. 118; Boase 1971: 103; van Bruyn 1725: II, 169; du Cange 1869: 832; Çelebi 1648-50: 54-5; Conder 1874: 60; 1875b: 39; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 12, 149-52, figs.; Enlart 1925: I, fig. 4; II, 277-82, figs. 385-90, pl. 123; Goujon 1670: 290; Guérin 1880: I, 362-84; Hamilton 1977: 113-14; 1980:

101; Heyck 1900: fig. 19; Hoade 1946: 391–2; 1978: 586–9; Johns 1937: 22 (J5); Langé 1965: 159, 185; Lohmann 1918; Marmardji 1951: 74; Mayer 1964; Meistermann 1936: 441–4, fig.; Nau 1679: 497; Palestine 1929: 210; 1948: 153; Perera 1553b: 62; Piccirillo 1980; Pococke 1743: III, 6, 48; Porter 1867, 172; 1887: 141, fig. p. 140; Pringle 1981a: 184–5; 1992b: 183, 190; 1993: 36; Röhricht 1887a: 41; de Sandoli 1974: 247, no. 336; Savignac and Abel 1912; Schiller 1979: 294; Schwarz 1916; Shohet 1939; Tobler 1853: II, 874–87; Vincent 1922a; de Vogüé 1860: 339–40; Wilson 1880a: I, 188–90, fig.; 1880b: III, 68–70, fig.

an-NABI YUSUF

Qabr Yusuf, Tomb of Joseph 1771.1799

By the early fourth century the place where Joseph was buried on the land given him by his father Jacob (Joshua 24.32) was being located near the deserted town of *Sychem* (Tall Balata), in the eastern suburbs of *Neapolis* (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 150, lines 1–7; cf. 158, lines, 1–3; Bordeaux Pilgrim (333) (CCSL, CLXXV, 13–14; trans. Wilkinson, 154–5)). The relics were recovered and translated to Constantinople in 415 (*Chron. Paschale*, ann. 415 (PG, xcii, 788); *Tractatus de Inuentione Sanctorum Patriarcharum*, I, 7–8 (RHC Occ, v, 307–8); Petrozzi 1973: 191–2).

In 1137, Peter the Deacon describes the tomb of Joseph as lying in a church, only 50 yards from Jacob's Well (see Vol. I, no. 108); however, the source from which he drew this information appears to be much earlier, possibly Egeria (AD 384) (section R (CCSL, CLXXV, 98; IHC, II, XXI; trans. Wilkinson, 193)). None the less, the tomb of Joseph was seen in *Sichem* by twelfth-century western pilgrims (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxxii (IHC, II, 96–8); Anon. VI (c.1148), 7 (IHC, III, 64); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 84); Theodoric (1169–72), XLII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 189–90)). William of Malmesbury describes it as being covered with white marble, with the less distinguished mausolea of Joseph's brothers near by (ch. IV, 377 (IHC, II, 68)). There is no indication, however, that the tomb was any longer a Christian place of worship at this date; indeed, it was one of the Muslim places of pilgrimage visited by al-Harawī around 1171 (trans. Sourdell-Thomine, 60–1; cf. Le Strange 1890: 512), and Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71) implies that it was in the hands of the Samaritans (trans. Adler, 21).

The present building, a small rectangular room

containing a cenotaph, dates from 1868 and is surrounded by other structures for the use of pilgrims and travellers (Abel 1933: 384–7; Petrozzi 1973: 189–94, figs. 51–3).

Not visited.

Sources

Anon. VI (c.1148), 7 (IHC, III, 64; PPTS, VI, 59); Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71) (trans. Adler, 21); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxxii (IHC, II, 96–8; PPTS, V, 33); al-Harawī (c.1171) (trans. Sourdell-Thomine, 60–1); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 84); Le Strange, 512; Peter the Deacon (1137), section R (CCSL, CLXXV, 98; IHC, II, 192; trans. Wilkinson, 193); Theodoric (1169–72), XLII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 189–90; PPTS, V, 62); *Tractatus de Inuentione Sanctorum Patriarcharum*, I, 7–8 (RHC Occ, v, 308); William of Malmesbury, IV, 377 (IHC, II, 68).

Abel 1933: 384–7; 1967: II, 458–9; Hoade 1978: 555; Palestine 1948: 89; Petrozzi 1973: 189–94, figs. 51–3; Roberts 1842b: IV, 10–11, pl. 78; Schenke 1968; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 59, 62; Wilson 1880a: I, fig. p. 231; II, 2–3; 1880b: II, 2–3; III, fig. p. 111.

NABLUS

Cr. Neapolis, Naples, Sychar, Sichem

Nablus was raided by Tancred and Eustace of Boulogne on 10 July 1099 and surrendered to them around the 25th, just after the fall of Jerusalem (Baldrick of Dol (RHC Occ, IV, 100, 105); *Gesta Francorum*, CXXXIX (ed. Hill, 93); Hagenmeyer 1900: 474, 482–3; Runciman 1951: I, 295; Kedar 1989: 82–3). The town and its territory subsequently became part of the royal domain (Albert of Aachen, XII, 30 (RHC Occ, IV, 709–10)), supporting a total of 85 knights and 300 sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXXI, CCLXXII (RHC Lois, I, 423, 426)).

In June 1113, the Muslim inhabitants of the surrounding hill country revolted against their Frankish overlords when Mawdūd of Mosul and Toghtekin of Damascus invaded the kingdom; the town was sacked (Fulcher of Chartres, II, 49 (RHC Occ, III, 427; trans. Ryan, 207); Prawer 1975a: I, 293). Nablus was raided again in 1137 by Bazwāj of Damascus, who took some 500 prisoners, including Samaritans; although it had no walls, on this occasion some of the inhabitants were able to take refuge in the citadel (*presidium*), which lay in the

centre of the town (William of Tyre, xiv, 27 (CCCM, LXIII, 666–7; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 88–9); Runciman 1951: II, 204; Prawer 1975a: I, 324; Kedar 1989: 91–2).

The ecclesiastical establishment in Nablus would probably have been in place by January 1120, when a council of barons and churchmen was summoned there by Patriarch Warmund and King Baldwin II to address the moral issues facing the kingdom (Mansi, XXI, 261–6; William of Tyre, XII, 13 (CCCM, LXIII, 563–4); Hamilton 1980: 64–5).

Following the settlement made between Baldwin III and his mother Queen Melisende in 1152, Nablus was held by the queen until her death in 1162 (William of Tyre, XVII, 14 (CCCM, LXIII, 778–80; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 205–7); Runciman 1951: II, 334–5; Prawer 1975a: I, 402). In 1174, it formed the dower fief of Queen Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric I, and on her marriage to Balian II of Ibelin two years later it effectively passed to him (William of Tyre, XXI, 17 (18) (CCCM, LXIII, 986; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 425); Runciman 1951: II, 406; Prawer 1975a: I, 581).

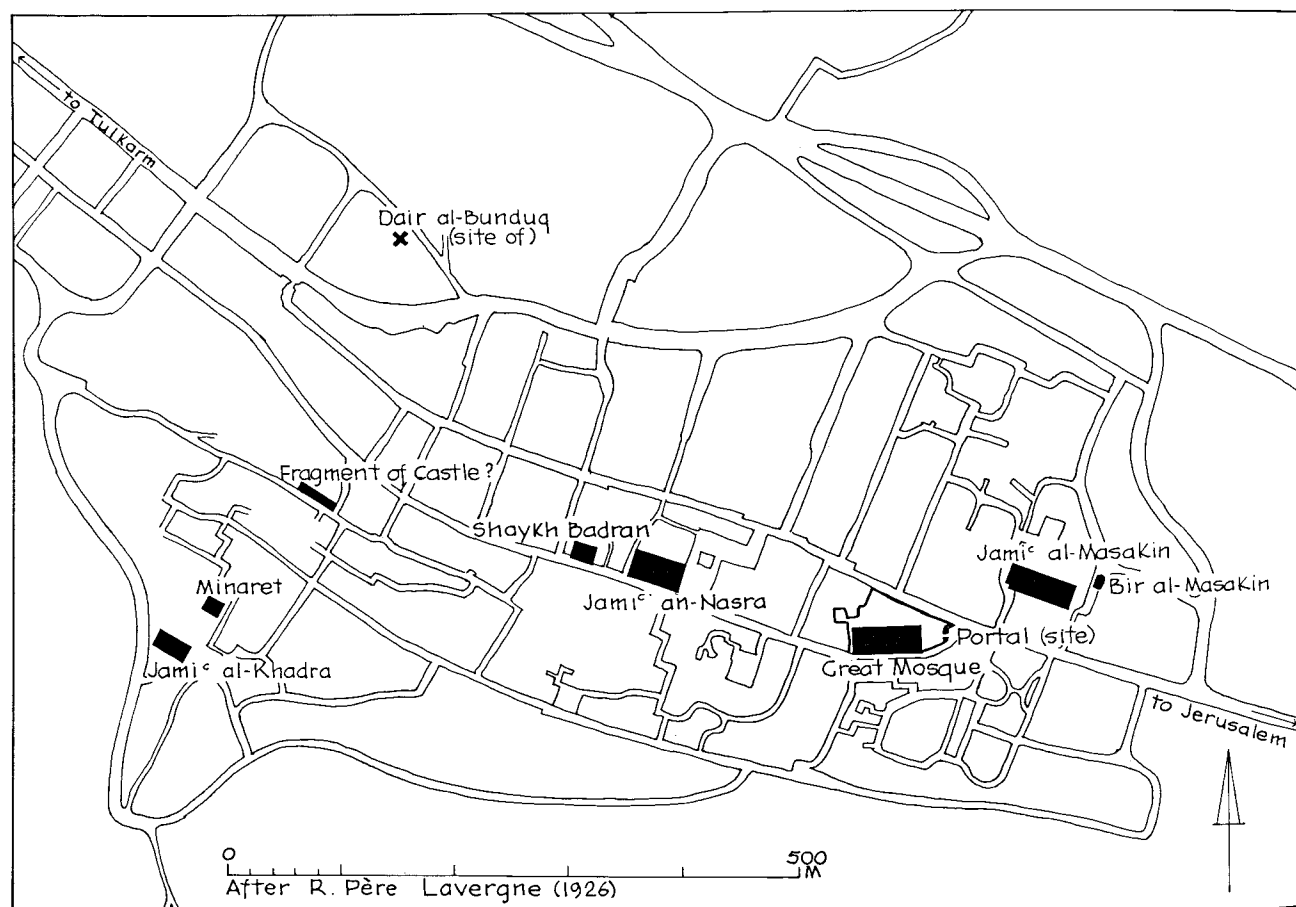
In September 1184, another Muslim raid penetrated the town but again failed to take the castle (Bahā' al-Dīn, xxviii (PPTS, XIII, 97); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 53); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, I, 667); Ralph of Diss (RS, LXVIII.ii, 28); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 105–6); Ibn Jubayr (trans. Gaudesfroy-Demombynes, III, 349–50); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 74–5; Runciman 1951: II, 442; Prawer 1975a: I, 632; Kedar 1989: 92). Nablus was finally taken by Huṣām al-Dīn, Saladin's nephew, in July 1187 and never returned to Frankish control (*de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 233); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 116); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 57); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, I, 690); Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 35–6, 99); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 83; Prawer 1975a: I, 661).

Medieval Nablus occupied the site of Flavia Neapolis, a new city established a short distance to the west of ancient Shechem by Vespasian in AD 72 and raised to the status of *colonia* under Philip I Arabicus (244–9) (Abel 1923; 1967: II, 396–7; on the topography of Neapolis, see Magen 1993c: 1354–9). The town lies in a valley between Mount Garizim on the south and Mount Ebal on the north. From the tenth century it was known as 'Little Damascus', apparently on account of its location and running waters. Al-Muqaddasī (c.985) describes the town much as it has remained to this day (fig. 24), with an elongated plan, a market stretching the length of it, and the great mosque and another market in the centre (Le Strange 1890: 511; Marmardji 1951: 198; Buhl 1993).

In the twelfth century, despite an exodus of refugees to Damascus between 1156 and 1173, the population of the area was largely Muslim and potentially hostile to the Franks (Theodoric, xli–xlii (CCCM, cxxxix, 187–8); Kedar and al-Hajjūj 1994: 147–54; Kedar 1990: 155–6). There was also a significant Samaritan community, which according to Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71) numbered a thousand in the town itself (ed. Adler, 20–1; cf. Kedar 1989: 84), as well as some eastern Christians.

Frankish settlement appears hardly to have extended beyond the immediate environs of the town, where there was a burgess court and a court of justice presided over by a viscount (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxx (RHC Lois, I, 419); Usāmah (trans. Hitti, 167–9); cf. La Monte 1938; Beyer 1940: 156–65). Frankish cultivation of vineyards is mentioned in 1166 (Chalandon, 314; *RRH* Ad, 25–6, no. 422a), and vineyards and sugar-production in 1177 (Strehlke, 9, no. 8; *RRH*, 146, no. 548). In 1173 there is reference to a market (Strehlke, 7–8, no. 6; cf. 122, no. 128; *RRH*, 130–1, no. 496; cf. Abel 1923: 124–5); and among the merchants recorded in Frankish Nablus was a vintner, whose lack of concern at his wife's adultery caused Usāmah Ibn Munqidh some astonishment (trans. Hitti, 164–5), and another whose wife, Paschia de Riveri, became the celebrated mistress of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius (Ernoul (de Mas Latrie, 86–7); Hamilton 1980: 81; Runciman 1951: II, 317, 425).

Although town gates are mentioned in 1099 (Baldrich of Dol (RHC Occ, IV, 100)), William of Tyre states that in 1137 Nablus had no town walls, outworks or even a ditch (ch. XIV, 27; cf. XVII, 20 (CCCM, LXIII, 666–7, 788; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 88–9, 215)). As the town is overlooked by hills on two sides, such defences would probably have been ineffectual in any case, and it seems that none were provided in the twelfth century (Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), VII, 22 (ed. Laurent, 54–5; *IHC*, IV, 166); Sanudo, III, 14, 5 (ed. Bongars, 251); cf. Abel 1923: 121–3). The Muslims' castle (*castellum*) that Tancred and Eustace failed to take on 10 July 1099 probably formed the basis for the *Turris Neapolitana*, or royal castle, that is credited to Baldwin I (Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum* (RHC Occ, III, 543n.)), and the *presidium* in which the inhabitants took refuge in 1137. Later it is also called the *palatium regis* (*RRH*, 50, no. 201 (1141)), and on a seal which Amalric, viscount of Nablus, applied to a document in 1178, it is styled [c]a[s]trum Fontis Tancredi (Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet, 53, no. 123; de Sandoli 1974: 273, no. 368). In 1382, the castle (*al-qal'a*) was sold by Isma'il Ibn Sālim bint Nu'mān for 200



24 Nablus: plan of the town, showing the location of the great mosque (no. 161), Jami' an-Nasr (no. 162), Dair al-Bunduq (no. 163), Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165) and Jami' al-Khadra.

dirhams (Little 1984: 46, no. 368). Its remains have been identified with a section of battered wall base, built with drafted masonry, which survives on the west side of the town (Abel 1923: 130–1, fig. 9; Benvenisti 1970: 164–5), though the identification is far from certain.

Among the properties in ecclesiastical ownership, other than those described more fully below, may be noted a house granted to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat by Baldwin II (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18; RRH, 33–4, no. 134 (1130)), some houses belonging to the abbey of St Mary of Mount Sion (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 280–7, no. 113; RRH, 153–4, no. 574 (1179)) and others in the hands of the church of Bethlehem (Riant, *Études*, I, 145, doc. 9; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 377–83, no. 190; RRH, 258–60, no. 983 (1227); cf. Beyer 1940: 170). On the eastern outskirts of Nablus, the church of the Saviour at Jacob's Well, established by Ermengarde of Brittany in 1132–5, had been rebuilt by 1169–72 when it was being served by nuns from Bethany; and by 1177 the

abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat had established a priory at 'Askar (*Sichar*), which seems to have made use of the same church (see Vol. I, nos. 25 and 108; and Vol. III, *Corrigenda*).

Nablus was extensively damaged by earthquakes in 1182, 1201 and 1202 (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 228; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 270). In the thirteenth century it was raided and burnt by the Templars on 30 October 1242 (*Histoire des Patriarches* (trans. Blochet, x, 350–1); Runciman 1951: III, 219–20; Prawer 1975a: II, 306); and after the fall of Antioch, Tripoli and Beirut (1291) to the Mamluks, a Samaritan chronicle records that the Muslims evicted the oriental Christian population and destroyed their churches (Kedar 1989: 93–4). Another earthquake in 1546 claimed 300–500 victims (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 229; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 271), though many medieval buildings were still standing in the seventeenth century (du Rozel 1644: 38; Çelebi 1648–50: 47–53; cf. Petrozzi 1973: 233). In 1837,

however, a quarter of the town was ruined and another quarter severely damaged by another earthquake; and in 1927 another caused the collapse of 300 buildings and the destruction of the town's only remaining medieval church (no. 166) (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 231, 235; 1952: 58–60, 64, fig. 3; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 273–4, 277).

The medieval buildings and topography of Nablus have been studied by V. Guérin (1874: I, 390–403), the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 203–20), C. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 310–22), F.M. Abel (1923), C. Enlart (1925: II, 282–92), M.T. Petrozzi (1973: 223–66), B. Bagatti (1979: 49–56, fig. 16) and M. Burgoyne (1987). The historical sources for the Crusader period are also treated by G. Beyer (1940: 156–67; cf. Le Strange 1890: 511–14).

No. 160 Parish Church (of the Templum Domini) (?) 1751.1805

History

In February 1168, Pope Alexander III confirmed to the patriarch of Jerusalem, Amalric of Neslé, his direct control over those former Orthodox sees to which no Latin bishops had been appointed, mentioning by name Jericho, Nablus and Darom (Dair al-Balah) (Bresc-Bautier, 275–8, no. 142; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 244–6, no. 91; RRH, 114, no. 439; Hamilton 1980: 78). Although Marino Sanudo was to claim in the 1320s that Nablus had been subject like Jaffa to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre (ch. III, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 177)), sources of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries state with more credibility that the town, which had no bishop, had been placed under the direct authority of the suffragan abbot of the *Templum Domini* (Anon. v (1180s), III, 4 (IHC, III, 38); Aymar the Monk (1199), IV (IHC, III, 170); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 151); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 58 (ed. Moschi, 98; IHC, III, 328); Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.ii, 110; IHC, III, 508)). This arrangement would probably have dated at least from the time of Patriarch Warmund (1118–28), whose grant to the *Templum Domini* of an annual 300 bezants from the tithes paid from the royal domain of Nablus was evidently intended to assist the abbey in carrying out its work there. It may indeed have been formalized at the time of the Council of Nablus, which met in January 1120 (cf. Mansi, XXI, 261–6; William of Tyre, XII, 13 (CCCM, LXIII, 563–4)). Warmund's grant of tithes was subsequently confirmed by his successors as patriarch,

Stephen of Chartres (1128–30) and William I (1130–45), and was also extended to cover the tithes on various other properties and money fiefs, all of which are listed in a confirmation of privileges granted to the abbey by King Amalric in April 1166 (Chalandon, 313–14; RRH Ad, 25–6, no. 422a). Among the properties owned by the abbey in Nablus the same diploma records houses and gardens but makes no reference to any church, the existence of which can therefore be only assumed. The administration of the parish would appear to have been in the hands of a dean of Nablus, one of whom, named Guilricus, appears as witness to a charter in 1167–8 (Bresc-Bautier, 288–9, no. 147; RRH, 119, no. 455; cf. Hamilton 1980: 99).

Lack of evidence makes it impossible to identify with certainty the twelfth-century parish church of Nablus with any particular surviving structure. The suggestion of M. Benvenisti (1970: 165) that it be equated with the Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166) must therefore be treated with caution. If the same pattern was followed as in other Muslim towns and cities taken by the Crusaders, however, it is likely that the great mosque would have become the principal parish church. This possibility is enhanced in the case of Nablus by the fact that its great mosque (no. 161) is known to have been a church in the Frankish period.

Sources

Anon. v (1180s), III, 4 (IHC, III, 38; PPTS, VI, 32); Aymar the Monk (1199), IV (IHC, III, 170); Bresc-Bautier, 288–9, no. 147 (1167–8); Chalandon, 313–14 (1166); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 58 (ed. Moschi, 98; IHC, III, 328); Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.ii, 110; IHC, III, 508); RRH, 119, no. 455 (1167–8); RRH Ad, 25–6, no. 422a (1166); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 151).

Benvenisti 1970: 165; Beyer 1940: 167, 170; Enlart 1925: II, 283; Hamilton 1980: 99; Mayer 1977: 172–96.

No. 161 Church (now the Great Mosque) 1751.1805

History

The position of the great mosque on the eastern side of the town to the south of the main market street corresponds with the location of a major church shown on the sixth-century Madaba map mosaic. As Abel has suggested, it thus appears likely that it occupies the site of the Byzantine cathedral church (1923: 127;

Avi-Yonah 1954: 45, no. 32). Though attacked by the Samaritans in 484 and 529, and possibly again in 555, this cathedral would probably have been restored by the emperor Justinian, along with the church on Mount Garizim and five others in Nablus that had been burnt in these disturbances (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v, 7 (Loeb, 348–54); Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae*, LXX–LXXIII (ed. Schwartz, 171–8; trans. Festugière, 100–7); Stein 1949: II, 31–2, 287–8, 373–4).

The great mosque is recorded by al-Muqaddasī in the late tenth century (Le Strange 1890: 511). No mention is made of it during the Frankish occupation, though in 1242 it was burnt by the Templars (*Histoire des Patriarches* (trans. Blochet, x, 350–2); Runciman 1951: III, 219–20). It is mentioned again by al-Dimashqī (c.1300) and was also seen by Ibn Baṭṭūṭā, who mentions a tank of sweet water in the courtyard (1325–54: I, 166; Le Strange 1890: 513–14; Marmardji 1951: 199–200).

James of Verona was probably speaking of this mosque, rather than the Jami' an-Nasr, when he wrote, 'there is in that town a most beautiful church, which was of the Christians but now is a mosque of the Saracens' (1335: 269). Two centuries later Fr Juan Perera also noted 'a great church, that has been turned into a mosque' in the midst of the town (1553b: 46).

The Frankish attribution of the great mosque was confirmed by the Turkish traveller, Evliya Çelebi, in the mid seventeenth century:

The high people gather . . . on Fridays in the large mosque, situated in the Sultan's Bazaar. Formerly it was a church. Yet Saladin converted it into a mosque. The present prayer niche was the entrance at the time of the infidels, situated on the east side of it. On both sides of the entrance are eight well-proportioned, slender marble columns, supporting its arch – a marvellous piece of masonry. The length of this mosque is three hundred paces from one end to the other, its width is one hundred paces. The aisles are narrow . . . There are altogether fifty-five rose-hued columns in it, with some square pillars here and there, to sustain the arches of the ancient masonry of the mosque. The prayer niche is very spacious and holds twenty persons. (1648–50: 48–9)

Celebi, or perhaps his translator, seems to have been confused about the entrance; what he probably intended to say was that the Christians' prayer niche, or apse, on the east had become the entrance to the mosque. This is indeed the location of the entrance today.

In the nineteenth century the mosque was visited by M. de Vogüé (1860: 357–8), who was unable to enter it, and by V. Guérin (1874: 391–2), C. Clermont-Ganneau (1896: II, 311–12) and the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 203). In 1922 it was seen by C. Enlart, who recorded the details of the

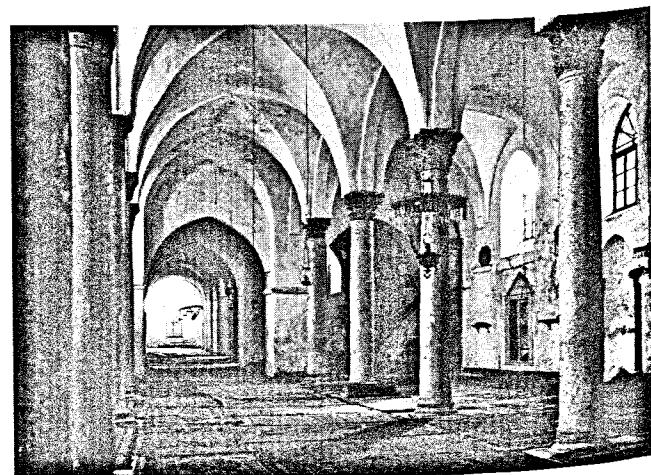
elaborate portal (1925: II, 285–9). This was as well, for five years later the portal was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1927. An on-site investigation made shortly afterwards by E.T. Richmond, Director of Antiquities, accompanied by the Director of the 'Awqaf's Technical Department revealed that what remained of it had been demolished by the municipal authorities because the buttress built to support it was obstructing the thoroughfare (PAM: Nablus file). All that now remains is a rather feeble copy.

Description

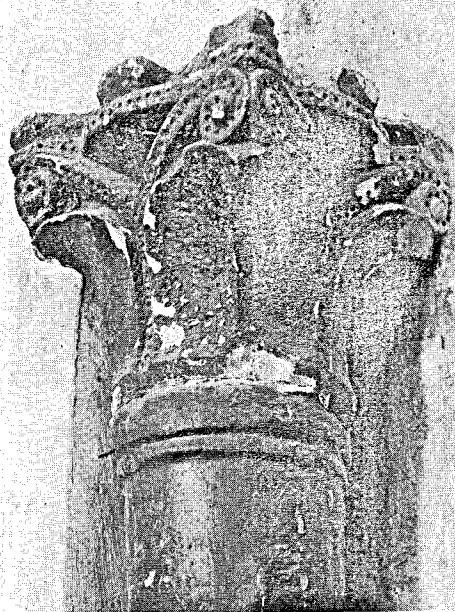
With the exception of the portal, the building appears to be much as it was when Creswell photographed it c.1919 (pl. LX). Either therefore the damage inflicted by the 1927 earthquake was not severe, or it was repaired with due regard to what had been before. However, the interior is now heavily plastered, covered with green, blue and black glazed tiles and painted in marbled green, silver and white. It is therefore impossible to obtain any more than a very general impression of the structure.

The mosque consists of an elongated prayer hall (some 60 by 20 m), lying almost precisely east–west on the south side of an irregularly shaped courtyard, set in the angle between the principal market street and the Street of the Old Serail. On the south the street is roughly at the level of the clearstorey windows. Clermont-Ganneau noted that all the outer walls of the mosque contained stones with medieval tool marks and with masons' marks (1896: I, 26; II, 312).

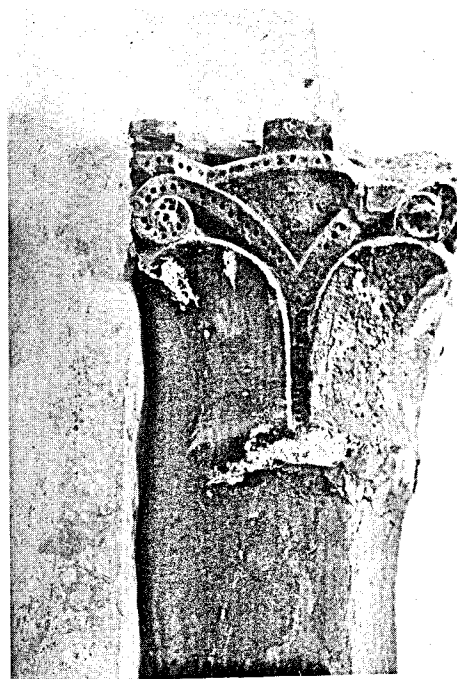
The prayer hall is vaulted throughout with groin-vaulted bays, arranged fourteen by three and separated by transverse arches. In the six western bays these are



LX Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): western part of the prayer hall, looking east (c.1919).



LXI Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): left-hand capital flanking the *mihrāb* in the western part of the prayer hall.



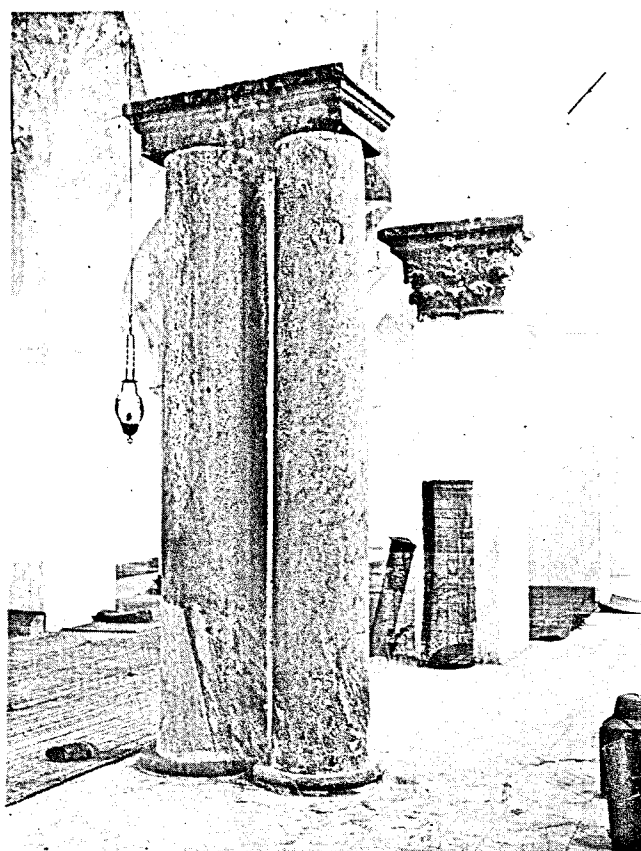
LXII Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): right-hand capital flanking the *mihrāb* in the western part of the prayer hall.

carried on tall reused columns with Corinthian capitals of Graeco-Roman date (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 311). One of the capitals differs in being decorated with long lotus leaves; it is uncertain whether Enlart saw this, but his suggestion that it dates from 1242 is untenable (1925: II, 186; cf. Conder and Kitchen 1881: II, 203). On the south side, these vaults spring directly from the wall-face, while on the north the bays appear at one time to have been open to the courtyard, though now they are walled up. A *mihrāb* in this part of the mosque is flanked by columns surmounted by stylized corinthianesque capitals, whose volutes and lower part of the abacus are decorated with rows of drilled holes (pls. LXI-LXII); a double capital of this type was excavated at the church of Jacob's Well (Vol. I, no. 108) in 1895 (Enlart 1896: 108-9, fig.).

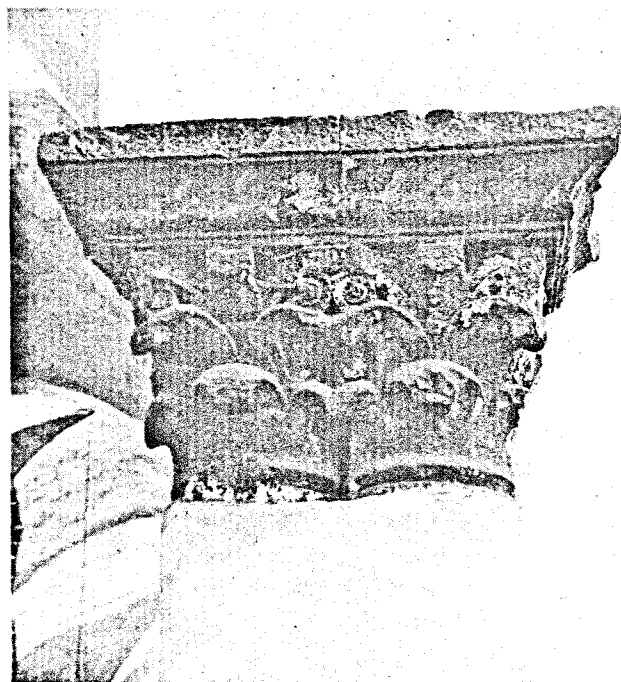
The principal *mihrāb* is placed in the seventh bay from the west, and is preceded by a dome and two groin-vaults supported on rectangular masonry piers. These vaults and those of the seven bays to the east are lower than those of the six western bays. The vaulting of the eastern bays is also supported on rectangular piers or, in three places, paired columns. Indeed, it may be that some of these piers encase pairs of columns. One pier, for example, displays at the spring of the vault an impost moulding above a double capital of twelfth-century type that was evidently intended for a pair of engaged columns of different sizes (pls. LXIII-LXIV); the western

respond for this consists of a pair of free-standing columns, also of different diameters, surmounted by a moulded impost without capitals. It seems unlikely, however, that this Crusader capital is in its original position.

Despite the presence of *spolia* from Frankish buildings, there is nothing in the form of the present structure that points unquestionably to its having originally been a church. The vaulting in the western section, incorporating reused Graeco-Roman columns and capitals from Neapolis or possibly Samaria (Sebaste), may be compared with that of a twelfth-century building in Bethlehem known as the School of Jerome (see Vol. I, pp. 152-3). However, the fact that the bays appear to have been open to the north suggests that its original function was as a Muslim prayer hall. The eastern part shows more obvious signs of adaptation and is likely to be earlier. Even so, the few recognizably Frankish elements that it contains also appear to be *spolia*, and as such might as easily have come from the churches at Jacob's Well (no. 108) or Sebaste (no. 225) as from Nablus. Thus, while the arrangement of piers and columns in this part of the prayer hall could seem to reflect the layout of a three-aisled church of up to six bays, it would require an accurate survey and structural analysis of the fabric lying behind the tiles and plaster to tell whether any part of such a building still survives.



LXIII Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): paired columns and double capital in the eastern part of the prayer hall.



LXIV Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): double capital in the eastern part of the prayer hall.

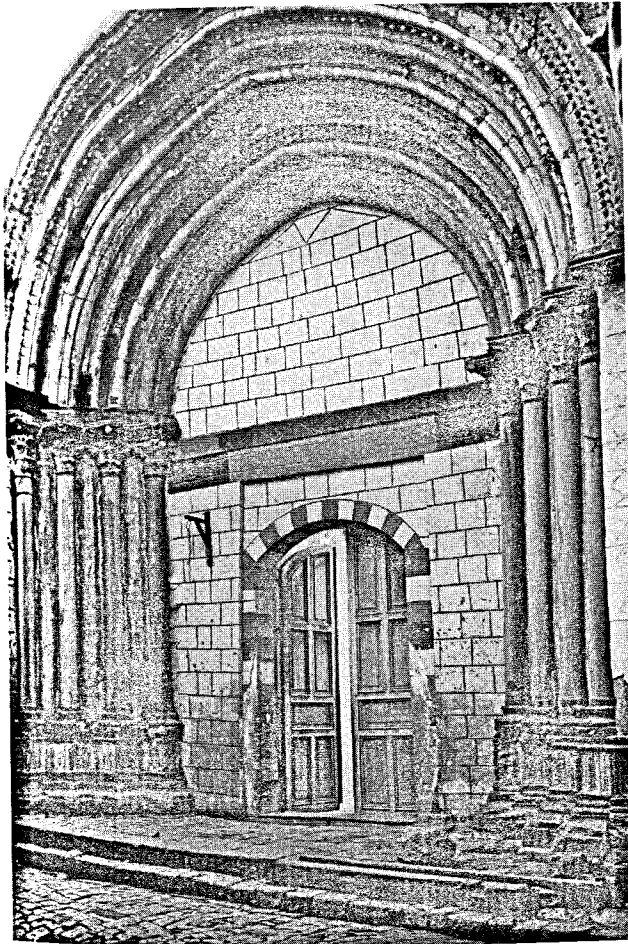
The Portal

Before its destruction in 1927 (pl. LXVI), the Crusader portal to the great mosque was seen and described by E. Çelebi (1648–50: 48), M. de Vogüé (1860: 357), V. Guérin (1874: I, 391), F.M. Abel (1923: 128), C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (1881: II, 203, 208, pl. opp. p. 203; cf. Wilson 1880a: II, fig. p. 7) and in the greatest detail by C. Enlart (1925: II, 286–9, pls. 124–7; cf. 1896); a brief description is also given by T.S.R. Boase (1977: 87–8, 111, pl. xvii).

The portal stood on the east side of the courtyard to the mosque, facing the street (pls. LXV–LXVI). It was evidently not in its original position and lacked its original tympanum, lintel and *trumeau*. Subsequent settlement had also resulted in the original two-centred arch becoming almost ogival. The photograph taken by the SWP in 1866 shows a flat relieving arch of joggled *ablaq* work above the transom, supporting a packing of geometrically cut blocks (pl. LXVII; cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, pl. opp. p. 203; cf. Enlart 1896, fig. p. 110); although such work is not unknown in twelfth-century Frankish buildings (e.g. inner gate to Belvoir Castle; hall door in Qalansuwa (Pringle 1986a: fig. 12, pl. xiii)), it indicates that the removal and re-erection is more likely to have taken place in Ayyubid or Mamluk times. By 1919, the small segmental-arched door that appears in the earlier photographs had been enlarged, and the surrounds plastered and painted in imitation of stonework (pl. xlv). It remains unknown whether the portal came originally from Nablus, or from somewhere else altogether, such as possibly Sebaste (no. 225).

The portal stood 6.4 m high to the intrados of the arch and measured 2.95 m between the jambs. It had five orders, the inner four carried on colonnettes with water-holding bases, the outer on rectangular pilasters. Each order stood on a fluted socle with a continuous moulded plinth beneath. The capitals were Corinthian, with finely carved acanthus, and the abaci were decorated with volutes and living creatures, including human heads, a scorpion, a bird, and on one a lamb threatened by a lion and a siren (pls. LXVIII–LXIX).

The arch mouldings sprang from a series of small moulded bases set immediately above the abaci (fig. 25). The outer order was enclosed by a cavetto hood-mould, whose face was decorated with small palmettes. It was composed of a triple cavetto decorated with three rows of water leaves. Next came a vertical face decorated with a zig-zagged guilloche, followed by a similar water-leaf cavetto between two rolls, and a small scotia; thirdly, an angle decoration of tiny palmettes followed by a broad band of zig-zags between two rolls, and a groove decor-



LXV Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): the portal as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell, c.1919.

ated with diamond-pointed florets; fourthly, a cavetto of small water leaves, followed by a roll decorated with an elongated honeycomb guilloche, a smooth cavetto and a smooth roll; and finally, a cavetto decorated with ovolos, followed by two rolls separated by a scotia decorated with four-pointed florets.

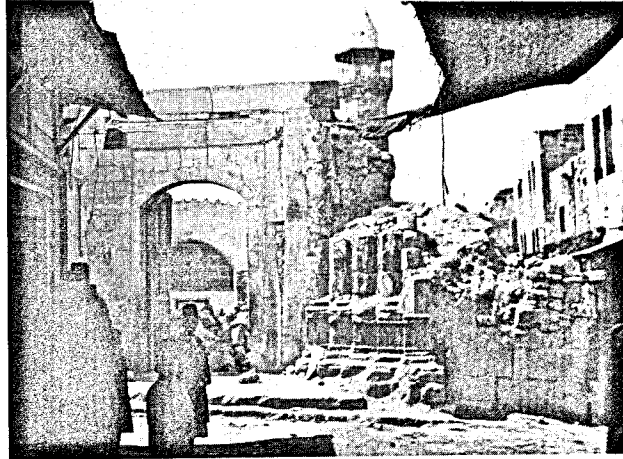
Enlart associated the portal with French models of the years 1140-90, especially those of the Ile de France, Picardy and Normandy (1896; 1925: II, 287-9).

Epigraphy

Masonry marks on the outer walls of the mosque were recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (1896: I, 26; cf. de Sandoli 1974: 272, no. 366).

Discussion

The great mosque has been identified as the church of the Passion and Resurrection (no. 162) by M. de Vogüé (1860: 357-8), C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (1881:



LXVI Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): the portal immediately after its destruction in 1927.

II, 203, 208), C. Enlart (1896; 1925: II, 284, 285-9), M. Benvenisti (1970: 165), R.C. Smail (1973: 157-9) and T.S.R. Boase (1977: 87-8). F.M. Abel has demonstrated this to be impossible, as that church lay in the *faubourg*; his suggestion that it was the church of St John the Baptist (no. 165), however, is less than plausible (1923: 127-30; cf. Petrozzi 1973: 247-8). It is much more likely that the great mosque became the principal parish church (no. 160), which was entrusted to the abbot of the *Templum Domini*.

Visited 24.2.79, 15.2.81, 24.11.81.

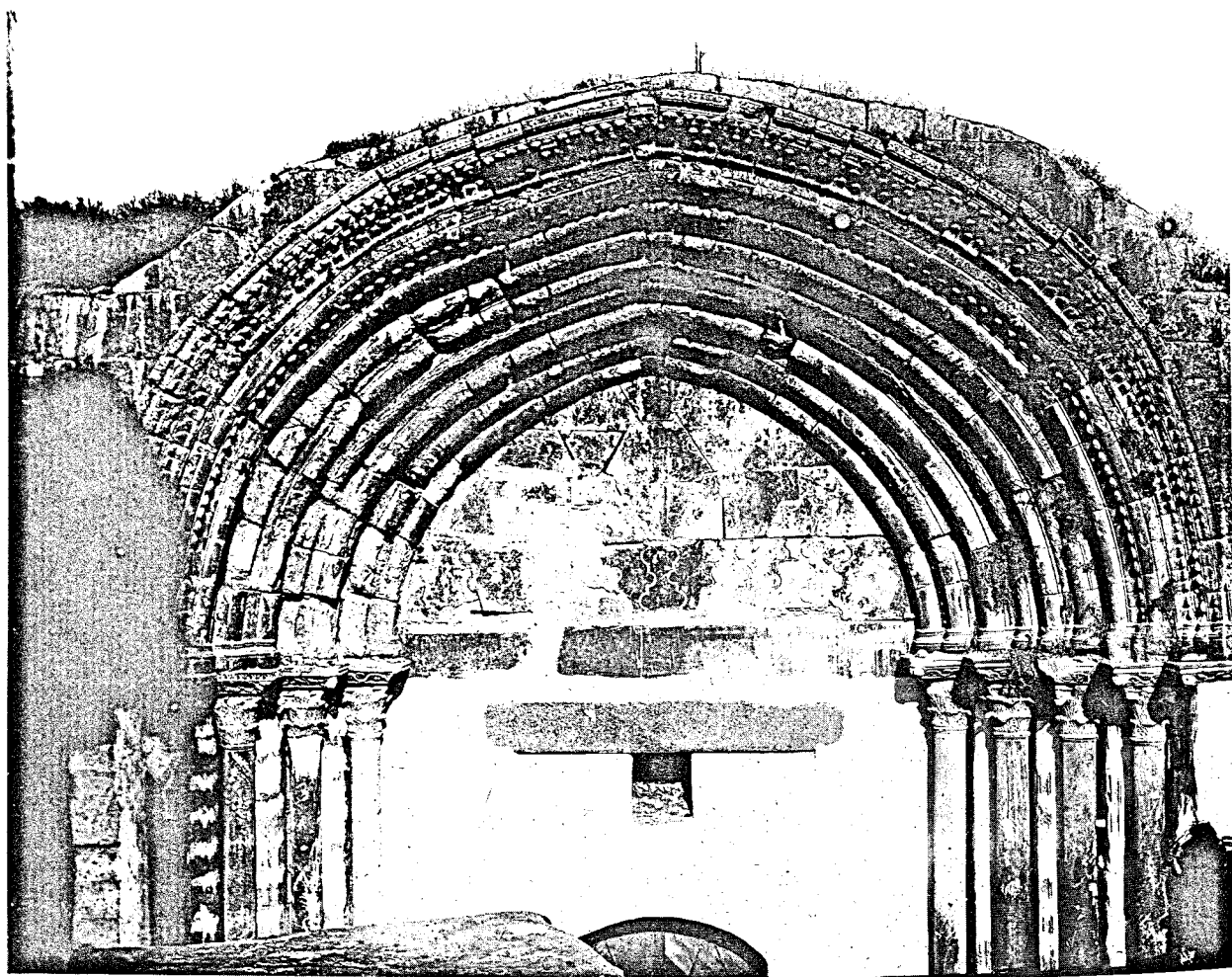
Sources

Abel 1923: 127-30; Bagatti 1979: 53, fig. 16; Benvenisti 1970: 164-5, 345-6; Boase 1977: 87-8, 111, pl. XVII; Burgoyne 1987: no. 5; Çelebi 1648-50: 48-9; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 26; II, 311-12; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 203, 208, pl. opp. p. 203; Creswell 1952: II, 198 n.2; Enlart 1896; 1925: I, 33, 35, 70, 86-7, 95, 98, 103, 106, 110, 120, 125, 208; II, 212, 272, 285-9, 301, 345, 435, 438, 462, pls. 124-7; Folda 1977: 271, 277, pl. XVII; Guérin 1874: I, 391-2; Guide Bleu 1932: 542; Hoade 1978: 561; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1325-54: I, 166; James of Verona 1335: 269; Langé 1965: 185; Le Strange 1890: 513-14; Marmardji 1951: 199-200; Meistermann 1936: 512; Perera 1553b: 46; Petrozzi 1973: 245-8, figs. 81-2; Pringle 1993: 34; Runciman 1951: III, 219-20; de Sandoli 1974: 272, no. 366a; Smail 1973: 157-9, fig. 32; de Vogüé 1860: 357-8; Wilson 1880a: II, 10, fig. p. 7; 1880b: II, 10, fig. p. 7.

No. 162 Parish Church of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection (?)174.180

History

Between Christmas 1167 and 2 March 1168, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Amalric of Neslé, at the request of

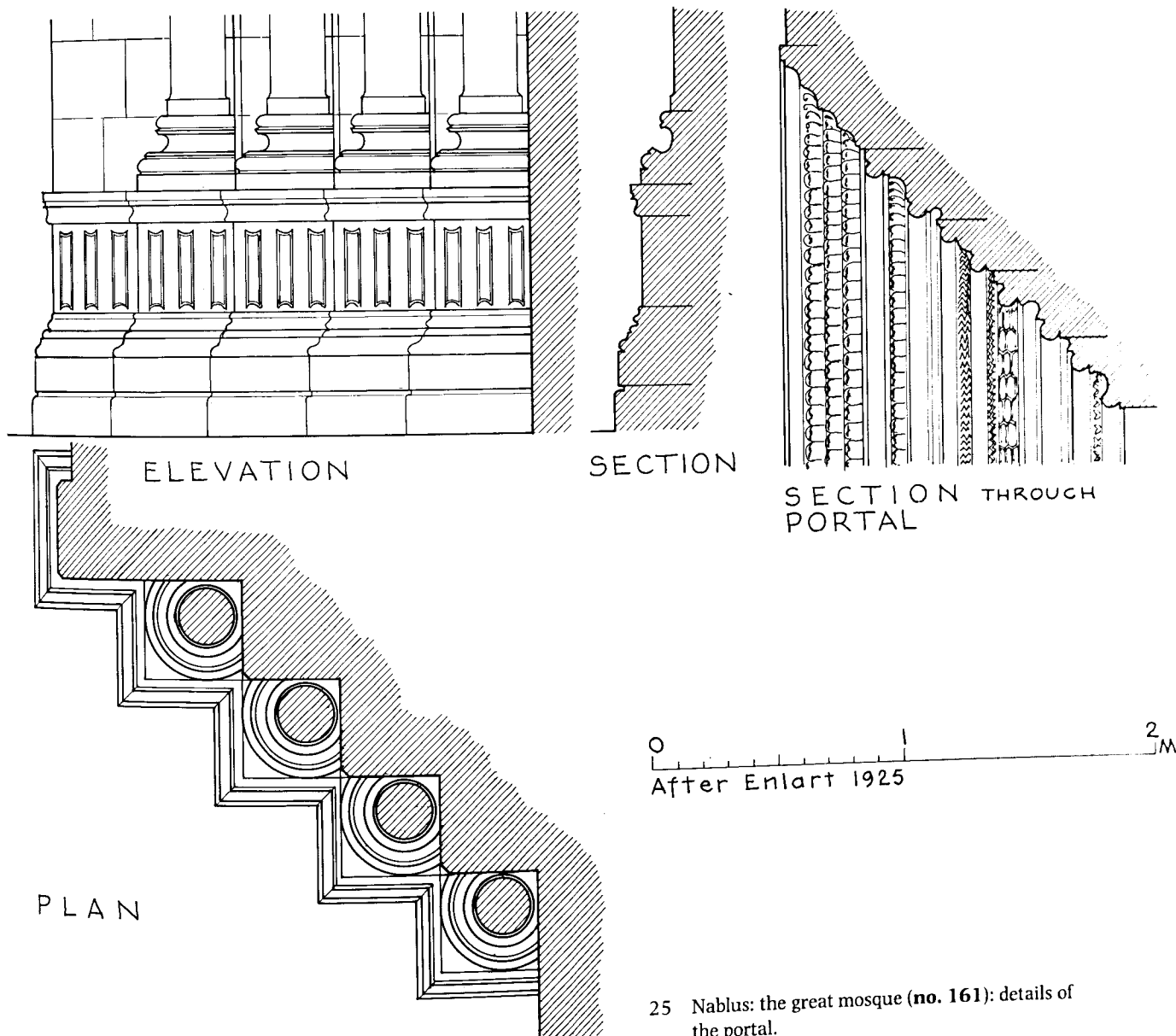


LXVII Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): the portal as photographed by H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.

King Amalric and with the agreement of the abbot of the *Templum Domini*, granted to Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, a church dedicated to the Lord's Passion and Resurrection which the canons were then building in Nablus on land given them by the king, together with the full parish rights attached to it (Bresc-Bautier, 288-9, no. 147; RRH, 119, no. 455). A confirmation issued by Pope Alexander III on 2 March 1168, while referring to some houses and other lands that the canons possessed in the town itself, specifies that this church and the land granted by the king lay in the *faubourg* (in *novo burgo*) of Nablus (Bresc-Bautier, 283-7, no. 146; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250-5, no. 95; RRH, 115, no. 444). Only shortly before, on 8 February, the same pope had confirmed the patriarch's right to establish churches and receive the tithes in former Orthodox sees that were now without bishops, specifying by name Jericho, Darom and Nablus (Bresc-Bautier, 275-8, no. 142; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 244-6, no. 91; RRH, 114, no. 439). The establishment of a new church with parish

rights in Nablus may therefore possibly be interpreted as an attempt by the patriarch to restore to the chapter of his own church some of the hitherto exclusive rights that his predecessors had granted to the *Templum Domini*. It also suggests, however, that since the beginning of the century the Christian population of Nablus had increased to the extent that it could now support an additional parish church in the *faubourg*.

In 1168 the church in the *faubourg* was still being built, and a subsequent confirmation of privileges made to the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre by Pope Alexander III on 9 September 1170 also refers to it as 'the church with cemetery that you have begun to build there' (Bresc-Bautier, 297-301, no. 151; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261-5, no. 102; RRH, 124, no. 474). It is uncertain when or indeed if the building was completed, for the same formula is repeated in later confirmations made by Pope Lucius III on 14 July 1182 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 298-301, no. 125) and by Celestine III as late as 13 February 1196 (Bresc-Bautier, 323-8, no.



25 Nablu: the great mosque (no. 161): details of the portal.

170; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 350-2, no. 172; RRH, 194, no. 725).

The church of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection has been identified as the great mosque (no. 161) by C. Enlart (1896; 1925: II, 284, 285) and M. Benvenisti (1970: 165), as the Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166) by E.G. Rey (1883: 428), and as the Dair al-Bunduq (no. 167) by F.M. Abel (1923: 128-9). The latter, lying outside the town centre, seems the more plausible identification, but proof is entirely lacking.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 283-7, no. 146 (1168); 288-9, no. 147 (1167/8); 297-301, no. 151 (1170); 323-8, no. 170 (1196);

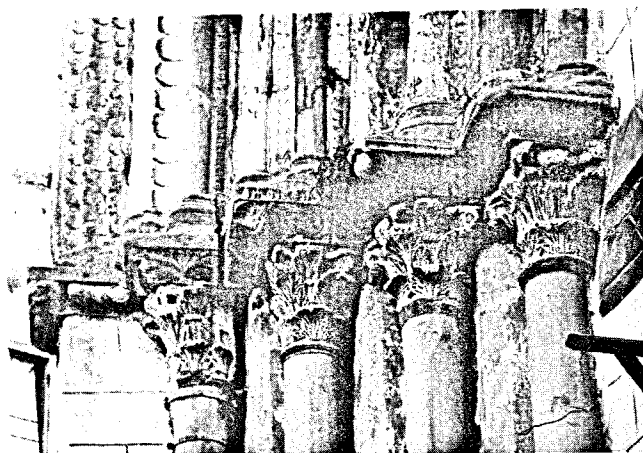
Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250-5, no. 95 (1168); 261-5, no. 102 (1170); 298-301, no. 125 (1182); 350-2, no. 172 (1196); RRH, 115, no. 444 (1168); 119, no. 455 (1167/8); 124, no. 474 (1170); 194, no. 725 (1196).

Abel 1923: 128-9; 1967: II, 397; Benvenisti 1970: 165; Beyer 1940: 170; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 179; Enlart 1896; 1925: II, 283, 284, 285; Hamilton 1980: 94, 150 n.5; Mayer 1977: 190-6, 207-9.

No. 163 Church of St John (Armenian) (?)174.180

History

An Armenian church of St John of Nablu is mentioned



LXVIII Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): the portal, left-hand capitals.

in edicts made in favour of the Armenian patriarchate by Saladin (1187–93) and Selim I (1512–20). The latest reference to it is in the eighteenth century (Hintlian 1976: 21). Its location is unknown.

Sources

Hintlian 1976: 21.

No. 164 Church of St John the Evangelist (?) 174.180

History

In December 1185 Baldwin V confirmed to the Premonstratensian abbey of St Samuel (no. 154) near Jerusalem and 'to the church of St John the Evangelist, which is in Nablus' the village of *Torasdis* (unlocated but apparently in the territory of Nablus) and its inhabitants, which Queen Melisende had granted them; the document goes on to explain that the church of St John was a former mosque, which Melisende had also given to the abbey (Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 69). This grant would presumably have been made during the time when Melisende had full possession of Nablus, between 1152 and 1162.

Sources

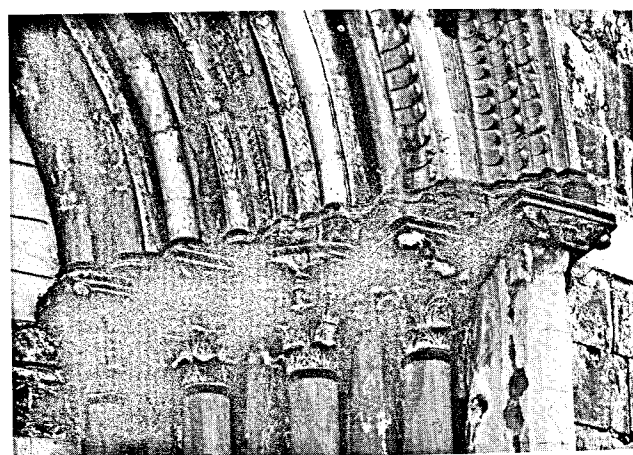
Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel', 69.

Hamilton 1980: 102; Mayer 1964: 60–61.

No. 165 Church and Hospital of St John the Baptist 1753.1806

History

On 28 September 1110 the Hospital of St John in



LXIX Nablus, the great mosque (no. 161): the portal, right-hand capitals.

Jerusalem received from King Baldwin I a rich villen (*dives villanus*) living in Nablus, together with some houses and a mill located in the town (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 21, no. 20; *RRH*, 12–13, no. 57; cf. 74, no. 293 (1154)). This donation seems later to have formed the basis for the endowment of a hospital in Nablus itself, dependent on that in Jerusalem; according to a charter of 1159 it was founded by King Baldwin II (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 209, no. 279; *RRH Ad*, 20–1, no. 339a), which allows its foundation date to be set between 1118 and 1131. Baldwin II's perhaps contemporary grant of an annual 100 quintals of grapes to the hospital of Nablus, for the use of the poor, was confirmed by King Fulk between 1131 and 1134 (Hiestand, 'Zwei unbekannte Diplome', 54–5).

What appears to be the earliest contemporary reference to the hospital comes in a charter dated to May 1122, by which Balian I (Barisan le Vieux), constable of Jaffa, gave to the hospital (*cutocothroffium*) of the church of St John of Nablus the tithes of *Mirabel* (Majdal Yaba), *Luceri* (Kh. Susya: 157.165), *Marescalcie* (unlocated), *Rentie* (Rantiya: 142.161) and *Kafreherre* (Kafr Haris: 163.169). Included among the witnesses were the *famuli* of the hospital and a priest named Hymbertus (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 49, no. 59; *RRH*, 22–3, no. 100; Hiestand 1971: 23–4). It has been argued by H.E. Mayer, however, that this document was forged by the Hospitalers at a later date to support a similar grant made to them by Baldwin, lord of Mirabel, in 1166 (1982: 110–14; see also below).

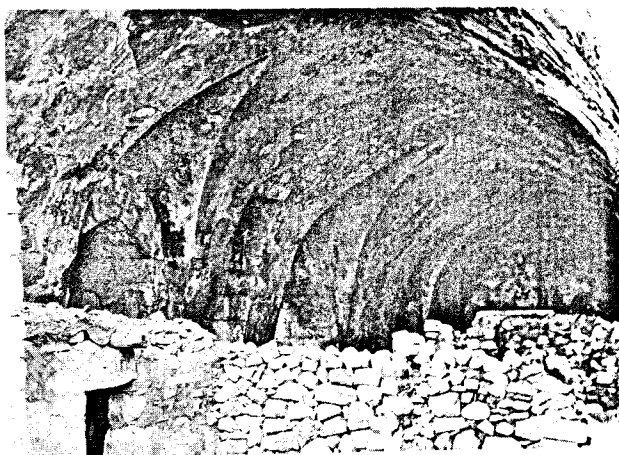
It was from the chaplain of Nablus (*capellanus de Napplio*) and brother of the Hospital, named James, that Guy of Blond, a monk of Grandmont, claimed to have received relics of St John the Baptist and hairs of St Mary Magdalene and of the Holy Innocents, which he distrib-

uted to churches in the Limousin around 1150 (Kohler, 'Documents', 8, no. 1). The inclusion of an *obedientia de Napoli* in a confirmation of privileges made to the master, Raymond of Le Puy, by Pope Eugenius III on 29 January 1153 also implies the existence there of a church belonging to the order (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 166-8, no. 217; *RRH Ad*, 18-19, no. 280b; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 210-12, no. 7).

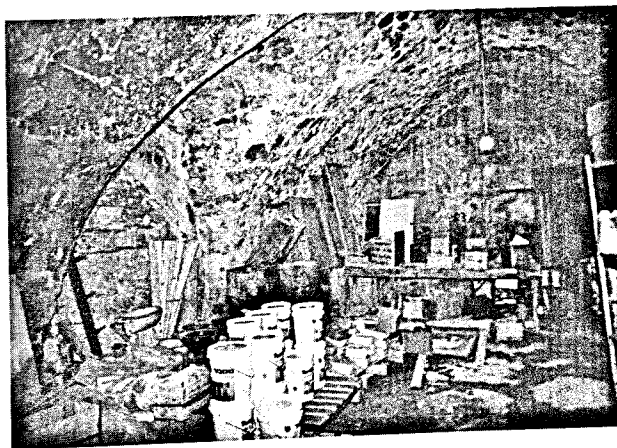
Most of our knowledge of the hospital in Nablu comes from a series of grants or confirmations made to it during the later twelfth century. On 7 June 1156, Baldwin III confirmed to his hospital (*Hospitali meo*), established under the name of St John the Baptist in Nablu, all the grants made previously by Baldwin I, Baldwin II and Fulk, the village of *Letaria* (al-'Attara: 165.192), 100 quintals of grapes and some vineyards near Nablu given by Baldwin II, and all the goods left by pilgrims dying intestate within the territory of Nablu, defined by *castellum Beleismum* (Kh. Bal'ama: 177.205) on the north, *Lubnum* (Lubban Sharqiya: 172.164) on the south and the *perron* between *Cacho* (Qaqun) and *Maluae* (unlocated, but see Pringle 1986a: 40-1, no. 29) on the west (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 183-4, no. 244; *RRH*, 82, no. 321). In 1159, Queen Melisende, with the consent of Baldwin III, also granted to the hospital of St John of Nablu 3 quintals of grapes and 300 pounds of oil that she received annually from houses in the town (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 209, no. 279; *RRH Ad*, 20-1, no. 339a).

On 23 November 1163, Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel, confirmed to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Nablu what his father, Balian, and mother, Helvis, had given in the territory of Mirabel (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 232, no. 327; *RRH Ad*, 23, no. 384a; Hiestand 1971: 19 n.50a). And on 29 April 1166, he confirmed to the hospital of St John in Jerusalem all that his parents and predecessors had given to the hospital of Nablu, including houses, vineyards and lands at Mirabel, a house in Nablu, and the second tithe (*redemption*) on the harvests from Mirabel, *Lucerie*, *Marescalcie*, *Rentie* and *Casreherre* (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 245, no. 354; *RRH*, 110, no. 423; cf. Hamilton 1980: 146 n.1; Mayer 1982: 113-14 n.33).

At about the same time, or possibly before, King Amalric confirmed the order's possession of the hospital in Nablu and the alms made by his predecessors and others, on condition that the hospital would continue to serve the sick (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 245, no. 355; *RRH Ad*, 26, no. 423a; Hiestand 1971: 20). Before 11 July 1174, he also granted the master, Jobert, 230 bezants annually from a house in Nablu, in exchange for *Damor* (Damur), south of Beirut (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 313, no. 454; *RRH Ad*, 30, 517a).



LXX Nablu, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): interior looking west, as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.



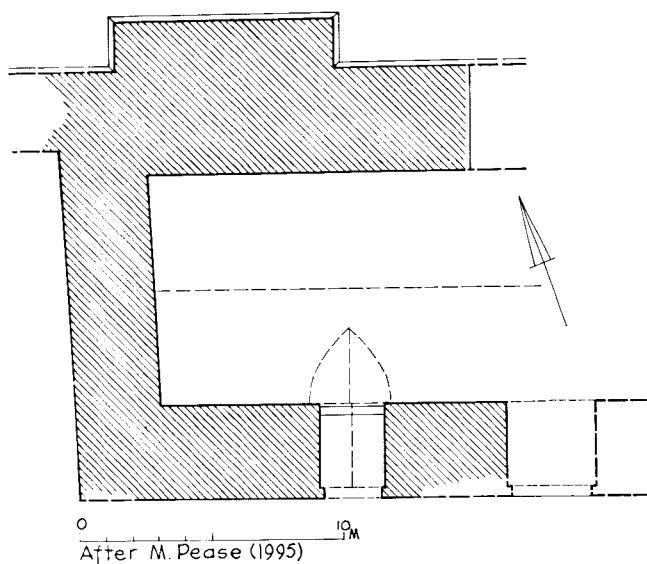
LXXI Nablu, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): interior, looking west (1995).

An inscription seen in Nablu by Fr Pantaleone d'Aveiro in c.1564 records the construction of a pilgrim hostel by Roger des Moulins, master of the Hospital, in 1180 (see below).

After Saladin's reconquest the hospital appears to have continued as a Muslim institution, latterly serving as a leper house. By the end of the nineteenth century it was known as the Jami' al-Masakin (Mosque of the Paupers), and in 1919 it was photographed by K.A.C. Creswell (pls. LXX, LXXII, LXXIV). It was damaged in the earthquake of 1927 (Petrozzi 1973: 243), but the remaining part of the vault was consolidated in 1946 for use as a carpenter's shop (PAM: Nablu file).

Description

The site of the hospital (Jami' al-Masakin) is located in Shari' al-'Anbiya (Street of the Prophets), formerly



26 Nablus: Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): plan.

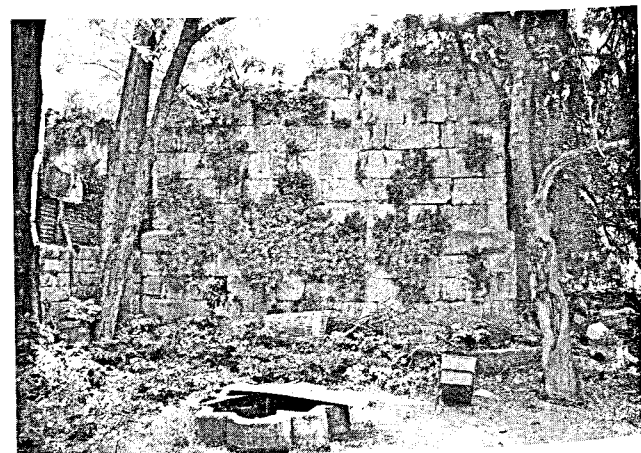
known as Shari' al-Masakin (Street of the Paupers) (fig. 24). The realignment of this street to the south of the Jami' al-Anbiya since 1946 has unfortunately resulted in the demolition of the eastern two-thirds of the building. The remaining vaulted western section may be entered on the west side of the street through a builders' supplies shop, to which it serves as a store.

The evidence of Creswell's photographs, the topographical plan of Nablus made by Fr Laverigne in 1926 (Jaussen 1927: pl. ix) and recent survey (fig. 26) suggest that what remained of the hospital earlier this century consisted of a rectangular barrel-vaulted structure measuring some 50–55 m in length and 15.8 m in width, with its longitudinal axis aligned S70°E. Internally the surviving portion is 7.82 m wide (pls. LXX–LXXI). The vault is of rubble construction, but with an ashlar-built transverse arch surviving at the eastern end; the intrados of the latter, being flush with the face of the vault, would have been invisible beneath the several layers of plaster that cover the interior.

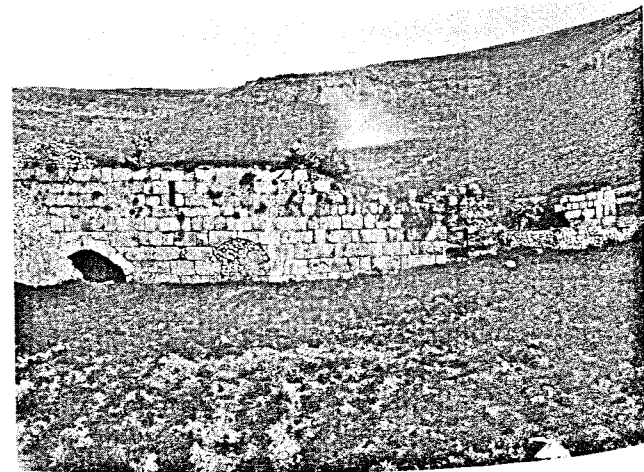
The north wall of the building is some 4 m thick, and is faced externally with a mixture of smooth and rusticated ashlar, mostly derived from antique buildings (pls. LXXII–LXXIII). Roughly half-way up the wall runs a horizontal chamfer, some 20 cm broad; and near the north-west corner a solid turret or buttress, 8.35 m wide (above the chamfer), projects 1.82 m from the wall. Beyond this the wall continued to the west, though reduced in thickness to 2.9 m. Judging by its massive construction and the existence of the tower, the north wall would appear to have been an external wall of the complex. One of Creswell's photographs (pl. LXXII),



LXXII Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): the north side, as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.



LXXIII Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): turret projecting from the north wall.



LXXIV Nablus, Jami' al-Masakin (no. 165): as photographed from the south by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.

however, shows that the part of it that no longer survives contained two pointed-arched openings; but the relatively small size of their voussoirs and the fact that they cut through the chamfer course suggest that these were inserted at a later date, very probably after the time of the Frankish kingdom.

The character of the south wall, consisting mostly of smooth ashlar, was rather different from that of the north. The photographs (pls. LXX, LXXIV) indicate three original doorways on this side, the central one being somewhat broader and lower than the outer ones. Between the central and eastern door a slit opening, probably intended for ventilation rather than lighting, pierced the vault. Only the western door and the west reveal of the central one now survive. The former is 2.13 m wide with a pointed arch and a low-pointed rear-arch intersecting the main barrel-vault.

Remains of other structures which Creswell's photograph (pl. LXXIV) shows lying north-east of the building appear to relate to the spring ('Ain al-Masakin). It is not clear, however, whether or not these would have formed part of the Frankish hospital complex (cf. Benvenisti 1970: 164–5).

Epigraphy

An inscription on a block of marble was seen and copied in Nablus by the Portuguese Franciscan, Pantaleone d'Aveiro, around 1564 (1564c: 450 (ch. LXXIX); cf. Abel 1923: 130; Hiestand 1971: 25 n.78; Petrozzi 1973: 243; Röhrich 1887b: 244–5 n.8; de Sandoli 1974: 271, no. 364):

*Hoc habitaculum edificatu(m) fuit in honorem
Dei et beate Marie
et sancti Johannis Baptiste ad habitatione(m) peregrinorum
Rogerio, magistro Hospitalis Hierusalem,
anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXXX.
Beati qui ambula(n)t in domo tua Domine:
in secula seculorum laudabant te.*

This dwelling place was built in honour of God, the Blessed Mary and St John the Baptist for the habitation of pilgrims by Roger, master of the Hospital in Jerusalem, in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1180. 'Blessed are they who walk in your house, O Lord: they will praise you for ever more.'

The last two lines are a quotation from Psalm 84.4, with the word *habitant* (live) altered to *ambulant* (walk).

Visited 7.5.95.

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., I, 21, no. 20 (1110); 49, no. 59 (1122); 166–8, no. 217 (1153); 183–4, no. 244 (1156); 209, no. 279

(1159); 232, no. 327 (1163); 245, nos. 354–5 (1166); Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 45, no. 7 (1122); 52, no. 55 (1159); 56, no. 81 (1163); 57, no. 88 (1166); 64–5, no. 132.5 (1166); Hiestand, 'Zwei unbekannte Diplome', 54–5 (1131–4); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 210–12, no. 7; RRH, 12–13, no. 57 (1110); 18–19, no. 280b (1153); 22–3, no. 100 (1122); 74, no. 293 (1154); 82, no. 321 (1156); 110, no. 423 (1166); RRH *Ad*, 20–1, no. 339a (1159); 23, no. 384a (1163); 26, nos. 423–423a (1166).

Abel 1923: 129–30, pl. IV.1; 1967: II, 397; d'Aveiro 1564c: 450 (ch. LXXIX); Bagatti 1979: 53; Benvenisti 1970: 164–5, pl.; Beyer 1940: 161, 170; Burgoyne 1987: no. 8; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 313; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 210; Hamilton 1980: 146 n.1, 148; Hiestand 1971: 17–25; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 74; PAM: Nablus file; Petrozzi 1973: 242–4, fig. 80; Prutz 1881: 167; Rey 1883: 428; Riley-Smith 1967: 331, 428 n.; Röhrich 1887b: 244–5; de Sandoli 1974: 271, no. 364; de Thévenot 1687: I, 215; de Vogüé 1860: 358.

No. 166 Church (later Jami' an-Nasr) 1748.1806

History

The Jami' an-Nasr, or mosque of Victory, stands in the centre of the town. In the seventeenth century it was recognized by Evliya Çelebi as 'formerly a large monastery. The garnet-coloured monoliths [columns] within are nowhere else met with' (1648–50: 49). Fortunately the building was surveyed by C. Clermont-Ganneau and M. Lecomte de Noüy in 1873–4 (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 312–13) and photographed by K.A.C. Creswell in c.1919 (pls. LXXV–LXXVI), for in the earthquake of 1927 it was completely destroyed.

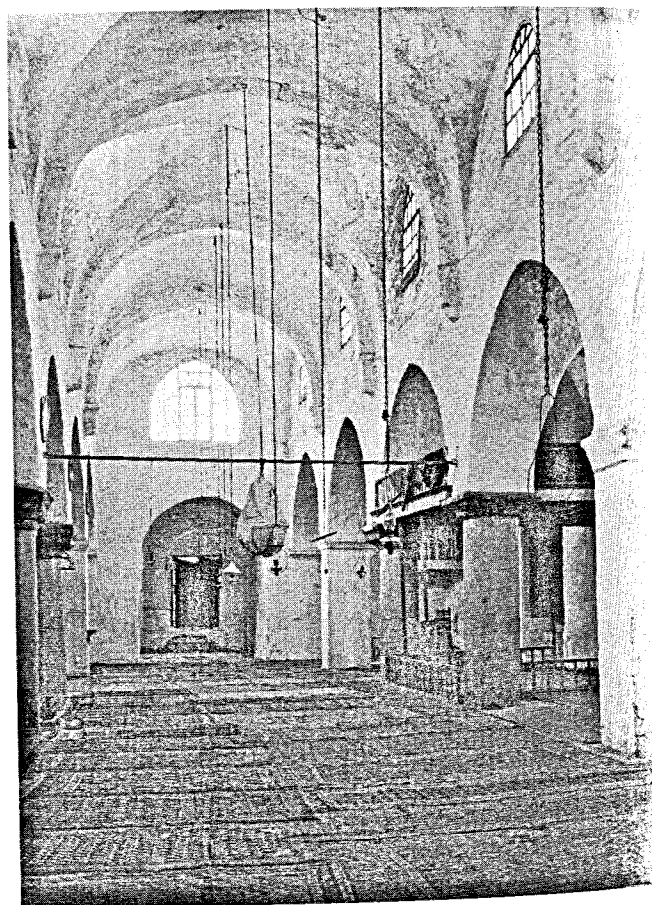
Description

The present building dates from 1935 and consists of a first-floor prayer hall built over commercial premises and a mausoleum in the south-east corner. The only indication of a possible Crusader connection is provided by a pair of reused twelfth-century capitals flanking the *mihrāb*; but these need not necessarily have come originally from the same mosque.

The church that stood until 1927 was a three-aisled basilica of five bays (figs. 27–28). Its orientation, east-south-east, was apparently conditioned by the orientation of the street pattern, which dates from the Roman period. When seen by Clermont-Ganneau, the interior of the building was coated with heavy layers of plaster which made it impossible to appreciate the character of the masonry or the finer architectural details. Although



LXXV Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): interior, looking east, as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.



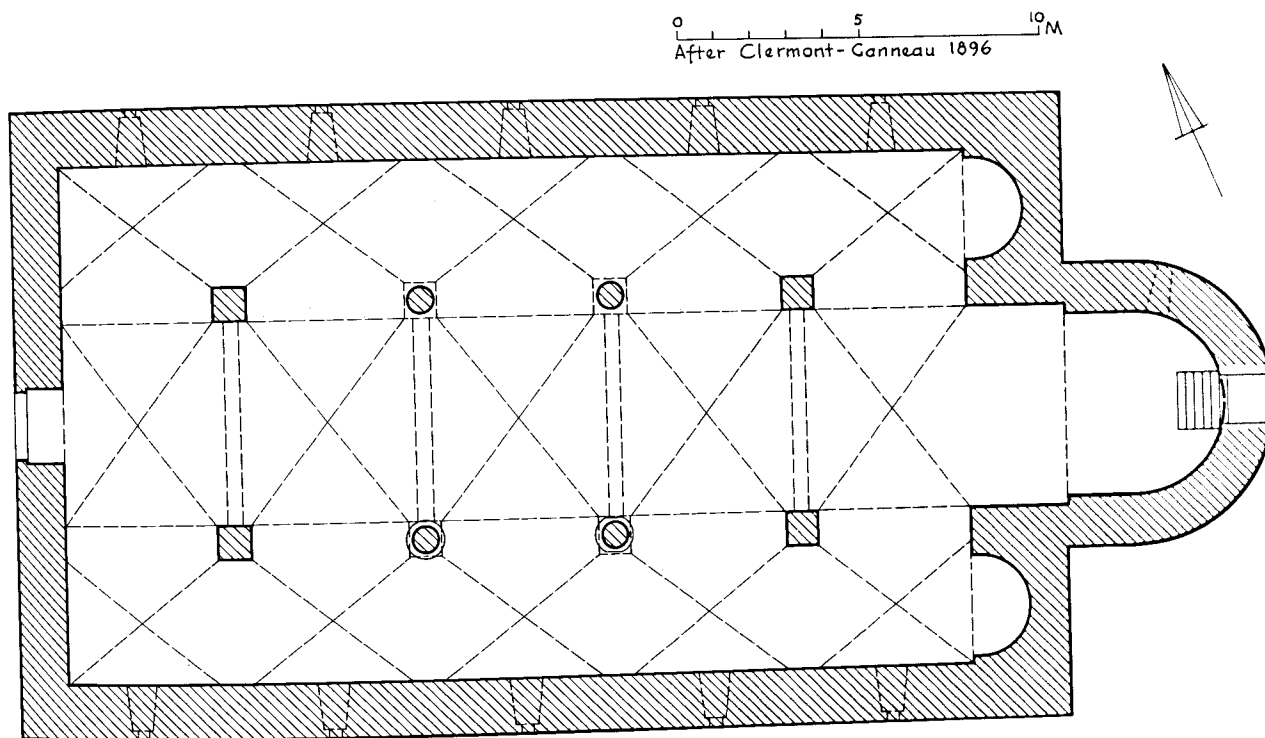
LXXVI Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): interior looking west, as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.

its general form shows it to have been a building of twelfth-century date, it is therefore impossible to tell whether, as Clermont-Ganneau suggests, it may perhaps have replaced a still earlier Byzantine church.

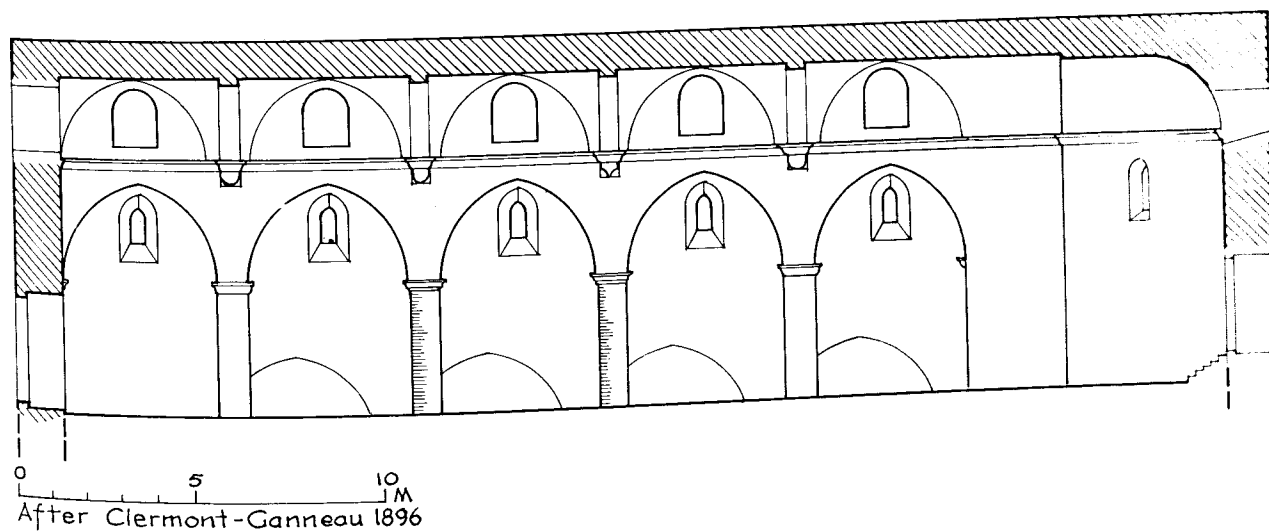
Overall the building measured some 35 by 16.7 m. The aisles terminated on the east in semi-circular apses contained within the thickness of the *chevet*. The central apse which terminated the nave, however, was stilted and preceded by a barrel-vaulted choir, with the result that it projected almost 6 m beyond the end wall of the church. The only original door to be recorded was in the centre of the west front. However, following the building's conversion into a mosque, another had been made in the centre of the main apse, from which six steps led down into the interior; by the 1940s another had also been made in the north wall (PAM). By the time that Creswell photographed the building (c.1919), a large rounded-arched opening had also been made in the west wall, removing all trace of the earlier door (pl. LXXVI). Visible through this in the photograph is a small room with a large rectangular window below a pointed

relieving arch; this may perhaps represent the remains of an original porch.

The arches of the nave arcades were pointed and carried on a mixture of square masonry piers and huge red granite columns. The latter enclosed the central bay of the nave; they were some 0.7 m thick and in two sections. The two southern columns stood on circular discs of stone, one of which was marble. Since the floor level had evidently risen since the time when the building was used as a church, it is uncertain precisely what form the column bases took. The capitals, however, were reused and of Doric type, while the responding imposts on the plain piers appear to have had a cyma-recta moulding. The nave was groin-vaulted, the bays being separated by plain transverse arches springing from corbels. The form of these, disguised by plastering, is hard to make out from the surviving photographs; they may well have been decorated, but do not seem to have been elbow-columns. The impost moulding from which the transverse arches sprang ran around the nave and apse walls as a continuous string course. The clearstorey



27 Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): plan.



28 Nablus, Jami' an-Nasr (no. 166): section.

windows were probably originally splayed lancets, like those of the aisles, but as recorded they appear to have been widened. The aisles were also groin-vaulted.

There is little surviving information on the exterior of the building, which appears in any case to have been hemmed in by later constructions on two sides. Clermont-Ganneau mentions the existence of projecting buttresses between the aisle windows, which Lecomte did not put on his drawing. A section of smooth drafted

ashlar walling surviving in an-Nasr Street, which M.T. Petrozzi identifies as having formed part of the west front (1973: fig. 87), is in fact the base of the nineteenth-century minaret.

Epigraphy

Three medieval masonry marks were noted by Clermont-Ganneau on the stone blocks used in the

pavement and on the steps to the platform inserted in the north aisle after the building's conversion into a mosque (1896: I, 26; de Sandoli 1974: 272, no. 366).

Discussion

This church is identified as that belonging to the *Templum Domini* (no. 160) by M. Benvenisti (1970: 165), as that of the Passion and Resurrection (no. 162) by E.G. Rey (1883: 428), and as that of St John (no. 165) by the authors of the *Guide Bleu* (1932: 542). None of these suggestions seems very plausible.

Visited 15.2.81, 7.5.95.

Sources

Abel 1923: 124; Bagatti 1979: 53, figs. 16–17; Benvenisti 1970: 165; Burgoyne 1987: no. 9; Çelebi 1648–50: 49; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 26; II, 312–13, figs.; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 203; Creswell 1952: II, 198 n.2; Enlart 1925: II, 284; Guérin 1874: I, 392–3; *Guide Bleu* 1932: 542; Hoade 1978: 561; Meistermann 1936: 512; PAM: Nablus file; Petrozzi 1973: 254, figs. 86–7; Rey 1883: 428; de Sandoli 1974: 272, no. 366; Wilson 1880a: II, 10; 1880b: II, 10.

No. 167 Church (Dair al-Bunduq) (?)1746.1809

History

Remains of a church building have been noted from early times at Dair al-Bunduq, a knoll located near the 'Ain al-Qasab to the north-west of the town. The site is now built over, but is described by those who were able to see it as being west of the Latin church and on the north side of the (nineteenth-century) road from Tulkarm and Sebaste (Féderlin 1896; Abel 1923: 128).

The site appears to be that described by the seventeenth-century Muslim traveller, Evliya Çelebi, as the Prison of Jesus. According to a tradition reported to him, Jesus had been imprisoned here in a cave without water for forty days by the Jews, and had caused a spring to issue forth by making a hole in the rock with His finger. The water, still pure and limpid, was supposed to cure heart diseases, while confinement in the prison was used as a treatment for mental disorders. 'The site of the Prison of 'İsa [Jesus] is still a large monastery with seventy to eighty monks. Pilgrims from the countries of the infidels flock thither in (large) numbers' (Çelebi 1648–50: 52).

A decade later, in 1659, the site was seen by the Chevalier d'Arvieux, who, however, makes no mention

of any monks remaining there and records a different tradition:

The remains of a chapel are still to be seen at the foot of the mountain on the side facing Nablus. At one time an idol used to be venerated in this place, and to the north of the town we were shown the place where it is claimed that Our Lord rested, being tired from the journey. One can see a sort of cushion cut in the rock, with some traces of feet and hands, like the shape of an extended body, which the pious credulity of the common people confidently identifies as the figure of Our Lord. (1735: II, 81)

Description

The remains of the church building were planned and recorded by Fr F. Féderlin in 1896 while its masonry was being removed for building material. It consisted of a three-aisled basilica, measuring overall some 35 by 21.5 m with walls 2 m thick (fig. 29). The main door was in the centre of the west front, and another is indicated in the central bay of the north wall.

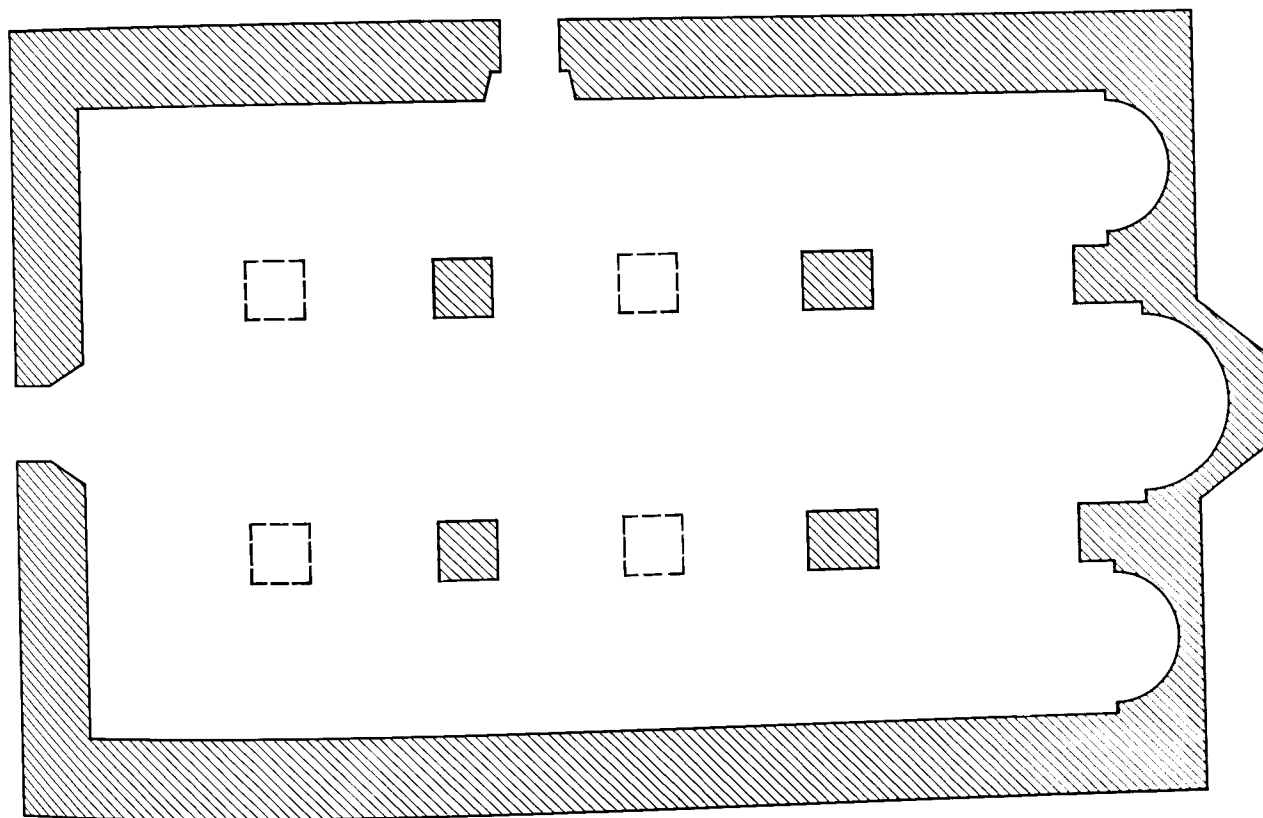
The central nave appears to have been some 5.5 m wide and the two aisles 4.2 m. All three terminated on the east in semi-circular apses, the central one being accommodated within a three-sided projection. Féderlin recorded only four piers of the nave arcade; the eastern two he represents as rectangular (some 2 by 1.6 m) and the western pair as square (1.6 by 1.6 m). Since this results in the two western bays being inordinately long for their width, it seems probable that four other bases were already missing when Féderlin made his plan. With these restored it is possible to envisage a church of five bays, the spans of the nave arcades being some 3.5 m between the piers and the eastern bay, representing the choir, being roughly square and perhaps covered by a dome. It is uncertain whether the plain form of the recorded piers reflects simply the shape of their foundations or that of the superstructure as well. The missing ones might also perhaps have supported columns, either single or paired, rather than piers. Indeed Féderlin noted the existence of reused granite columns in the building; but it is not clear whether these were used architecturally or merely as reinforcements within the masonry structure, as in the cathedral at Caesarea (see Vol. I, no. 68).

Numerous architectural fragments were noted on the site, including some with medieval mouldings. The church also contained a stone sarcophagus.

Epigraphy

Two pieces of cornice bearing mutilated Latin inscriptions were recorded by Féderlin (1896; Bagatti 1979: 54):

0 5 10 15 M
After Federlin 1896



29 Nablus, Dair al-Bunduq (no. 167): plan.

1. ...]NA PR PHE[. . .
COMITA + TUR ETA[. . .
2. + FERT PUERUM VATE[. . .

The fragmentary nature of these pieces makes any attempt at interpretation highly speculative. The first might perhaps be expanded as: *An]na pr[o]phet[issa . . . comitatur et a[. . .* (Anna the prophetess . . . accompanies and . . .). The second might be read: *of]fert puerum uate[m* (presents the boy teacher), or *fert puerum uate[m* (brings the boy teacher). On this basis the texts could possibly relate respectively to the purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Temple (Luke 2.36-7) and presentation in the Temple of the boy Jesus (Luke 2.41-51).

Discussion

Abel proposes identifying the Dair al-Bunduq with the church of the Lord's Passion and Resurrection (no. 162) (1923: 128). Its location on the outskirts of the town and the later traditions connecting it with the life of the Saviour accord well with such a view, though proof is lacking.

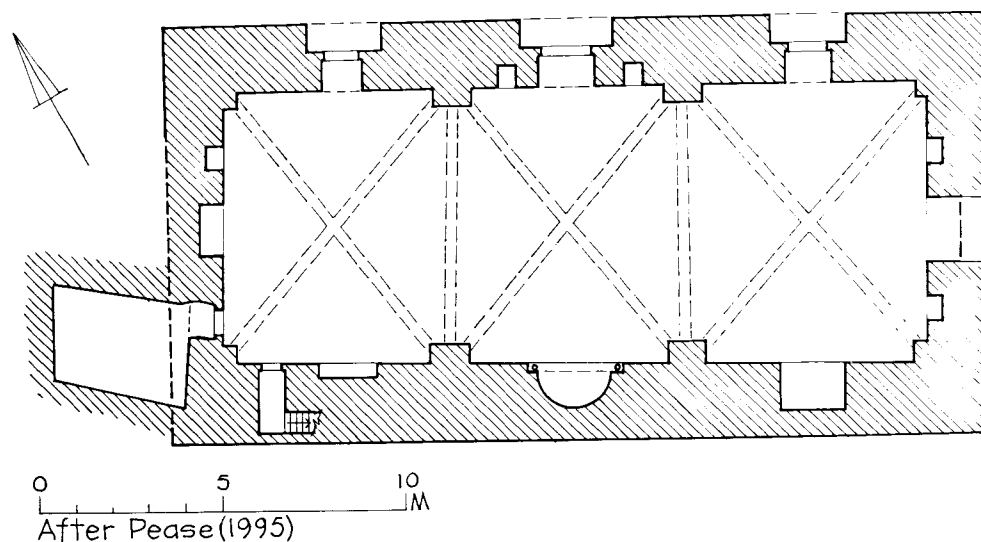
Sources

Abel 1923: 128-9; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 81; Bagatti 1979: 54, fig. 18; Çelebi 1648-50: 52; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 179; Féderlin 1896; Petrozzi 1973: 248.

Jami' al-Khadra (Jami' Hizn Sidna Ya'qub) 1744.1802

Description

The Green Mosque, or Mosque of the Sadness of Our Lord Jacob, stands on the lower slopes of Mount Garizim near the Samaritan synagogue in the south-western quarter of the town (fig. 24); its minaret rises some 30 m north-east of it. The mosque is a rectangular building, measuring 18.6 by 7.2 m internally with walls 1.76-2.15 m thick (fig. 30; pls. LXXVII-LXXVIII). It bears obvious signs of movement, due no doubt to earthquakes. The internal space consists of three bays of rib-vaults springing from squat rectangular pilasters. The vaulting is of the simplest quadripartite form, rising towards the centre of each bay, the central bay being



30 Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: plan.

somewhat higher than the others. The ribs are rectangular and chamfered in profile. The abaci from which they spring have a quirked roll on their lower arris, but now appear curiously smaller than the pilasters as a result of the latter having been thickened, presumably for reinforcement, at a later date. The *mihrāb*, in the centre of the southern wall, has a semi-dome decorated with elaborate stucco work set behind a horseshoe arch carried on grey-veined marble colonnettes (1.5 m high, tapering from 20 cm in diameter at the base to 14.5 cm at the top) with stucco-decorated block-shaped capitals. In each end wall there is a rounded-arched cupboard recess (the eastern one now being a window), flanked by a pair of smaller rectangular ones, with three small rectangular windows arranged in a triangle above; in the west wall, however, the southern recess is replaced by a door, which opens into a small rectangular chamber identified as the place where Jacob wept for the supposed death of his son Joseph (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 314). The same pattern of windows is found in the three bays of the south wall, while on the north each bay contains a door with a rectangular window above.

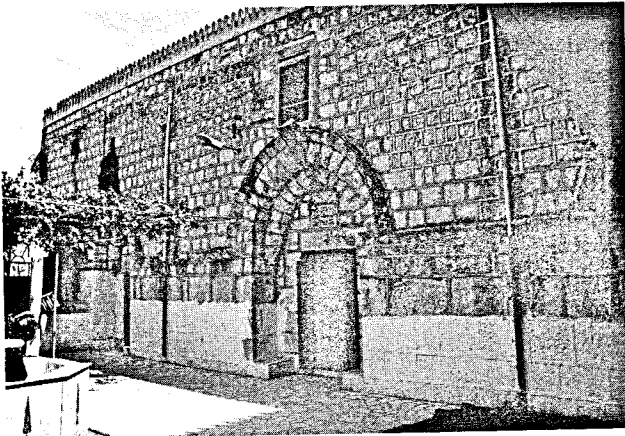
The central door is larger than the other two. The opening appears to have consisted of a lintel carried on opposing moulded corbels, but the right-hand one (seen from outside) is now missing. It is enclosed by a plain elliptical arch of two orders, now much mutilated, made up of small voussoirs, the outer ones being decorated with chevrons. Enclosing the whole is a cavetto hood-mould, decorated with a guilloche of chip-carved medallions, formed in effect from interlocking S's and containing arabesques (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 285). This moulding runs horizontally across the face of the

building and over the other two doors, which are similar though smaller and with plain lintelled openings. It also serves to divide the large ashlar masonry which characterizes the lower part of the walls, from the smaller masonry above. In the tympanum above the main door is an inscription which allows the building of the mosque to be dated between 687 and 689 H (AD 1288–90) in the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn (Jaussen 1927: 95–6, no. 7; RCEA, XIII, 69, no. 4899; Burgoyne 1987: no. 6).

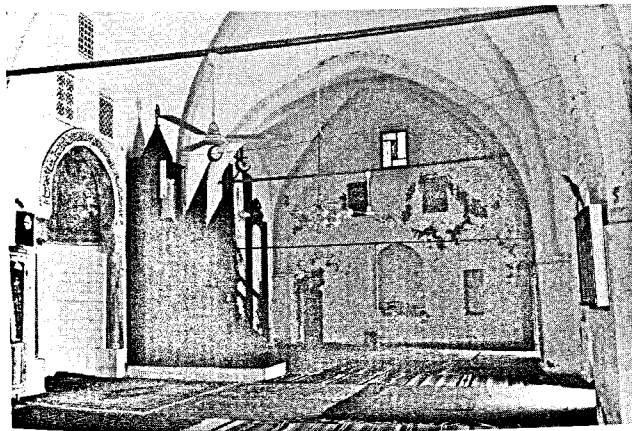
The minaret (pl. LXXIX) is rectangular in plan, and built in fine ashlar. It is divided into three stages by horizontal string courses and topped by a projecting parapet supported on corbels. The domed cylindrical cap-house appears to have been added after c.1880 (cf. Wilson 1880a: II, fig. p. 9). Each face of the upper stage is pierced by paired windows with rounded heads and the angles have white marble colonnettes built into them; on the southern side a smaller pair of openings also exists at the stage below. A Samaritan inscription is built into the base of the minaret at the south-east corner; Clermont-Ganneau also noted another two, badly mutilated (1896: II, 314).

Discussion

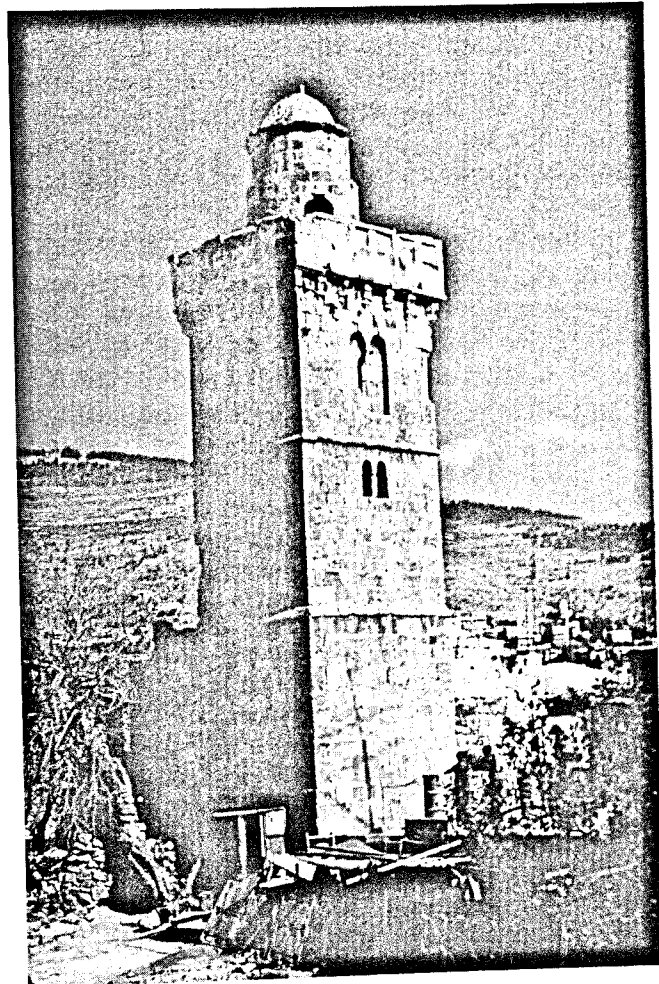
The mosque and its minaret were identified as a converted Crusader church and bell-tower by M. de Vogüé (1860: 358; cf. de Thévenot 1687: 215), an interpretation that has been endorsed with greater or lesser enthusiasm by numerous later commentators (e.g. Guérin 1874: I, 393; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 185; Meistermann 1936: 512; Palestine 1929: 43).



LXXVII Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: the south front.



LXXVIII Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: interior looking west.



LXXIX Nablus, Jami' al-Khadra: the minaret from the south-west.

1948: 67; Creswell 1952: II, 103; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 74). There is also a local Samaritan tradition, however, recorded by V. Guérin (1874: I, 383) and supported by others (e.g. Augustinović 1972: 29) that the building was at one time a Samaritan synagogue.

There is no doubt that certain features of the building date from the time when it was established as a mosque in 1288-90. These include notably the *mihrāb* and the north façade. Indeed a hood-mould closely comparable to that on the north façade is to be seen on the Turbat Barakat Khān in Jerusalem, a Mamluk building datable to 1265-80, though incorporating elements of an earlier Crusader structure (Walls 1974: 26-30, fig. 6, pl. IXa; Burgoyne and Richards 1987: 111-12, figs. 2.7-9). The articulation of the vaulting, in particular the prominence given to the central bay containing the *mihrāb*, also argues for that belonging, at least in its present form, to a Muslim phase of the building.

Despite its apparent similarity to a church tower, the

minaret may be compared with other plain rectangular minarets of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have string courses defining the stages and single or paired openings. They include the north minaret of the great mosque in Damascus, dated 1174-84 (Creswell 1952: II, fig. 116), the minaret of the Maqam al-Khalil in Urfa (Edessa), dated 1211-12 (Creswell 1952: II, 200, fig. 115), and the minaret of the mausoleum of Fāṭima Khātūn in Cairo, dated 1283-4 (Creswell 1952: II, 183, 248, pls. 58ab, 123d); the minaret of the White Mosque in Ramla, dated 1318, also has single pointed-arched openings flanked by a pair of blind arches on its two upper storeys and buttresses clasping the lower part of the tower (Creswell 1952: I, 210, 212: II, 172 n.4).

Two of these towers (Ramla and Edessa) were at one time wrongly identified as Frankish buildings. Indeed they and the undoubtedly Muslim features of the Jami' al-Khadra belong to a transitional architectural phase.

covering the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods, in which Western influence is often discernible (cf. Creswell 1952: II, 198–201). In Palestine such influence may have been the result of direct copying of Frankish buildings, the reuse of materials derived from them, or the re-employment of masons who had formerly worked for Frankish masters. All three factors may be expected to have influenced the design of buildings constructed in thirteenth-century Nablus. However, the use of quadripartite rib-vaulting is otherwise unknown in Muslim buildings of this period, and if the Jami' al-Khadra were to be regarded in its entirety as Mamluk, it would also have to be recognized that in this respect it is unique. In addition, the direction of the *qibla* is roughly S 30° W, which is well beyond the normal margins of error for a Mamluk mosque, even in Nablus where the late Roman street pattern has influenced the orientation of both mosques and churches. For V. Guérin the orientation of the mosque was decisive in leading him to believe that it had formerly been a church (1874: I, 393).

As P. Lortet (1884: 197) and C. Enlart pointed out, the pervading architectural style of the building's interior is early French Gothic. Although Enlart doubted whether it had ever been a church, he willingly identified it as a Frankish building, constructed at the last possible moment before the Muslim conquest. Unfortunately, he mistakenly took that to be 1242 (1925: II, 284–5). The purpose of the Templar raid of that year, however, was pillage and destruction. If the building is to be identified as Crusader, it must therefore be dated before 1187.

This is not impossible, given that pointed vaulting is normal in twelfth-century Frankish buildings, and that similar heavy rib-vaulting is already found in the 1170s close at hand in the cathedral of Sebaste (no. 225) and the church of Jacob's Well (Vol. I, no. 108).

While the possibility of a Frankish origin is therefore quite plausible, the function that such a building might have served is more difficult to determine. Guérin's description of the interior appears to support his belief that it was indeed a church:

It has but a single nave, paved with superb flags, and one apse towards the east, pierced by three windows. The openings that light it laterally are similarly very narrow and splayed. (1874: I, 393)

It seems, however, that Guérin is here using the word 'apse' loosely to mean the east end of a church; on this understanding his description accords with the present arrangement of the building. There is in any case no other evidence, literary or archaeological, for there ever having been a semi-circular apse; and as C. Enlart admitted (1925: II, 284), the form of the building does

not suggest a church. It may also be noted that the longitudinal axis (S 60° E) also deviates appreciably from the orientation of the known medieval churches in Nablus. If the building is Frankish, the evidence at present available would therefore suggest that it would have been built for a non-ecclesiastical purpose.

There remains, however, a further possibility to consider. According to a tradition held by the local Samaritans, not only was the mosque formerly their synagogue, but it takes its name, al-Khadra, from Mahallat al-Khadra (the place of the green), or in Hebrew Halkat ha-Sadi (the portion of the field), which they identify as the land in Shechem which Jacob bought from the sons of Hamor (Genesis 33.18–19). Another tradition relates that it was also here that Jacob learnt from his other sons of the supposed death of Joseph, hence the alternative name for the mosque, Hizn Sidna Ya'qub (sadness of our lord Jacob) (Guérin 1874: I, 393).

The Samaritan synagogue in Nablus was probably damaged at the time of the Frankish conquest (Kedar 1989: 83). At any rate, during the twelfth century a new one was built in the town by Ab Gillūga, a Samaritan who is recorded living in Acre around 1137 (Kedar 1989: 91). Around 1169–71, Benjamin of Tudela found 1,000 Samaritans in Nablus (trans. Adler, 20), and the community remained numerous in the thirteenth century. In 1225, Yāqūt says that they had a large 'mosque' in Nablus; this was evidently not the *moustier* on Mount Garizim, mentioned by Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 112), for both Yāqūt and al-Harawī (c.1171) describe the place of sacrifice and say, correctly, that the Samaritans prayed towards it (Le Strange 1890: 512–13; Kedar 1989: 84–6). The synagogue may have been damaged during the Templar raid of 30 October 1242, and by the Mongols in 1260. A Samaritan chronicle, however, reports that after the extinction of the remaining Frankish coastal strongholds between 1268 and 1291, the Muslims evicted the oriental Christians from Nablus, destroyed their churches and expropriated the Samaritan prayer-place at 'the parcel of the ground' (Kedar 1989: 93–4). This seems to be a reference to the al-Khadra mosque, whose date of conversion from synagogue into mosque would thus be placed around 1290.

As so little is known about the layout of medieval Samaritan synagogues, it is difficult to find in the present mosque building any features that would prove a Samaritan origin. From an earlier period, however, the synagogue at Salbit (Sha'alavim: Grid ref. 1488.1419) was rectangular, measuring overall 8.05 by 15.4 m, and was aligned longitudinally more or less in the direction of Mount Garizim (Reich 1994); while the

fourth-century synagogue at Kh. Samara (Grid ref. 1633.2037), which was at one time identified incorrectly as a church, had an apse added on the east side towards Mount Garizim probably in the fifth century (Magen 1993a; cf. 1991; 1993d). In the nineteenth century, the Nablus synagogue is described as having a plain rectangular interior with no more than a table and mats for furnishing and a cupboard in the east wall containing the scroll of the Law (Guérin 1874: I, 395; Curzon 1897: 130). It may not be insignificant, however, that the medieval Jami' al-Khadra appears to be set out longitudinally to face in the direction of the summit of Mount Garizim; and that there is a wall cupboard (now a window) in the east wall, and in the adjacent south wall.

Visited 24.2.79, 15.2.81, 7.5.95.

Sources

Abel 1933: 392–3; Augustinović 1972: 29; Bagatti 1979: 53–4; Burgoyne 1987: no. 6, plan 4b; Çelebi 1648–50: 49; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 314–15; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 185; Creswell 1952: I, 213; II, 103, 198 n.2; Enlart 1925: I, 40; II, 284–5; Guérin 1874: I, 393; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 74; Lortet 1884: 197; Mujir al-Din 1494–5: 217; Palestine 1929: 43; 1948: 67; Petrozzi 1973: 260–2; de Thévenot 1687: I, 215; de Vogüé 1860: 358; Wilson 1880a: II, 11, fig. p. 9; 1880b: II, 11, fig. p. 9.

Mausoleum of Shaykh Badrān 1748.1806

The mausoleum of Shaykh Badrān, or Badr al-Rafiya, consists of a small roughly square building, with a dome supported on four granite columns with reused Byzantine capitals (fig. 24). An inscription states that the building was renewed by Shaykh 'Imād al-Dīn, son of Shaykh Badr, in 672 H/AD 1273–4 (Mayer 1931: 37–8, no. 1, pl. xxxi; RCEA, XII, 182, no. 4673; Burgoyne 1987: no. 14). An inscription on the tomb bears the date 740 H/AD 1339–40, while another to the left of the door records a restoration in 796 H/AD 1393–4 (RCEA, xv, 131, no. 5809; Petrozzi 1973: 257). There is no clear evidence to support the view, often canvassed, that the building represents a converted Byzantine or Crusader chapel.

Sources

Abel 1923: 124; Burgoyne 1987: no. 14; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 209; Enlart 1925: II, 289; Petrozzi 1973: 257, figs. 89–90.

NA'IM

Kafr Na'im; Cr. Naim, Naym; Hebr. Na'in

No. 168 Church (of St Bartholomew ?) 1830.2264

History

Writing in 1137, Peter the Deacon recalls the events recorded in Luke 7.11–17:

In the village of Nain is the house of the widow whose son was brought back to life, which is now a church, and the burial-place where they were going to lay him is still there to this day. (section P4 (trans. Wilkinson, 192; CCCL, clxxv, 98; cf. IHC, II, 190))

It is probable, however, that this account was drawn from Egeria (AD 384) and relates to a church of the fourth century (cf. Wilkinson 1977: 165; 1981: 192 n.7). Such a building is mentioned in the tenth century by Eutychius of Alexandria (*Lib. Dem.* (trans. Watt, CSCO, cxciii, 137)). Before the twelfth century, the abbey of Farfa, east of Rome, also possessed among its collection of relics a piece of stone from the site (Bagatti 1971a: 265).

In 1101, *Naym* was listed among the villages granted to the abbey of Mount Tabor by Tancred, prince of Galilee (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 898, appx., no. 1; RRH, 6, no. 36; cf. 6, no. 39 (1103); 10, no. 51 (1107)). In 1153, it was being held by the Hospitallers (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 166–8, no. 217; RRH *Ad.*, 18–19, no. 280b; cf. Beyer 1945: 218). It would have been lost by the Franks in 1187 (cf. *de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 219; 231–2)), regained in 1240–1 (cf. Deschamps, 'Étude', 98; IHC, III, 480), and taken by Baybars in 1263 (Runciman 1951: III, 317; Prawer 1975a: II, 451).

Pilgrims of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries refer to Na'im and to the miracle which Jesus performed there (Belard of Ascoli (1112–60), II (IHC, II, 46); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxx (IHC, II, 96); Anon. VII (c.1145), 7 (IHC, III, 82); Anon. VI (1148), 6 (IHC, III, 62); Theodoric (1169–72), xlii (CCCM, cxxxix, 192); Phocas (1185), xi (PG, cxxxiii, 938); Michelant and Raynaud, 59 (c.1231), 80, 101 (c.1231), 104¹ (c.1230), 171 (1261), 187 (–1265), 197 (1268), 233 (c.1280); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 11 (ed. Laurent, 48; IHC, IV, 158); Philip of Savona (1283), vi (IHC, IV, 222); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), I, 38 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, IV, 262); Anon. Saec. XIII, III (IHC, IV, 342); cf. ELS, 341–2, nos. 533–5). John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) also records that it was said that

the widow's son later became the Apostle Bartholomew (CCCM, cxxxix, 82); the basis for this tradition was probably an apocryphal gospel narrative (cf. Bagatti 1971a: 263; Petrozzi 1976: 424). None of these texts, however, refers to any church.

It is only in the early fourteenth century that reference is made, by James of Verona, to a ruined church at the site where Jesus raised the widow's son (1335: 275; cf. Baldi 1955a: 342). The building is also mentioned by Nicolas of Poggibonsi (1346–50: 72) and later by Francesco Suriano (1485a: 143; 1485b: 156–7) and Boniface of Ragusa (1577: 259; cf. Baldi 1955a: 342–3; Bagatti 1971a: 265; Petrozzi 1976: 424–6).

In more recent times, remains of an ancient church have also been recognized in Na'im. In 1861, for instance, I. Martorelli noted:

The poor modern village stands near the extensive ruins of the ancient city. Near to these ruins on the side facing the mountain, into which were cut the ancient tombs of the Hebrews, I found a small half-buried apse, where I admired a lightly fluted colonnette of grey marble, with a Corinthian capital above it. It is a precious relic of the most ancient little church. (1865: 344; cf. Petrozzi 1976: 427, fig. 108)

This was probably the ruined building near the spring, measuring some 12 by 18 paces, that was seen by V. Guérin (1880: I, 115–17) and was latterly converted into a mosque, the *maqām Sayidna* (Conder and Kitchen-er 1881: II, 86; Bagatti 1971a: 265; Petrozzi 1976: 427–9).

The site of this building was acquired by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land in 1878, and a new church was built upon it and dedicated on 31 March 1881, as an inscription inside recalls (Bagatti 1971a: 265–8; Petrozzi 1976: 429–30, 433–4). The modern church has a single nave of three bays, with a broad semi-circular eastern apse. It seems unlikely, however, that its plan relates in any way to that of the earlier building on the site.

Visited 27.7.81.

Sources

Abel 1967: II, 394–5; Bagatti 1971a: 263–8, figs. 215–18; Baldi 1955a: 342–3; 1973: 228; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 259; Conder and Kitchen-er 1881: II, 86; Guérin 1880: I, 115–17; Hoade 1946: 437; 1978: 705; James of Verona 1335: 275; Martorelli 1865: 344; Meistermann 1936: 561; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 72; Parmensi 1893: pls. 136–8; Petrozzi 1976: 273, 326, 414–35, figs. 108–12; Suriano 1485a: 143; 1485b: 156–7; Vilnay 1978: 464–5.

NAZARETH

an-Nasira; Med. Ar. *al-Nāṣira*; Hebr. *Nazerat*

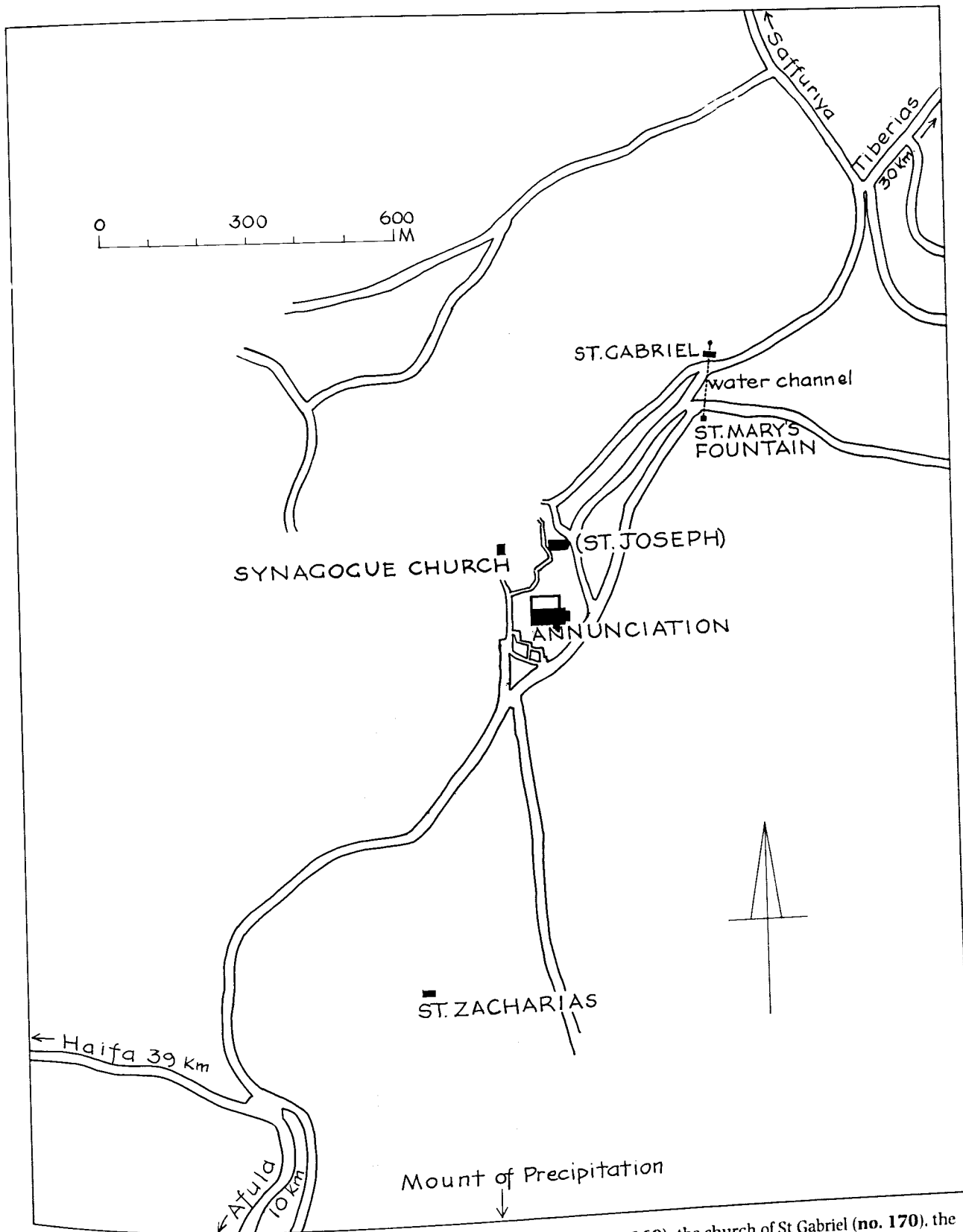
No. 169 Cathedral Church of the Annunciation 1782.2341

History

Nazareth ranks with Jerusalem and Bethlehem as one of the three most important towns associated with the life of Christ. It was in Nazareth that the archangel Gabriel announced His forthcoming birth to the Virgin Mary (Luke 1.26–38), and here that the Child Jesus grew to manhood (Luke 2.39–40; Matthew 2.21–3). Here also Jesus taught in the synagogue, and barely escaped being put to death (Luke 4.16–30).

The principal holy site in Nazareth from late Roman times and throughout the period of Frankish occupation was the place of the Annunciation (fig. 31). A church probably existed here from the time of the emperor Constantine, who died in 337 (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Adv. Haer.*, xxx, 11 (ed. Holl, I, 347; PG, xli, 424–5; ELS, 2–3, no. 2); *Vita Constantini*, ix (ed. Guidi, 50; ELS, 5–6, no. 9; trans. Wilkinson, 204); Wilkinson 1977: 165; Taylor 1987: 147; 1993: 226–30). The pilgrim Egeria, however, mentions in 384 only a large cave, where Mary had lived and in which an altar had been set up (Peter the Deacon, section τ (CCSL, clxxv, 98; trans. Wilkinson, 193)). But by around 570, a basilica containing relics of clothing of the Virgin Mary marked the place where her house had been (Piacenza Pilgrim, v (CCSL, clxxv, 131; ELS, 4, no. 5; trans. Wilkinson, 79)). This would also seem to be the second of two churches in Nazareth that were seen by Arculf around 670 (Adomnán, II, 26 (CCSL, clxxv, 218–19; ELS, 5, no. 6; trans. Wilkinson, 109); cf. Bede, xv, 2 (CCSL, clxxv, 276; ELS, 5, no. 7)).

The foundations of the Byzantine church of the Annunciation were uncovered by excavations conducted by the Franciscans in the 1950s (Bagatti 1967; Ovadia 1970: 144–5 (no. 147); Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1982: 159–60 (no. 46)). This building, a three-aisled basilica with a single projecting apse and an atrium, was apparently still standing after the Muslim conquest, for in the early eighth century St Willibald recalled to his biographer that the Christians often had to pay the Muslims to prevent them pulling it down (Hugeburc, XIII (ed. Tobler, 25; ELS, 5, no. 8; trans. Wilkinson, 128)). Twelve monks are recorded serving this church around 808 (*Commematorium de Casis Dei*,



31 Nazareth: plan showing the location of the church of the Annunciation (no. 169), the church of St Gabriel (no. 170), the church of St Zacharias (no. 171), the synagogue-church (no. 172), and the church of St Joseph (no. 173).

xli (Tobler and Molinier, 303; *ELS*, 6, no. 10; trans. Wilkinson, 138)); and, in 843, al-Mas'ūdi refers to bones of saints that were venerated there by the Christians (Le Strange 1890: 301; Marmardji 1951: 200; *ELS*, 6, no. 10*).

In 1099, Nazareth fell to Tancred, later to become prince of Galilee (William of Tyre, ix, 13 (CCCM, lxiii, 437–8)). It is possible that the old Byzantine church was still standing, for the pilgrim Saewulf, who visited the place in 1102–3, writes:

The city of Nazareth has been completely devastated and thrown down by the Saracens; but nevertheless a very celebrated church (*monasterium*) marks the place of the Lord's Annunciation. (ch. xxvi (CCCM, cxxxix, 74; *ELS*, 7, no. 12))

William of Tyre, however, relates that the church of Nazareth, along with two other principal Galilean churches of Tiberias and Mount Tabor, was rebuilt and richly endowed by Tancred, though all were subsequently despoiled by Tancred's successors (ch. ix, 13 (CCCM, lxiii, 438)). The church seen by Saewulf may therefore quite possibly have been Tancred's, or perhaps the Byzantine church repaired by Tancred. The word that Saewulf uses for it (*monasterium*) also implies the existence of a community serving it. Tancred's immediate successor as prince of Galilee, Hugh of St-Omer, and his brother Gerard were both buried in Nazareth in 1106 (Albert of Aachen, x, 8 (RHC Occ, iv, 635–6)).

The account written a few years after Saewulf's by the Russian Abbot Daniel (1106–8) gives a much fuller description of the church and implies that the residence of the bishop directly adjoined it:

Nazareth is a small town in a valley in the mountains which can only be seen when you arrive just above it. And in the middle of this town a tall church with three altars (or windows) has been built; and as you enter this church, on the left hand there is, as it were, a cave, small but deep, before a small altar; and this cave has two doors, one to the east and the other to the west, and to both these doors you must descend by stairs. As you enter the cave by the western door, on your right hand there is a cell with little doors; and in this cell lived the Holy Mother of God with Christ. In this holy dwelling Christ was brought up; and here is the bed on which Jesus lay, low on the ground of that little cell.

In this same cave, on the left hand side as you go in by the western door, there is the tomb of Saint Joseph, betrothed of Mary; Christ himself buried him here with his own immaculate hands. From the wall by his tomb there comes forth a holy white water like holy oil; and people collect it for curing the sick.

And there is a place in this cave near the western door where the Holy Mother of God sat by the door spinning crimson thread; and here the Archangel Gabriel came, when he was sent by God to the Virgin Mary.

And he stood before her, visible to her eyes, a little way from the place where the Immaculate Virgin sat; and this place where Gabriel stood is the third column (var. 3 fathoms) from the door of the cave. And a small round marble altar had been erected here on a single small column; and at this altar the liturgy is celebrated.

Here there once stood the house of Joseph, where there is now this holy cave; and everything took place in the house of Joseph the Betrothed of Mary; and a church has been built above this holy cave, dedicated to the Holy Annunciation. This holy place was once laid waste, but now the Franks have taken it and rebuilt it thoroughly. And there is a very rich Latin bishop here, who has jurisdiction over the holy place; and he made us very welcome with drink and food and all (that we needed); and we spent the night in this town. Having slept well we arose the next morning and went into the church there, and worshipped at that holy place; and entering the holy cave, we worshipped at all these holy places. (ch. lxxxix–xciii (trans. Ryan, 163–4; cf. de Khitrowo, 70–1))

Daniel is the first to refer to a Latin bishop in Nazareth. Before the Crusades, Nazareth had been the see of a *synkellos*, or suffragan of the patriarch, while the metropolitan see of Galilee had been located at Scythopolis (Baisan, or *Bethsan*). By the beginning of the twelfth century, however, Baisan was virtually deserted. Although an Orthodox archbishop of Baisan named Germanus is apparently mentioned in a now-lost charter of 1146 (le Quien 1740: ii, 602), there would therefore have been no question of reviving it as a Latin metropolitan see, and as an interim measure the abbot of Mount Tabor was granted archiepiscopal authority by Pope Paschal II in 1103. However, a Latin bishop of Nazareth named Bernard is mentioned in 1109 (Kohler, *Chartes*, 6–8, nos. 2–3); and in 1112 the abbot of Tabor's powers were curtailed. Finally by 1129, under Bernard's successor, William, Nazareth became a metropolitan see with power extending over the whole of Galilee (Hamilton 1980: 60–1, 67; see also no. 155).

The new Latin archdiocese of Nazareth thus in effect replaced the earlier Orthodox one of Scythopolis (cf. William of Tyre, viii, 4; xiii, 2; xxii, 17 (16) (CCCM, lxiii, 388; 588; 1030–1)). There were two suffragans, the abbot of Tabor and, by 1144, the bishop of Tiberias (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxiv (RHC Lois, i, 416); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 149); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, i, 56; Sanudo, iii, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 176); Hamilton 1980: 60–1, 72). Before Bishop Bernard's death, the cathedral church was being served by a chapter of regular canons (cf. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 131–2, no. 25; RRH, 25, no. 106 (1125); Bagatti 1984: 11). The community also seems to have run a hospital for pilgrims, from which a number of hospitaller congregations were later established in Champagne (Richard

1982: 95-7). In addition, the cathedral had a library, which numbered some seventy-two known titles by the end of the century (see Kedar 1983a: 64-5 n.54).

The church of Nazareth was evidently well endowed; and although it seems to have had few, if any, Levantine possessions outside its own diocese (except for a church in Acre in the thirteenth century, *q.v.*), by 1172 it held at least sixteen churches in southern Italy (Nitti di Vito, nos. 85, 110, 125, 134, 164, 190, 267, 269-70, 273, 279-80; Santeramo, 18-20, no. 5; Bresc-Bautier 1975; Hamilton 1980: 95, 143, 144, 293; cf. Kedar 1983a: 64 n.56). The archbishop also owed the service of six knights and 150 sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxxi-cclxxii (*RHC Lois*, I, 422, 426-7); Hamilton 1980: 137, 153 n.1; cf. Rheinheimer 1990: 191-6, 283).

The status of the shrine in Nazareth and the wealth and prestige of the archbishop would no doubt have demanded a church building of suitably grand proportions. Indeed, the surviving remains of the twelfth-century church show it to have been one of the largest ecclesiastical buildings in the whole kingdom. It seems improbable, however, that this vast edifice, measuring some 68 by 30 m, was the church built or repaired by Tancred and seen by Saewulf and Daniel within the first decade of the Crusader conquest. It is not certain, however, when that earlier building was replaced. Indeed, most twelfth-century pilgrim accounts pay more attention to the Cave of the Annunciation than to the church itself (e.g. John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 80); Anon. vii (c.1160), 7 (*IHC*, III, 82)).

On 29 June 1170, a severe earthquake, followed by a succession of smaller tremors spread over several months, caused serious damage and loss of life in northern Syria, and even destroyed part of the town walls of Tyre (William of Tyre, xx, 18 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 934-6); Bagatti 1984: 11; Prawer 1975a: I, 445; Kallner-Amiran 1950-1: 228; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 270). On 8 December of the same year, probably as a result of an appeal from Archbishop Lethard II, Pope Alexander III wrote to the Christians of France, asking for their help on behalf of the church of Nazareth. In his letter, the pope drew attention to the death and destruction caused by the recent earthquake, and went on to relate that following it the Muslims had invaded Christian territory and had taken, amongst other places, a large and populous village of the church of Nazareth, leading its clergy and other inhabitants away into captivity. As a result, the canons had been reduced to such poverty that unless they were to receive help they would not be able to continue serving God there for very much longer (*Epist. et Priv.* (PL, cc,

759-8, no. 831); *RRH*, 127, no. 481; Hiestand. *Vorarbeiten*, III, 393-4, no. 198).

It may be, as Bagatti suggests (1984: 11), that the church of the Annunciation had also been damaged by the earthquake; and a combination of natural and human disasters could well have reduced the revenues that the church was able to derive from its rural possessions. A faint suspicion of opportunism may also be detected in the church's appeal, however, for William of Tyre explicitly states that the northern parts of Palestine south of Tyre had not been affected by the earthquake and that it was in any case followed by a truce between Christians and Muslims (ch. xx, 18 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 935-6)). When, towards the end of the year, Saladin did invade the Kingdom, it was against *Darom*, Gaza and Transjordan that he directed his attentions (Prawer 1975a: I, 447-50). But if the plight of Nazareth had indeed been overplayed in relation to that of the rest of the kingdom, the needs of the archbishop and chapter may none the less have been considerable and unlikely to be met from local sources. This would have been particularly so if, as seems possible, the rebuilding of the church was already in progress (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 294).

The new church was probably substantially complete when it was visited by the pilgrim Theodoric in 1169 or 1172:

In [Nazareth] there stands a venerable church resplendent with the honour of being the seat of a bishop and dedicated to Our Lady St Mary. In this church, in the left-hand apse [or aisle], one descends some fifteen steps into a certain underground cave, where towards the east a cross is impressed in the base of a certain concave altar, to show that here [the birth of] Christ was announced to Our Lady by the Archangel Gabriel. To the left of the same altar, that is to the north, there lies buried Joseph, her spouse, who brought up the Saviour; and an altar is also placed above him. Moreover, to the right, that is to the south, there is a place arched over, with a cross impressed down to the ground, in which the Blessed Mother of God was born of her mother [St Anne]. (ch. xivii (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 192-3))

As Jaroslav Folda notes (1986a: 11), the differences between Theodoric's description and that of Daniel some seventy years before suggest that the Franks had made some changes to the Cave of the Annunciation. First, some changes to the Cave of the Annunciation. First, entry to the Cave was now possibly limited to a single stair on the west. Secondly, the cell that was seen by Daniel had now been enlarged by the addition of a vaulted chamber or vestibule on the south (later known as the Chapel of the Angel), enclosing the supposed birthplace of the Virgin Mary (cf. John of Würzburg (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 80-1)). Folda also notes that Theodoric's description corresponds in general terms with the

plan and description made by Francesco Quaresmi in the early seventeenth century (1626a: II, fig. p. 623; 1626b: fig. following p. 41), indicating that by c.1169–72 the Cave of the Annunciation had achieved its final medieval form (Folda 1986a: 11).

The exiled Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, Leontius, visited Nazareth in 1177–8, but unfortunately we know little of his visit (*Vita Leontii*, LXXXII (ed. and trans. Tsougarakis, 128); cf. Rose 1987: 377). Another Greek, however, John Phocas, who visited Nazareth in 1185, records that the Annunciation took place in the House of Joseph:

After this, the house of Joseph was altered into a beautiful church, upon the left side whereof is a cave, not opening into the bowels of the earth, but upon the surface. Its mouth is adorned with white marble. Above it the painter's hand has drawn a winged angel descending, who greets with good tidings the Virgin Mother, whom he finds gravely working at a piece of needlework, and he is depicted as though he were conversing with her. But the Virgin, terrified at the unexpected vision, and hurriedly turning herself round, has all but dropped the purple from her hands. Trembling and leaving her chamber through fear, she meets a woman who was her relative and friend [St Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist], and embraces her with friendly salutations. Entering, then, within the mouth of the cave, you descend a few steps, and then you behold the ancient house of Joseph, wherein, as I said before, the Archangel announced the good tidings to the Virgin . . . At the spot upon which the Annunciation took place there is a cross carved out of black stone upon white marble, and above it an altar; on the right-hand side of the altar is seen a little chamber, in which the Ever Virgin Mother of God used to dwell. On the left-hand side of the place of the Annunciation may be seen another small windowless chamber, wherein Christ our Lord is said by sacred tradition to have dwelt after the return from Egypt until the beheading of the Forerunner. (ch. x (PG, XXXIII, 936; PPTS, v, 12–13))

These twelfth-century descriptions of the Cave of the Annunciation will be discussed below in relation to the surviving remains (see fig. 38). Here we may simply note that neither Phocas nor Theodoric tells us much about the church itself, save that it evidently had three aisles terminating in eastern apses. The church (*maior ecclesia*) was certainly complete enough by 1183 to offer a refuge to the inhabitants of Nazareth when Saladin's soldiers raided the area and occupied the heights overlooking the town (William of Tyre, xxii, 27 (CCCM, LXIII, 1052); cf. Bagatti 1984: 11; Enlart 1925: II, 294).

Four years later, in May 1187, the cemetery of St Mary's church in Nazareth received the bodies of the Templars and other knights who had been slain at the battle of the Springs of Cresson (*Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, xxviii (ed. Morgan, 41); *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 217); Prawer 1975a: I, 646;

Key 1883: 443). In July of the same year, following the battle of Hattin, Nazareth itself fell to Saladin's amir Muzaffar al-Din Kukburi. Again the inhabitants took refuge inside the church 'on account of its fortification (*causa munitionis*)'; but this time they were slaughtered and the holy places profaned (*de Expugnacione* (RS, LXVI, 231); *Melrose Chron.* (trans. Stevenson, 24); cf. Bagatti 1984: 12; Prawer 1975a: I, 657, 660). The church of the Annunciation, however, remained standing, for in September 1192, on the request of Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, Saladin agreed to allow two Latin priests and two deacons to return there to celebrate the liturgy and to minister to pilgrims (*Itin. Ric.*, vi, 34 (RS, xxxviii.i, 438); Bagatti 1984: 12; Hamilton 1980: 311). Even so, the town and the entire archdiocese remained in Muslim hands, so that when sometime before 1202 the archbishopric was reconstituted by Patriarch Aimery, its principal sources of income, apart from that donated by pilgrims, lay overseas (Hamilton 1980: 243–4, 247).

In September 1204, al-Malik al-Ādil entered into a six-year truce with King Aimery and made some more concessions concerning Nazareth; these probably had to do with rights of pilgrimage rather than with actual possession (Prawer 1975a: II, 123; Bagatti 1984: 12). Nazareth and the road linking it with Acre were formally returned to Christian control in January 1229 as a result of the treaty made between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Kāmil (Sanudo, III, 11, 12 (ed. Bongars, 213); Prawer 1975a: II, 199, 201, 203, map VII; Bagatti 1984: 12), and Frankish control of Nazareth was confirmed in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142)); but it does not appear that the archbishop, Hugh, or his chapter returned there.

The chapter eventually did return to Nazareth under Hugh's successor, Henry (elected c.1238), probably after the town had been confirmed as a Christian possession in return for the surrender of Damietta in May 1250 (RRH, 314, no. 1191; Prawer 1975a: II, 335). In September 1251, a new constitution was drawn up by the archbishop and canons and sent to Pope Innocent IV for approval. Under it the chapter was to consist of six canons and a prior, following the rule of St Augustine; the archdeacon was henceforward always to be a priest; the canons were to live in community, with a common dormitory and refectory; and they were to be supported partly by a share of the oblations of pilgrims, partly by stipends from the archbishop and partly from the revenue of the village of *Ayloth* (Illut: Grid ref. 174.235), north-east of Nazareth itself (Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, 18–20, nos. 5538–9); RRH, 315, no. 1198; Hamilton 1980: 265–6).

Pilgrims' accounts of the early thirteenth century give little indication of the state of the church building in this period, save that it and the Cave below it were evidently still intact and visitable (e.g. *Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), xvi; *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), I (16); *Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), iv, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100; 104; 198); Anon. III (1296-), 7 (IHC, III, 20)). The arrangement of the church and shrine in this period was compared with that of the church of Our Lady at Tortosa (Tartus) in northern Syria, which was built to resemble it (*Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), xxi; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyre* (1261); *Chemins et pelerinages* A (1268), iv, 17 (Michelant and Raynaud, 103; 174; 188)). In March 1251, St Louis of France himself made the pilgrimage to Nazareth, receiving Communion there from his confessor at the altar of the Annunciation and afterwards attending Mass and a sermon delivered by the papal legate, Odo, bishop of Tusculum (Frascati), in the main church (*ad majus altare ecclesiae*). Louis also adorned the church on these occasions with precious furnishings and multi-coloured hangings and vestments (Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici* (IHC, iv, 104; *ELS*, 16, n.2); Prawer 1975a: II, 343-4).

Despite the attention which the church of Nazareth received, both institutionally and perhaps materially, around the time of King Louis' Crusade, the reforms proved difficult to maintain. By 1255 the archbishop had taken up residence once more in Acre (RRH, 326-7, no. 1242; cf. Alexander IV, *Reg.* (ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, nos. 1300 and 1330)); and a few years later, in 1261, Pope Urban IV instructed the cardinal bishop of Tusculum to create four new canons and a prior, because the church of Nazareth 'abounds in temporal goods but has collapsed as a spiritual centre' (Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, no. 45; cf. no. 1508); Hamilton 1980: 271-2, 307; Riley-Smith 1971a: 200).

The final agony, however, was not long delayed. In April 1263, one of the amirs of Sultan Baybars, 'Alā' al-Dīn Taybars (or, according to some sources, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram, amir of Jandar), led an attack on Nazareth and razed the church of the Annunciation to the ground (Ibn Abd al-Zāhir (trans. Sadèque, 171; 175); Abū'l-Fida' (RHC Or, I, 150); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 56; 59; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: I.i, 194-7; Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, II, 161, no. 344); *Annales* (ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 450b); Sanudo, III, 12, 6 (ed. Bongars, 221 [confused with Bethlehem]); *Eracles* (RHC Occ, II, 446); Prawer 1975a: II, 451-2; Röhrich 1884: 374; Runciman 1951: III, 317; Hamilton 1980: 273). It seems that the chapter continued to exist, however, for in January 1270 the church of St Mary of Nazareth was

left five ducats in the will of the Venetian, Marsilio Zorzi (Zorzi (ed. Berggötz, 82)).

By the treaty made at Caesarea between Baybars and King Hugh of Jerusalem on 21 April 1272, pilgrims were still allowed access to Nazareth (Sanudo, III, 12, 11 (ed. Bongars, 224)); and on 3 June 1283 the treaty between al-Malik al-Manşūr Qalāwūn and the Christians of Acre permitted the Franks to maintain four houses for clergy and pilgrims there, though repair or reconstruction of the church was explicitly forbidden (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 86; RRH, 378-9, no. 1450; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: II.ii, 224-30; cf. Enlart 1925: II, 295).

From the accounts of later pilgrims it is evident that, although the great church of the Annunciation was no more, the Cave of the Annunciation, holy to Muslims as well as to Christians (cf. al-Harawī (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 55-6)), remained intact. Around 1283, the Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion records three altars in the Cave and mentions that he had often celebrated Mass there (ch. VI, 7 (ed. Laurent, 46-7; *ELS*, 18, no. 28); cf. Sanudo, III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253)). A decade later, Ricoldus of Montecroce wrote:

And we came to a large church, almost entirely destroyed; and there was nothing there of the early buildings except for a single cell, where the Annunciation of Our Lady took place . . . There is there the altar of Our Lady in the place where she was praying when the Angel Gabriel was sent to her, and the altar of the Archangel Michael [i.e. Gabriel], where Gabriel stood when making his announcement. (ch. II, 1-4 (ed. Laurent, 107; *ELS*, 19, no. 29))

Ricoldus and his companions celebrated Mass at both altars. A Catalan text of 1323 identifies the two altars inside the Cave as those of St Mary and St Gabriel, and the one outside it as that of St Anne, the Virgin's mother (Baldi 1955a: 19, no. 29*).

Other scraps of information are provided by some fourteenth-century pilgrims. Some remains of the walls of the large Crusader church were still visible in the early decades of that century (James of Verona 1335: 273-4; Baldi 1955a: 20, no. 30*), but the site was then being used as a rubbish tip (Ludolph of Sudheim 1336-41a: 358; Baldi 1955a: 21, no. 31). The Muslims, however, jealously guarded the Cave and charged an entrance fee to those wishing to enter it (Boldensele 1333; Mandeville 1356-66: 184-5; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 74; cf. Baldi 1955a: 20-3). Nicolas of Poggibonsi also noted that the inside of the Cave was decorated with mosaic work (cf. Baldi 1955a: 23 n.1).

The ruined church and the Cave of the Annunciation were to remain in much the same condition for another

two and a half centuries or more. Around 1485, Francesco Suriano noted that part of one of the aisles was still standing and was being used as a stall for cattle (1485a: 145; 1485b: 155–60; cf. Baldi 1955a: 25). As in the late twelfth century, access to the Cave seems to have been by the western of the two stairs which had formerly led down into it (Barbone Morosini [1514], in Baldi 1955a: 26, no. 35*). A succession of Western pilgrims continued to visit the shrine, usually under the guidance of the Franciscans, who seem to have occupied the site for a while in the mid sixteenth century (Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 262; Kootwyk 1619: 349; Perera 1553b: 201; Baldi 1955a: 24–32, nos. 34–9).

The Franciscans had established a house in Nazareth for a brief period in the late fourteenth century, and a hospital served by Latin nuns is recorded in 1423 (Bagatti 1984: 14–15). Permission to repair the church was granted by Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent in 1546 (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 19, no. 14; cf. 49, no. 38 (1558)). In December 1620, however, the custos, Fr Thomas of Novara, obtained possession of the site from the amir of Sidon, Fakhr al-Dīn II, and entrusted Fr James of Vendôme as guardian to undertake its restoration (Thomas of Novara 1620a; 1620b; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 628; 1626b: 390–2; Bagatti 1984: 15–16, 22; cf. Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 228, no. 152 (1627); 243, no. 161 (1634)). The state of the shrine just after the Franciscans took charge of it is recorded by Francesco Quaresmi, writing in 1626. Quaresmi's sketch plan and description of the Cave indicates that the positions of the principal altars had not changed since the time of Theodoric (1169–72) (see above). The altar of the Annunciation lay in the eastern part of the Cave; that of the Archangel Gabriel at the east end of the vaulted vestibule (in front of the blocked eastern stair); that of St Joseph in the northern part of the Cave; and that of St Anne against the south wall of the vestibule (see fig. 38). The entrance to the vestibule was moved at about this time from the west to the south, where six steps led down into it. Quaresmi also refers to a mosaic pavement in this area (*pavimentum . . . opere tessellato*); but of the grille that formerly separated the vestibule from the Cave itself, only the marks of where it had been were left (Quaresmi 1626a: II, 620, fig. p. 623; 1626b: 388–90; Baldi 1955a: 35–7, no. 41; Bagatti 1984: 22).

Quaresmi also describes the remains of the Crusader church:

The church is almost completely destroyed and collapsed, except for the north wall, to which was annexed the house of the bishop; this is now restored and occupied by the Brothers of St Francis.

In cleaning the holy place, after much earth had been

cleared away, a pavement of rectangular flagstones was discovered, with the bases and foundations of columns . . . From these and from the above-mentioned wall, it was judged that this was a church. Its length lay east–west, and it had two rows of columns. The Holy Cave and the chapel of the Annunciation were to the left of the entrance to the church, that is, in the northern aisle; and one went down into it by six steps. On this side, there were adjacent dwellings, as there are now, though partly restored, whence from this northern part we can come down [into the church] from the house by a recently made stair. [The church] was fairly long, and in its western part it had a bell-tower, which still survives. All indeed is demolished and destroyed; nevertheless, from the surviving remains, the ruins and foundations, we may tell with certainty that there once stood there an exceedingly fine building. (Quaresmi 1626a: II, 620; 1626b: 390; cf. Bagatti 1984: 24; Baldi 1955a: 36)

Life for the Franciscans in Nazareth, however, was not to be easy, and on a number of occasions in the seventeenth century they were expelled and their convent and cave-church ransacked (Bagatti 1984: 15–16, 22–4). A view of the site from the south was published by Fr E. Roger (1664: 58–9; cf. Bagatti 1967: 5, fig. 1); and another engraving by Cornelius van Bruyn also shows the chapel of the Angel to have been covered by three bays of ribbed vaulting (1725: II, cf. Bagatti 1984: fig. 18; Enlart 1925: II, 299, fig. 422).

A new Franciscan church was completed on 7 May 1730 (Horn 1725–44b: 248; Mariti 1769: II, 175–80). This was built against the north wall of the Crusader church and was aligned north–south, with the high altar and friars' choir directly above the Cave of the Annunciation. The Cave was now reached from the south down a flight of broad steps, on either side of which other stairs led up to the sanctuary area (Horn 1725–44b: 247–53, figs. 53–61; cf. Roberts 1842b: pl. 31). The reorientation of the shrine entailed a rearrangement of the altars inside the Cave: the altar of St Joseph had apparently already been removed by 1653 to make way for a rock-cut stair into the convent to the north (Horn 1725–44b: 256 n.1); on the south of the vestibule, the altar of St Anne was now also removed for the new stairs; the altar of the Annunciation was moved to a new position in front of the northern apse, and the eastern apse walled up; and the altar of St Gabriel was moved to the north-western part of the vestibule, to the left of the entrance to the Cave (Horn 1725–44b: 253–63, figs. 57 and 61; cf. Roberts 1842b: pl. 30).

Fr Horn unfortunately tells us little of the surviving medieval features of the church. He does, however, refer to the 'mosaic' pavement also seen by Quaresmi in the vaulted vestibule to the Cave:

Before the steps of the place of the Holy House of the Blessed Virgin Mary, there is part of a mosaic, that is, a vermiculated

pavement composed by way of ornament of minute differently coloured tesserae. (1725-44b: 250)

Horn's illustration of this suggests that it was a Cosmatesque pavement, square in plan with a central quatrefoil surrounded by rectangular geometrical patterns (Horn 1725-44b: fig. 58; cf. Bagatti 1984: 60, fig. 3).

A number of references are made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to carved detail surviving from the Crusader church (cf. Horn 1725-44b: 256). Richard Pococke, for example, records that 'there remain several capitals, and bases of pillars, and other pieces of antient work, in a tolerable good taste; and over a door there is an old alt-relief of Judith, cutting off the head of Holofernes' (1743: II, 63). As T.S.R. Boase remarks (1967: 93), it seems more likely that this scene represented the decapitation of St John the Baptist. In 1816, J.S. Buckingham noted that 'on the wall [of the convent], both within and without, are worked into the masonry several pieces of the old ruins, containing delicate sculptures of friezes, cornices, capitals, &c.' (1822: I, 148; cf. Bagatti 1984: 25).

The eighteenth-century church over the Cave was enlarged in 1871. It was demolished in 1955 to make way for the present church, which was built over the Crusader foundations to the designs of G. Muzio, following those of A. Barluzzi, and was consecrated on 25 March 1969. Excavations on the site of the Crusader church were carried out in 1889, 1892 and 1907-9 (Vlaminck 1900; Viaud 1894: 187; 1910; 1913; cf. Bagatti 1967: 1-3); and further excavations were made just north of the basilica when the convent was rebuilt in 1930. More recently, an intensive campaign of clearance and excavation in advance of rebuilding was carried out on the site of the church itself between 1955 and 1962 (Bagatti 1967; 1984).

Description

The Crusader church of the Annunciation was, along with the cathedral of Tyre and the church of St Mary of Mount Sion, one of the largest churches of the Latin Kingdom, measuring some 68 by 30 m overall. Its foundations were terraced into a rocky site, sloping downward from north to south, with the Cave of the Annunciation beneath the north aisle. Following the Mamluk destruction of 1263 and the building of a modern church on the same site, little of the Crusader structure now survives. That which does includes the lower part of the *chevet* and some rebuilt elements of the north wall, which have been incorporated into the foundations and lower level of the new church. Within

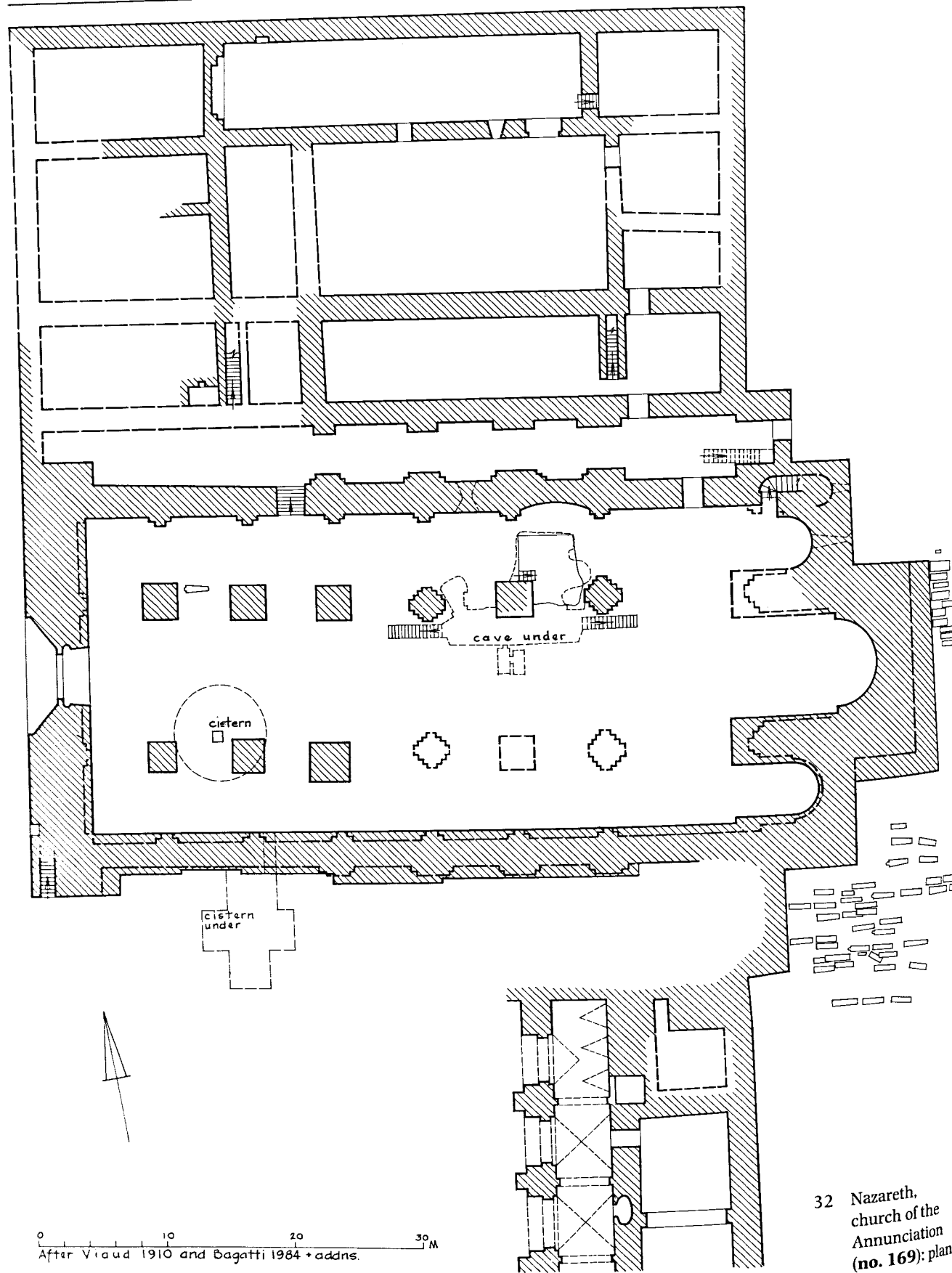
the crypt of this church are also exposed the remains of the Byzantine church and of the Cave itself.

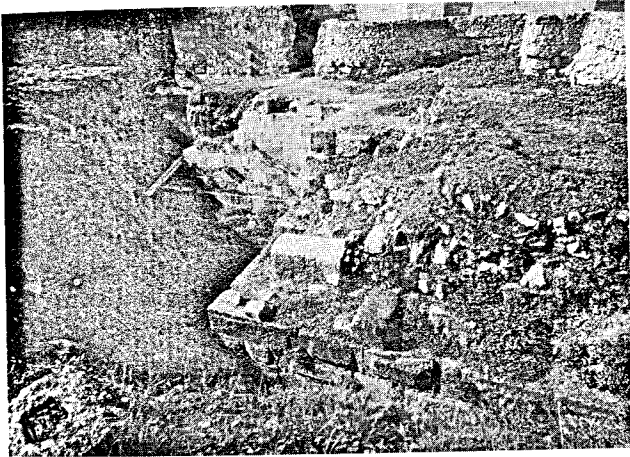
To gain a more complete picture of the layout and elevation of the twelfth-century church, we must therefore rely on the drawings, photographs and observations of Prosper Viaud, Bellarmino Bagatti and others, made before or during the clearing away of the eighteenth-century convent buildings and the construction of the modern church. Even then the picture is only partial, for as a result of the sloping site, although the northern part of the Crusader church survived reasonably well, the southern part and much of the west front are represented on plan (fig. 32) by no more than their foundations.

The evidence, such as it is, indicates that the twelfth-century church was basilican in plan, with three aisles terminating in semi-circular eastern apses, the central one extending beyond the others and enclosed externally by a rectangular projection (pl. LXXX). The church was built throughout in finely dressed ashlar, utilizing local limestones of varying hardness depending on the fineness of the carved detail required.

The central nave was some 8.7 m wide and had six bays, averaging 6.9 m each in length (measuring to the centres of the piers). Unfortunately nothing remains of the nave arcades, save for the lower parts of some piers. Most of these are represented only by their rectangular foundations; but the first and third piers of the north arcade, which survive up to plinth level, suggest that the usual plan was cruciform, probably with an engaged column on each main face. Some of the piers also seem to have incorporated reused antique column drums, either in their foundations (as in the second pier of the north arcade, whose foundation intrudes into the Cave) or possibly, as at Gaza and elsewhere, on their faces (Bagatti 1967: 50, fig. 10; 1984: 52-3). The nave itself seems likely to have been groin-vaulted and with clear-storey windows, though no certain evidence remains. Some fragments of more elaborate early Gothic ribs found on the site, however, indicate that certain parts of the church or of its associated complex of buildings were under construction in the last quarter of the twelfth century, or possibly later (Bagatti 1984: fig. 48).

A better idea of the church's internal elevation may be obtained from the evidence of the north aisle wall, the first two bays of which survived to the mid-1950s almost to their full height, incorporated into the *chevet* of the eighteenth-century Franciscan church (figs. 33-5; pl. LXXXI). This wall is 2.2-2.45 m thick, with six pilasters with engaged columns on its internal face and buttresses corresponding to four of these on the exterior. In the first bay, the wall is built with a concave plan in





LXXX Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): the *chevet* from the east, as it appeared in the 1940s.

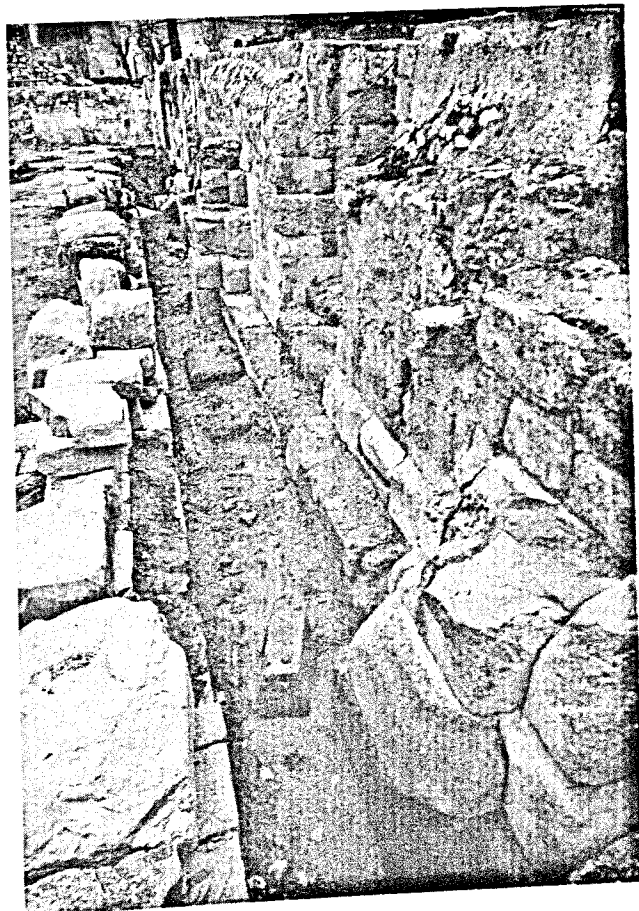
order to accommodate the aedicule above the Cave. On the inside face of the wall, a moulded plinth runs 75 cm above pavement level; the moulded bases of the pilasters stand 42 cm proud of this.

The north aisle was 4.9 m wide (measuring between the piers and pilasters) and appears to have been groin-vaulted, probably with transverse arches separating the bays. The vaulting sprang from a continuous moulded cornice, 7 m above pavement level, which formed imposts above the composite capitals surmounting the pilasters and their respective half-columns. No capitals remained *in situ*, but one intact example now in the Israel Museum is of a corinthianesque type, with a grotesque mask peering out from the foliage (Bagatti 1984: pl. 8.1, fig. 15). In the wall space above the cornice in the second bay, there also survived a double-splayed rounded-arched window (1.8 m wide internally, narrowing to 0.82 m), flanked by a pair of colonnettes, one of which was surmounted by a thick-leaved capital also decorated with a mask (Bagatti 1984: 45-9, figs. 15, 16, 27, 28; pl. 1, 8-11). Other architectural fragments surviving *ex situ* suggest that there may have been some slight variation in the form of the piers and pilasters. One base, for example, shows that the pilaster that it supported had colonnettes at the angles, in addition to the engaged column on its face (Bagatti 1984: fig. 46.1); this might perhaps indicate the existence of some simple form of rib-vaulting in some of the later bays to be constructed.

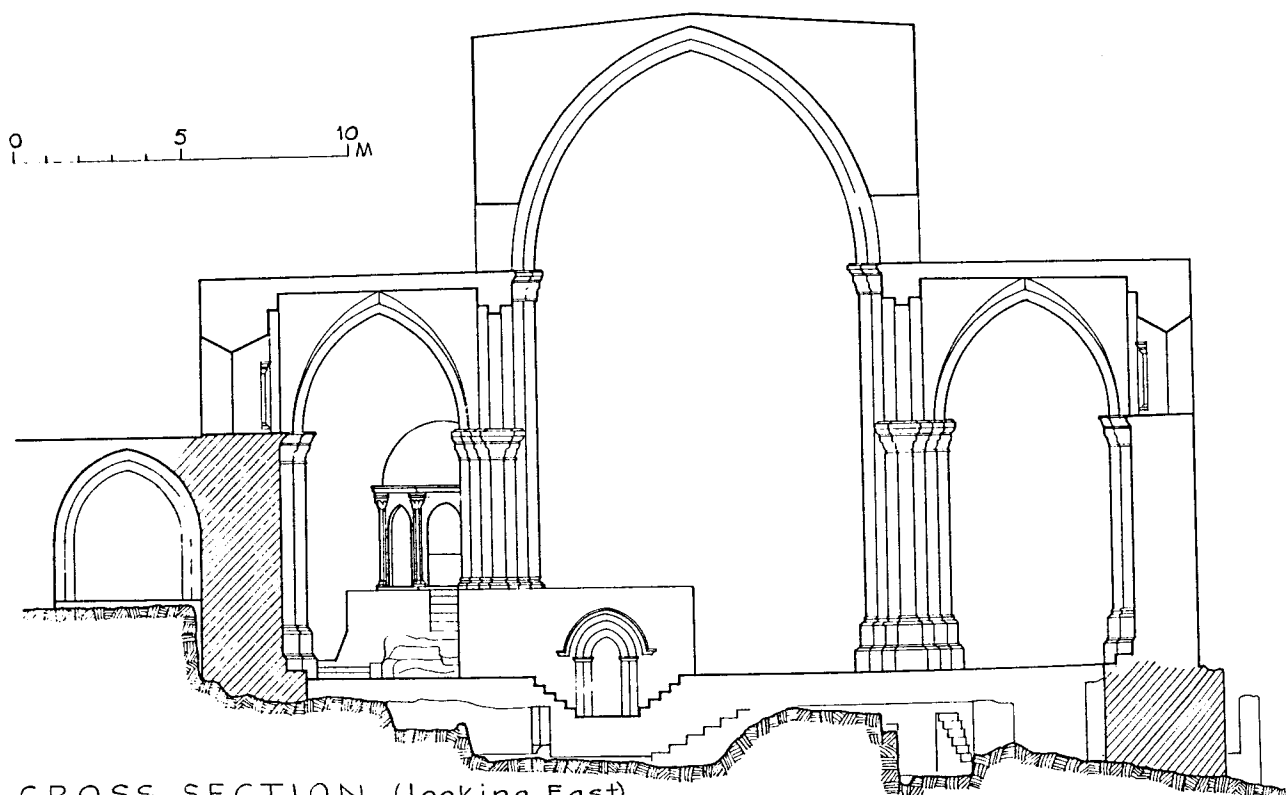
The fact that the distance between the eastern piers of the nave arcades and the beginning of the apses exceeds the average width of an arcade bay suggests that there was in this position an inscribed transept and crossing. The precise width of the supposed transept, however, is

hard to determine, for the north side of the central apse had completely disappeared before Viaud recorded it, and his measurements for the corresponding southern side relate only to the foundations (cf. Viaud 1910: 64-5, figs. 28-9). If the walls of the apses were set back somewhat on these foundations, however, it seems quite possible that the crossing area could have been roughly square in plan (some 8.7 m on each side); it might therefore have been covered either by a square lantern tower or perhaps by a dome on pendentives, as Viaud himself shows it in his reconstruction model. A wall which Viaud noted between the south-west crossing pier and the south side of the central apse may also, as he suggested, have defined the southern side of the canons' choir extending into the crossing (Viaud 1910: fig. 2; Bagatti 1984: 53, pl. 20; cf. Enlart 1925: II, 300).

Of the three apses, the northernmost survived into modern times relatively intact. Its diameter was 4.10 m and it was lit by a splayed rounded-arched window. Excavation has also revealed the emplacement for an



LXXXI Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): north wall and door, seen from the inside in the 1940s, looking west.



CROSS SECTION (looking East)
Reconstruction after E. Allia (in Bagatti, 1984)

33 Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): reconstructed cross-section.

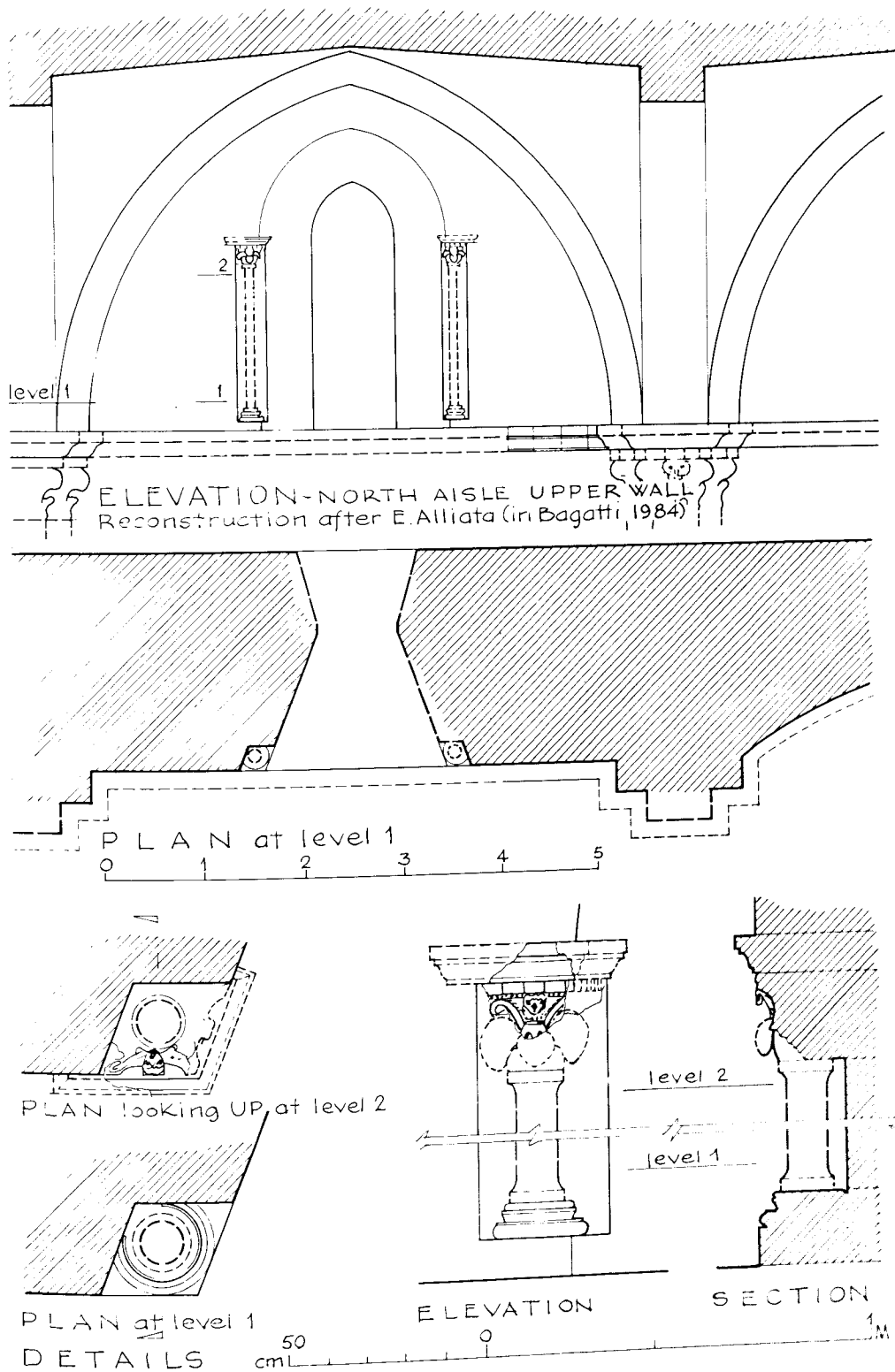
altar (Bagatti 1984: 50–1, pl. 13). In the north wall, to the left of the apse, a narrow barrel-vaulted passage led up a curving flight of steps and was lit on the east by another rounded-arched window, splayed internally from 10 to 80 cm in width. This stair seems to have gone up to the floor above the apse's vault; but whether its purpose was to give access to the buildings north of the church, as Viaud suggests, or to a bell-tower, or more possibly perhaps to a treasury built above the apse in the angle between the north transept and the central apse, cannot be known (cf. Viaud 1910: 70–1, figs. 17, 28, 33–4; Bagatti 1984: 50, fig. 29, pl. 12).

From Viaud's measurements, it would appear that the central apse had a diameter of some 6.7 m and was preceded by a 'choir', presumably vaulted, 7.5 m wide and 8 m long. The plan in this area, however, relates only to the foundations, above which, as Viaud himself realized, the walls are likely to have been set back by some 35 cm at least (1910: 64–5). The foundation of the dais on which the main altar stood was represented by a raised rubble-built platform, which indicated that the altar had been sited on the chord of the apse with an open space behind it (cf. Viaud 1910: 66, fig. 2; Bagatti 1984: 51).

Like the central apse, the southern one was repre-

sented only by foundations. Its recorded dimensions (about 3.8 m wide, and 5.9 m deep) should therefore be taken as minimal.

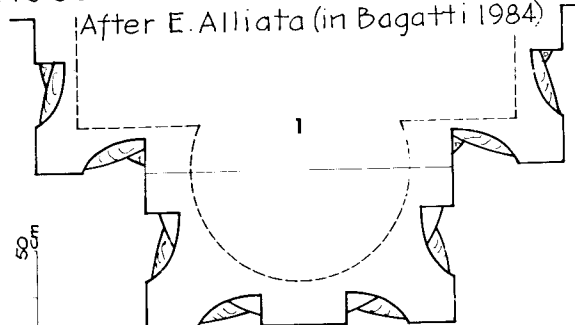
The positions of only three doors into the church are known with certainty. In the north wall, a plain opening 1.10 m wide still leads out from what would have been the north transept to the buildings to the north. In the fourth bay of the north aisle the remains of a larger door, 1.4 m wide, were found with a flight of steps leading up into the building to the north (Viaud 1910: 52–3). It is probable that there would also have been one or possibly two major doors in the south wall communicating with the conventual buildings of the canons. The recovery from the site of a score or so of socles with vertical fluting, such as are commonly found in ornamental portals of the twelfth century, indicate that there could have been at least three such doorways at Nazareth. One was the west door (see below), and others may have existed elsewhere in the adjoining buildings, for instance, perhaps at the entrance to the chapter house. But a position in the south wall also appears possible. Unfortunately the south wall does not survive above its foundations; and although Bagatti proposes locating a door in the third bay of the south aisle, his reason, a thickening of the foundation at the



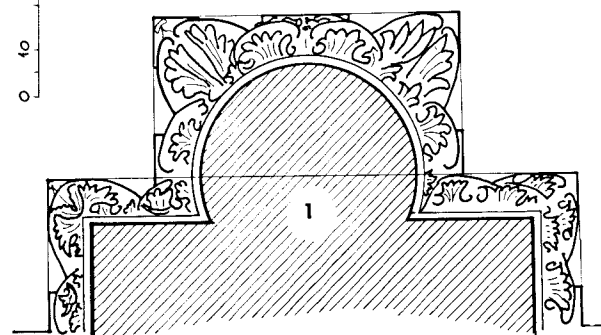
34 Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): details of the north aisle elevation.

Reconstruction of North wall Pilasters

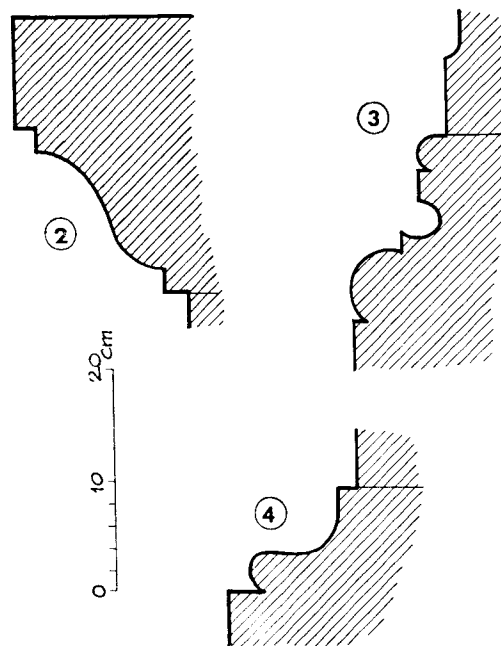
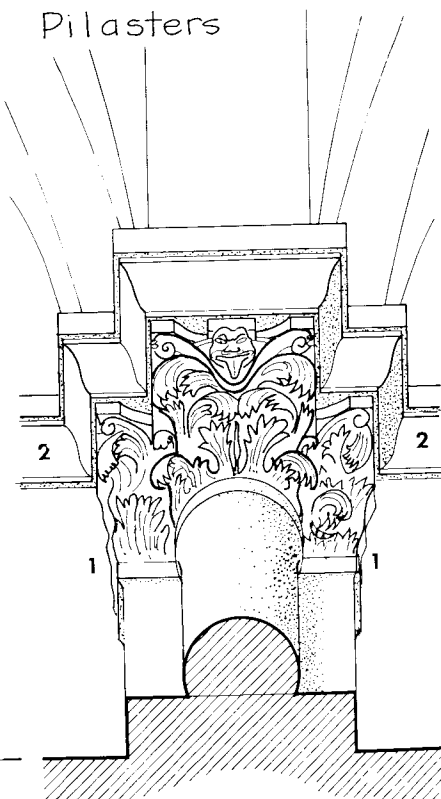
After E. Alliata (in Bagatti 1984)



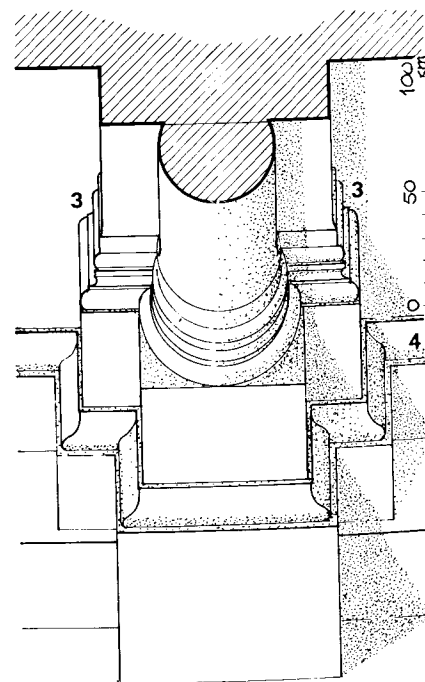
Plan of Capital (below Frieze)



Plan of Capital looking up



Details



Axonometric view

point, is unconvincing. Indeed, the fifth bay, where the foundation is by coincidence thinnest, would seem a more logical position (cf. Bagatti 1984: 52; Enlart 1925: II, 301). Doubtless there would also have been a night stair door leading into the south transept.

In the foundations of the fourth bay of the south wall, there does survive a narrow door (90 cm wide) leading down some steps into an underground rock-cut vaulted cruciform chamber. Though Viaud considered this a Byzantine tomb reused by the Crusaders, its precise function is unknown (Viaud 1910: fig. 2jk; Bagatti 1984: 52, 72-4, pl. 26 and plan).

The west wall of the church was a massive 5 m thick at its threshold level, with foundations some 3 m deep at the north end and 9 m at the south, resting on the bedrock (cf. Viaud 1910: fig. 3; Bagatti 1984: 28-9). One reason for this extra thickness may possibly have been, as Bagatti suggests (1984: 45, 70), to support a pair of bell-towers above the western bays of the aisles. The only corroborative evidence, however, consists of Quaresmi's mention in 1626 of a bell-tower somewhere in the western part of the church (see above) and of the remains of a mural stair at the south-west corner. The wall thickness would in any case have been reduced at a higher level on the inside to accommodate the pilasters of the nave arcades and the raised plinth course. The external wall-face, however, seems to have been smooth with no buttresses (cf. Bagatti 1984: pl. 1.2).

The lower part of the central west doorway of the church still formed, when Viaud recorded it, part of the entrance gate to the Franciscan convent. Unfortunately, nothing of it now survives *in situ*. Viaud's drawings and illustrations, however, indicate that the opening was 3.3 m wide and was closed by a pair of doors set in recessed pivot slots behind a pair of fluted socles, which would doubtless once have supported the bases of columns. The sides of the door-passage appear to have been parallel, or nearly so; but a broad splay on the outside and the existence of the lower portion of another socle, apparently *in situ*, suggests a portal of four or more orders (Viaud 1910: 41-2, figs. 2, 6-7; Enlart 1925: II, 301). Various hypothetical reconstructions of the west portal have been attempted, making use of differing combinations of selected architectural and sculptured elements known to have come from the site. Among these, the proposals of C. Enlart (1925: II, 301-8), Z. Jacoby (1981) and B. Bagatti (1984: 29-45, fig. 14) seek to include the five famous 'Nazareth capitals' (see below). Some further reasons for rejecting this idea will be set out below in the discussion of the sculpture itself. Here it may simply be noted that neither Enlart's nor Jacoby's reconstructions were based on

measured drawings of the surviving fragments and of their supposed locations in the reconstructed portal; and that while Bagatti is able to present a more convincing reconstruction drawing, prepared by his architect colleague Fr Eugenio Alliata, in all three proposals the four octagonal capitals can only be accommodated in such a way that two of their six decorated faces would always have been invisible. Secondly, while Enlart and Jacoby argue for the larger, 'rectangular' capital having surmounted a *trumeau*, the existence of one is not recorded by Viaud, who saw the threshold slab *in situ*; nor would a *trumeau* have been necessary in a doorway of such a size. Bagatti attempts to explain some of the difficulties surrounding the dating of the historiated capitals by arguing that they related to a secondary phase of the west portal. It seems more plausible, however, that Fr Alliata's reconstruction of the so-called first phase of the portal was in effect the only phase, and that it had a relatively simple design, like those in Gaza and at St Mary Latin in Jerusalem, with plain cylindrical columns on fluted socles, capped by thick-leafed capitals, and with hollowed chamfers on the projecting arrises between the columns (see fig. 36). Some possible elements from such a scheme still survive. But it may also be recalled that it is precisely such unfigured pieces that are likely to have been removed by the Mamluks for use elsewhere. Any fine sculptural decoration that may have come from this portal would probably have been confined to the tympanum, which appears to have been surrounded by an arch, decorated (like that of St Mary Latin) with signs of the Zodiac and with an inscription now too fragmentary to be decipherable (pl. LXXXII).

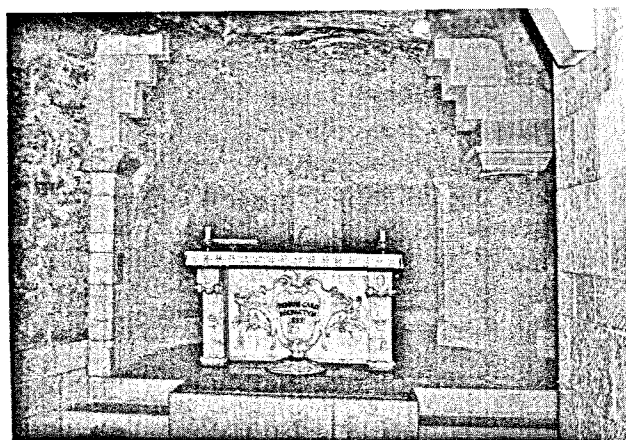
Viaud's reconstruction model of the church, now in the Franciscan Museum in Nazareth, shows the central west portal flanked by smaller ones opening into the aisles. The surviving part of the west wall, however, shows that there was no such door to the north. More likely, as in other major Crusader churches of the twelfth century, there was only a single west door (Bagatti 1984: 70, pls. 1, 20).

The Cave of the Annunciation

What remains today of the Cave and of its related structures represents a mixture of elements from different periods (see Freeman-Grenville 1994: 34-7) (pl. LXXXIII). Fortunately, the descriptions of Daniel (1106-8), Theodorici (1169-72) and John Phocas (1185) provide valuable evidence for suggesting how it might have appeared in the twelfth century (see figs. 37-39). The Cave-shrine consisted of three distinct parts: the rock-cut Cave itself, a vaulted vestibule or



LXXXII Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): fragment of the outer arch from the west portal.



LXXXIII Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): the Cave of the Annunciation as it appears today.

antichamber preceding it on the south, and some form of altar or aedicule constructed above it (see Folda 1986a: 9–21).

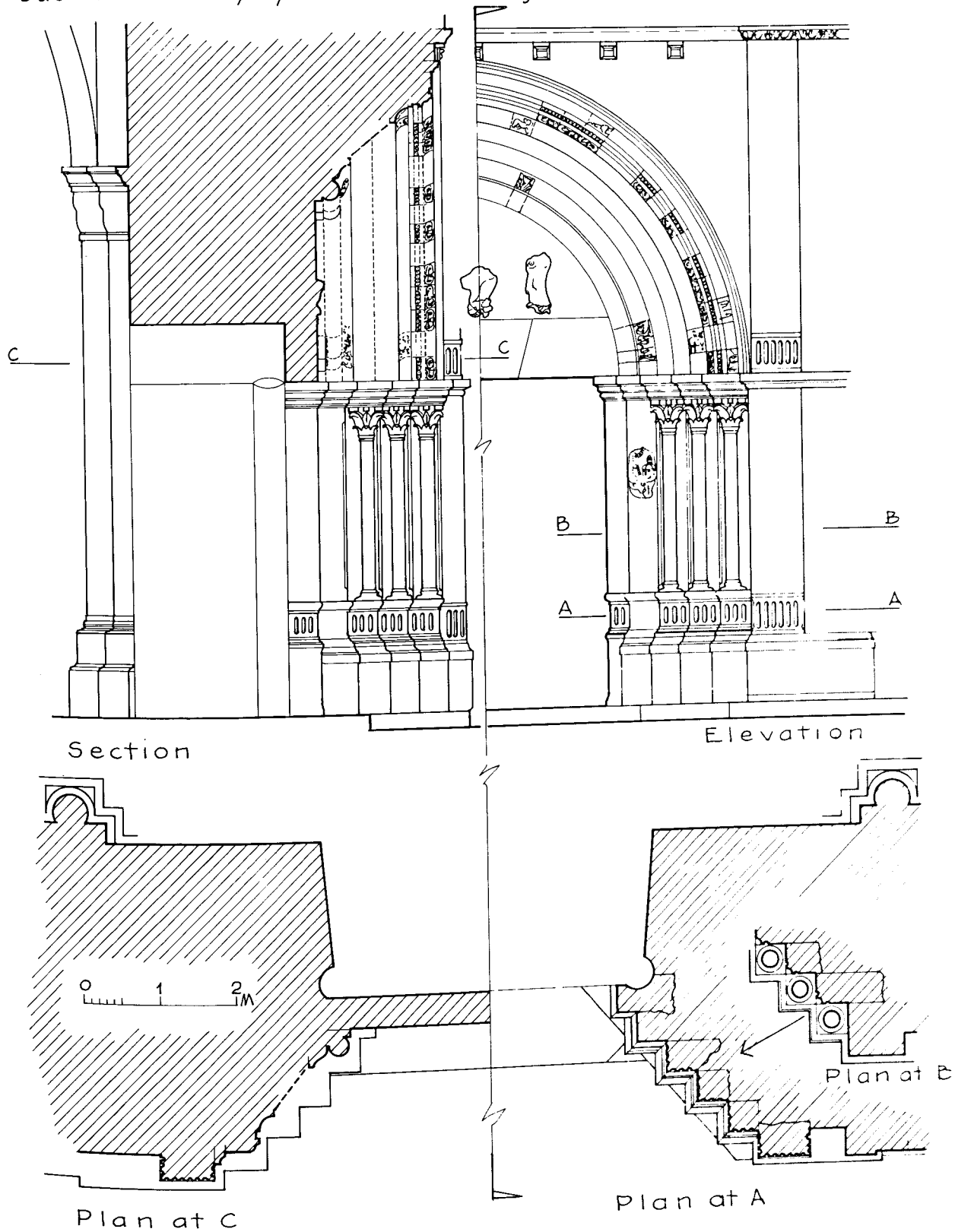
The rock-cut Cave, dating perhaps originally from the Iron Age (Bagatti 1967: 209), has an irregular plan, measuring some 5.5 m (north–south) by 6.14 m (east–west) overall and 3.85 m in height, with a low concave ceiling. On the east it contains a semi-circular apse, which at one time was decorated with wall mosaics (Bagatti 1967: 171) and contained the altar of the Annunciation, marking the spot where the Angel stood. On the north, another altar marked the tomb of St Joseph. The mouth of the Cave, on the south, was partly constricted in the twelfth century by the foundation of one of the new church's nave piers, a rectangular block of masonry rising from floor to ceiling; by the seven-

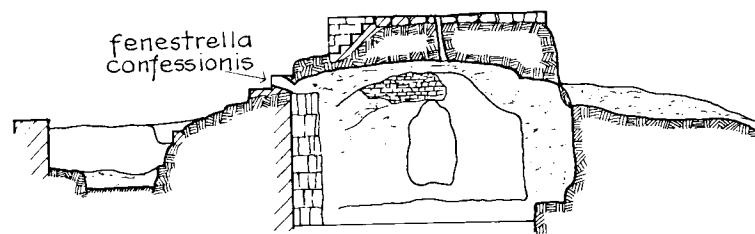
teenth century, this had been partially robbed away, leaving one of the three granite columns that it contained hanging like a stalactite from the roof. As Quaresmi noted in 1626, a grille had once separated the Cave from the vestibule; but all traces of this and the other early features were obscured when the Cave's internal layout was altered by the Franciscans in the eighteenth century (Bagatti 1967: 169–72, figs. 137–9).

The Cave was entered from the south through a rectangular vestibule or antichapel, identifiable from the descriptions of Theodoric and Phocas as the 'House of the Virgin'; from the seventeenth century, it was known as the 'Chapel of the Angel'. This occupied the eastern part of the earlier Byzantine church's north aisle, the pavement of which was some 1.4 m lower than the floor level of that church's nave (Bagatti 1967: 86–7, 97, 173–7; figs. 49–54, 140–1; pl. ix). When Daniel described it during the first decade of the twelfth century, it was evidently enclosed in some way and possibly roofed, for he refers to it as a cave with doors to east and west. If the tomb of St Joseph, which he locates just inside and to the left of its western door, can be identified at this time with the small oval-shaped cave which opened from the north-west corner of the Byzantine aisle (cf. Bagatti 1967: 180–212, figs. 137, 146–9), then it would follow that the vestibule would have extended as far west as the Byzantine aisle had done; the two 'doors' may therefore have corresponded with the two sets of stairs which gave access to it on the east and south. The cell described by Daniel as that in which Mary lived with Christ might also be identified with the double chamber (each part about 0.85 m wide, 1.8 m long, and 2 m high) which opened off the south side of the vestibule; the division of this into two may well have taken place later in the twelfth century, to judge from the use of diagonally dressed masonry, and have been intended to convert it into a double tomb (Viaud 1910: 81, 95, fig. 36*op*; Bagatti 1984: 59–60, fig. 22).

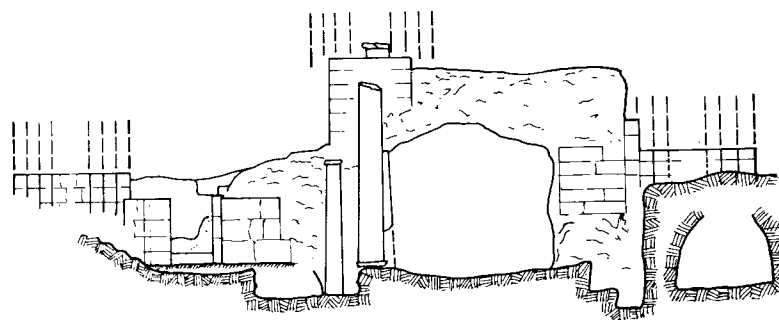
The descriptions by Theodoric and Phocas relate to the vestibule after the construction of the enlarged cathedral, when this whole area was associated with the 'House of the Virgin'. At this time, in the 1170s–80s, there was only one entrance, apparently still on the west and provided with a marble portal decorated with a painting or mosaic representing the Annunciation (Phocas). The implication given by Theodoric that the vestibule was vaulted finds confirmation in an engraving by Cornelius van Bruyn (1725: II), which shows three bays of rib-vaulting, evidently rebuilt but springing from what appear to be original medieval *tas de charge* on top of rounded or rectangular pilasters. Fragments of medieval ribs and *tas de charge* were also recovered from

Reconstruction of West Portal
Based on study by E. Alliata (in Bagatti 1984)

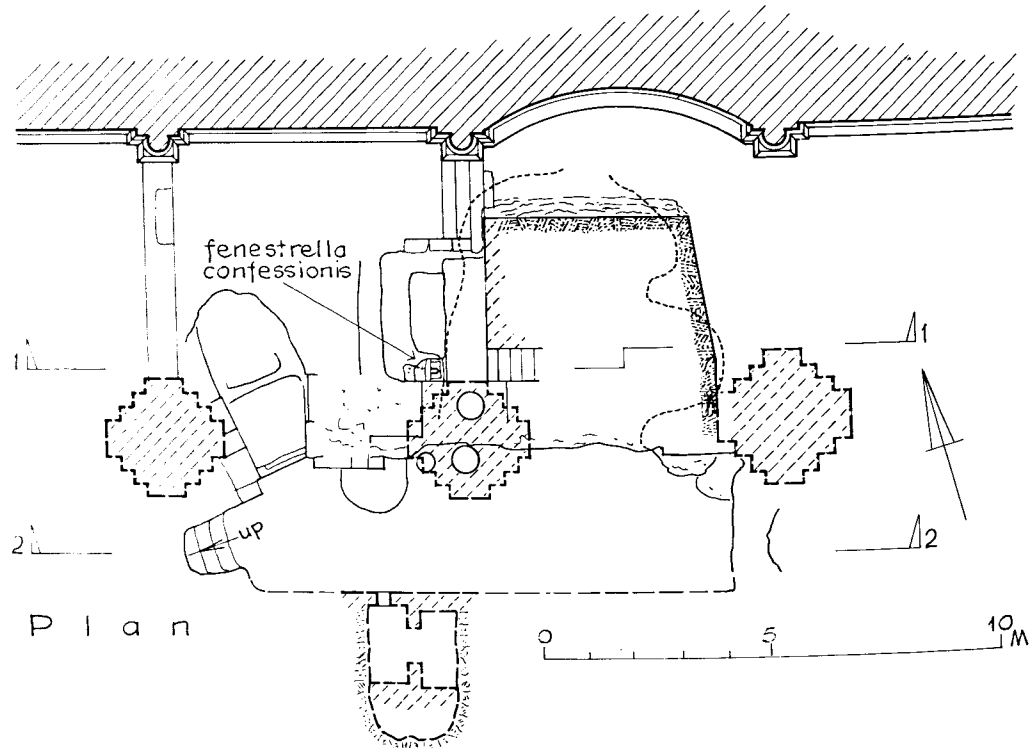


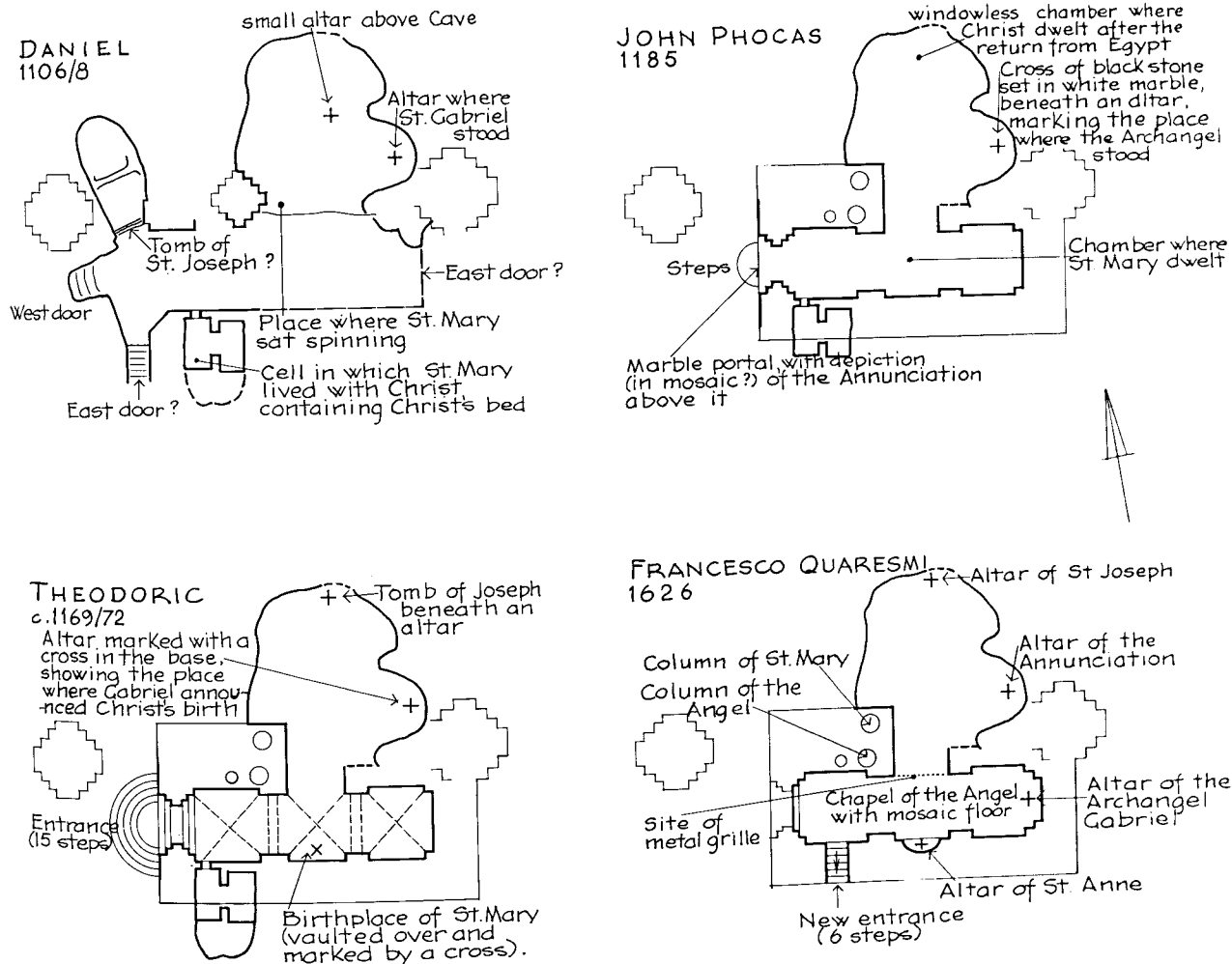


Section 1-1



Section 2-2





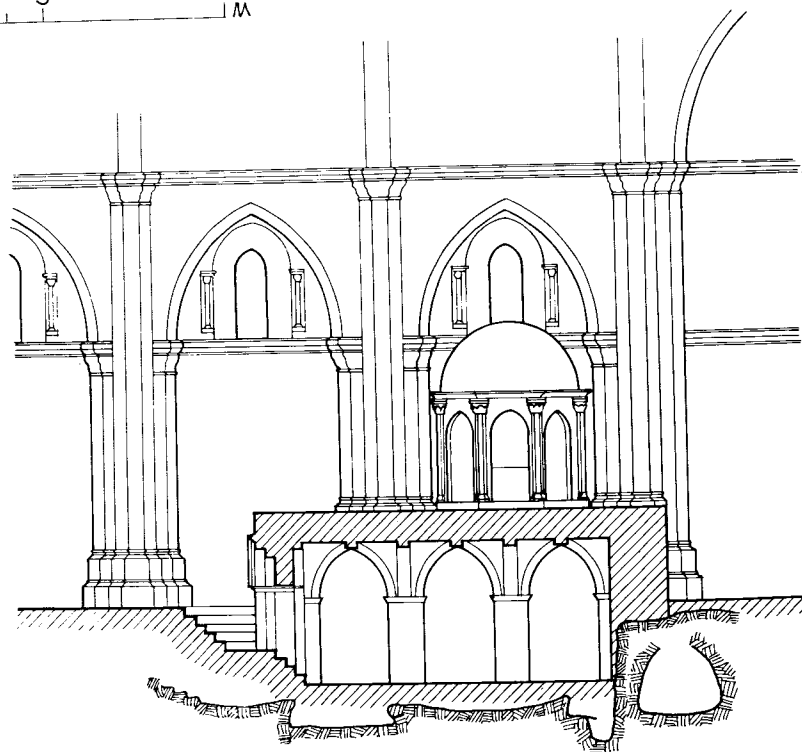
38 Nazareth, church of the Annunciation (no. 169): Cave of the Annunciation, interpretation of its development.

the eighteenth-century vaulting of the 'Chapel of the Angel' when it was demolished (Bagatti 1984: 54-9, figs. 18-21, pl. 16). Although Viaud (1910: 130) and Enlart (1925: II, 300, 308) assign these to the thirteenth century, the only plausible period during that century when such work might have been done would have been between 1251 and 1257. Bagatti may therefore be on safer ground in giving them a date before 1187 (1984: 59). The Cosmatesque pavement, which Elias Horn illustrated in this chapel, evidently belongs to the same period (Horn 1725-44b: 250, 253, fig. 58; Bagatti 1984: 60, fig. 3).

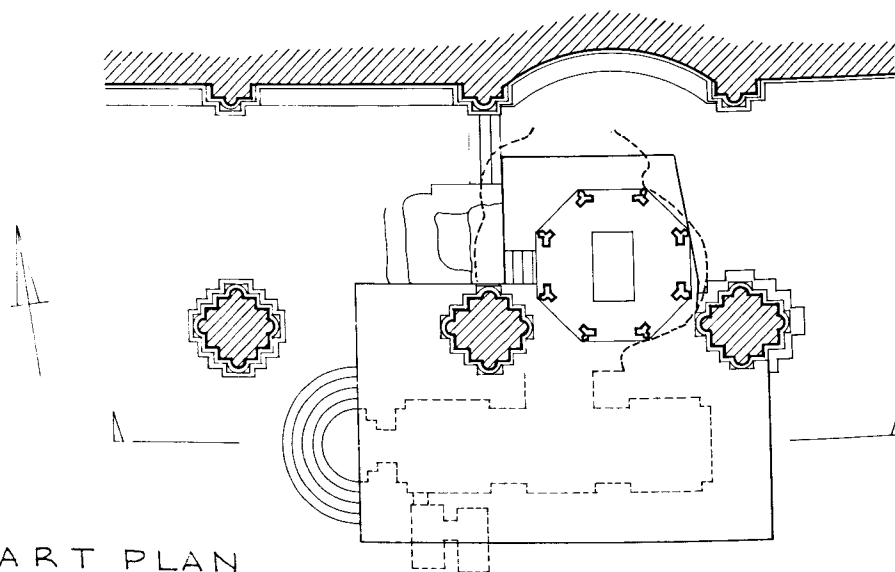
The natural rock covering the Cave was cut back in the twelfth century to form a four-sided platform with sloping sides, situated between the first and second piers

of the north nave arcade and extending into the first bay of the aisle (pl. LXXXIV). A passage allowing circulation behind it was made by bowing the face of the north wall inward slightly. The platform, measuring some 4.5-4.8 m (east-west) by 5.6 m (north-south), was revetted with masonry and was apparently plastered. On the west, a *fenestrella confessionis* opened into the Cave below (Bagatti 1984: 61, fig. 18.2); and behind it, a narrow flight of steps led up on to the platform. It seems therefore that some form of altar would have stood here, perhaps beneath a baldacchino or aedicule; but any evidence of its foundations would have been destroyed by the construction of the Franciscan church in 1730 (Bagatti 1967: 173, 176-80, figs. 140-3; 1984: 60-7; figs. 23-4, 27-8; pls. 17-18).

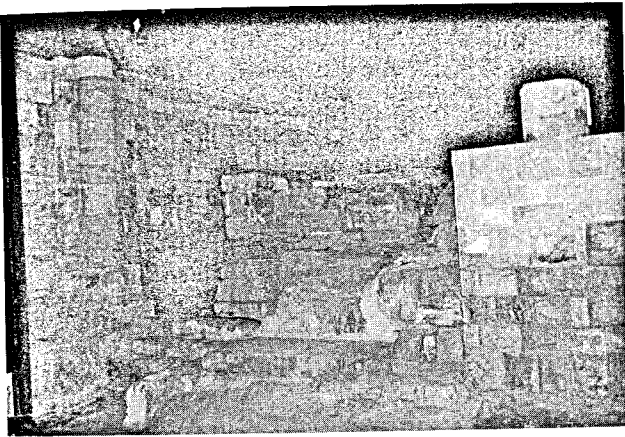
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PART SECTION (looking North)



PART PLAN
Reconstruction after E. Alliata (in Bagatti, 1984).



LXXXIV Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): remains of structures on top of the Cave of the Annunciation, seen from the south-west.

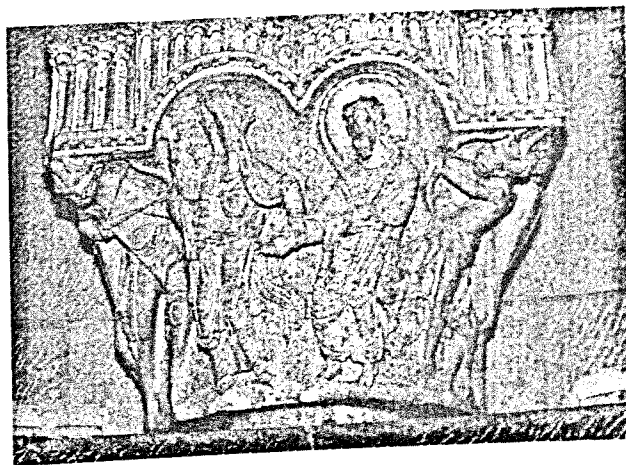
Sculpture

The Crusader church of the Annunciation is perhaps best known today for its sculpture, some pieces of which rank among the finest examples of twelfth-century art to have survived anywhere in East or West. (All are now in the Franciscan Museum in Nazareth, unless otherwise stated.) Principal among them are the five capitals, found in 1908 buried beneath the floor of a room of the Franciscan convent just outside the north door of the church (de Lasteyrie 1910; Viaud 1910: 149-59). These capitals have been much discussed, but without any general consensus being reached as to their precise iconography, date, function or stylistic affiliations (see Bagatti 1984: 37, 89-99; figs. 11, 36-7; pls. 29-38; Barasch 1964; 1971: 67-164; 1973; Boase 1939: 8-12; 1967: 89-90, pls. p. 91; 1971: 118-20, pl. 84; 1977: 102-5; Borg 1982; Deschamps 1930a: 98-108, figs. 7-9; 1930b; 1932; 1964: 249-55, pls. 113-27; Egidi 1921; Enlart 1925: II, 302-7; Folda 1977: 275-6; 1986a; 1986b; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 46-8; Jacoby 1981; 1986; Lassalle 1995; Pace 1984a; Porter 1923: I, 105, 167; Salet 1983).

The group comprises four polygonal capitals, each octagonal in shape with six decorated faces displaying scenes from the lives of the apostles Peter, Thomas, James the Great and Matthew (pls. LXXXV-LXXXVII); some commentators add Bartholomew to this group, but this now seems unlikely (see Barasch 1971: 115-46; Folda 1986a: 31-42). They are about 54 cm wide at the top and 42 cm high, and would have capped engaged fluted polygonal columns about 28 cm wide (Bagatti 1984: fig. 11; Folda 1986a: 4). The fifth capital is rectangular in shape (72 by 34 cm at the top, and 62

cm high) and was designed to fit on to a rounded engaged column (diam. 48 cm); it represents a crowned female figure, holding a cross, who is identified by some as a personification of the Church (e.g. Barasch 1971: 152; Jacoby 1981: 160-6) and by Folda as the Virgin Mary (1984; 1986a: 43-50), who leads another apostle through a Hell populated by demons armed with bows, arrows, spears and shields. The scenes represented on all five capitals are set below arcaded and turreted architectural canopies; all are clearly the work of the same sculptor.

The capitals have been related stylistically to the French Romanesque schools of Provence, Burgundy, the Rhône Valley and the Île de France, with particular similarities being noted with works at Chartres, Étampes, Vienne, Vézelay, Saint-André-le-Bas and with a capital in the church of St Martin at Plaimpied (c.1142-50) in the Berry. Some oriental and Byzantine influences have also been detected (for a summary of views on their style, see Folda 1986a: 51-63). There is no agreement, however, as to whether this association of stylistic elements was due, for instance, to the existence in Nazareth of an *atelier* of masons from these different regions (cf. Jacoby 1981: 188-91; 1986), or was the product of a school of 'Frankish' as opposed to French sculptors sharing similar traditions but developing a character of its own (cf. Pace 1984a), or even, as Alan Borg has suggested, whether it represents the lifetime experience of a single sculptor, whose career had taken him to some of the major artistic centres of France before he set out for the Holy Land (1982). Such stylistic uncertainties have permitted Zehava Jacoby (1981: 191-4) and F. Salet (1983) to argue for a date for the Nazareth capitals in the 1150s or 1160s, though others



LXXXV Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): rectangular capital, possibly illustrating the Descent of the Virgin.



LXXXVI Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation
(no. 169): St Thomas capital.

would extend the date range to the 1180s. Their remarkable state of preservation, however, and the fact that they escaped being vandalized during either of the Muslim profanations of the church in 1187 or 1263, implies that, although they are evidently finished pieces (*pace* Pace 1984a: 87–8), they are unlikely ever to have been set in their intended positions (see Folda 1986a: 3–8, 19). The most plausible explanation for their date and circumstances of preservation therefore is that they were part of a building programme that was actually in progress when Saladin's troops took Nazareth in 1187, and were preserved and hidden either just before this disaster or soon afterwards (Deschamps 1930a: 107–8; 1964: 254–5; Borg 1982: 102; Folda 1986a: 19).

The function of the capitals is equally problematical, for the polygonal ones have a unique design which suggests that they were intended for an unusual type of building. To the rear of them there projects a wedge-shaped stub, forming an angle of 81–89° and intended to attach them to the structure of which they formed part (*cf.* Bagatti 1984: fig. 11; Folda 1986a: 4, fig. 1). Viaud suggested that this construction might have been rectangular or square, with the capitals set at the corners (1910: 149). Most later writers, however, influenced by the similarities between the architectural arcading of the capitals and those on the portals at Chartres and Étampes, have preferred to see the Nazareth capitals as forming part of a portal, whether on the west (Enlart 1925: II, 300–8; Deschamps 1930a:

99–108; 1964: 249–55; Boase 1939: 10; Jacoby 1981) or on the north of the church (Egidi 1921: 766–8). As argued above, however, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the church, including its main west portal, was complete and standing by 1187. Evidently it was not therefore intended to receive any of the five unused capitals, which in any case are ill suited for such a location (*cf.* Folda 1986a: 8 n.20; 1986b: 138–40; Borg 1982: 102). More recently, Folda has returned to the idea that the polygonal capitals were intended to decorate the corners of an aedicule, which, he suggests, was octagonal in plan and was being constructed on the platform above the Cave at the time of Saladin's conquest. This thesis not only makes better structural sense than any of the earlier ones, but also helps explain the iconography of the polygonal capitals; for according to a tradition of which there are indirect hints in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and an explicit statement in the fifteenth, the foundation of a church on the site of the Virgin's House in Nazareth was attributed to the apostles. In addition to Peter, James, Thomas and Matthew, one might therefore suppose that another four capitals illustrating John, Andrew, Bartholomew and Philip, the other apostles associated with Galilee, would have completed the scheme (Folda 1986a: 15–42, 49–50; 1986b: 141–2). Indeed, four fragments from other similar capitals have been found on the site (Bagatti 1984: 98–9; Jacoby 1981: fig. 15).

Folda seeks to relate the larger, fifth capital to some form of arcading surrounding the vestibule or ante-



LXXXVII Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation
(no. 169): St Peter capital.



LXXXVIII Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): carved torso of St Peter, holding the keys and the Church.

chamber to the Cave (1986a: 20-1, 26, 29, 49). There is a second rectangular capital from Nazareth, however, apparently identical in size and similar in design; although damaged and in two pieces, it appears to represent St Michael and the Virtues attacking vices (Bagatti 1984: 101-2, pl. 39; Folda 1986a: 49, pls. 51-3; 1986b: 136; Jacoby 1981: 160-1). Jacoby's argument for placing both rectangular capitals either side of a *trumeau* of the west portal must be rejected, for reasons already stated (cf. Folda 1986b: 139-40). It also seems unlikely, however, that either could have formed part of the antechamber to the Cave, for this already existed by the 1170s (though its rib-vaulting may possibly be later in date). The size and shape of these capitals and of their related columns also seems inappropriate for such a structure; they are in fact virtually identical in essential measurements to a surviving capital from one of the nave or aisle pilasters of the church itself (Bagatti 1984: fig. 15.1, pl. 8.1). A more likely location for the two rectangular capitals might therefore be on the nave arcade, where they could

perhaps have been intended as replacement capitals to the piers flanking the Cave.

Some other fragments of figural sculpture may be briefly mentioned. There are two further fragments of arcaded rectangular capitals of a type slightly different from those described above and apparently by another hand; the more complete of them illustrates just one scene, Peter's raising of Tabitha. These capitals could also have come from nave piers (Bagatti 1984: 102-3, fig. 37, pl. 40; Folda 1986a: pls. 54-7; Jacoby 1981: 169-72, fig. 25a-c). Next, there is an angled capital, decorated with drilled tendrils and griffins; this would seem to have capped the dosserets of one of the nave piers (Bagatti 1984: 103, fig. 38, pl. 41). Various pieces of statuary would have decorated the exterior of the building, including quite probably one or more of the portals. They include a torso of St Peter, holding the keys and a model of a church (pl. LXXXVIII; cf. Bagatti 1984: 105-6, figs. 14, 16, pls. 42-3; Folda 1977: pl. xx; Jacoby 1981: 164-9, fig. 24a-b); another unidentified torso in the collection of the duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, Derbyshire (Boase 1967: 90-3; 1977: 105, pl. xx1b; Bagatti 1984: 106-7, pl. 44.2; Folda 1986b: 139 n.19; Jacoby 1981: 157-60, fig. 16); the lower half of a female figure or angel (pl. LXXXIX; cf. Bagatti 1984: 107-8, figs. 14-15, pl. 45.3; Boase 1977: 105, pl. xx1a; Jacoby 1981: fig. 28); two unfinished bearded heads of prophets, which were sawn apart when first discovered in 1867 and are now glued together once more and on display in the Museum of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem (pl. xc; cf. Bagatti 1984: 106, pl. 44.1; Boase 1977: 104, pl. xxa; Barasch 1971: 165-83; Deschamps 1930a: 97-8, figs. 5-6; Enlart 1925: II, 303, pl. 136, fig. 428; Jacoby 1981: 180, fig. 37; Tzaferis 1985: 79); a capital in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Israel Museum 1965: 276-7); and other smaller fragments (see Bagatti 1984: 107-12, pls. 44-9; Jacoby 1981: figs. 17-21, 29-36). The head of an angel, apparently from the church, is dated by Jacoby to the 1230s (1982b: 124, fig. 106).

As Folda remarks (1986a: 63), the famous five Nazareth capitals represent only 10 per cent or so of the known figural sculpture from Nazareth; but it is also likely that the known pieces represent only a very small proportion of what must once have existed. Any attempt to reconstruct a sculptural programme for the church on such fragmentary evidence is therefore likely to be highly speculative.

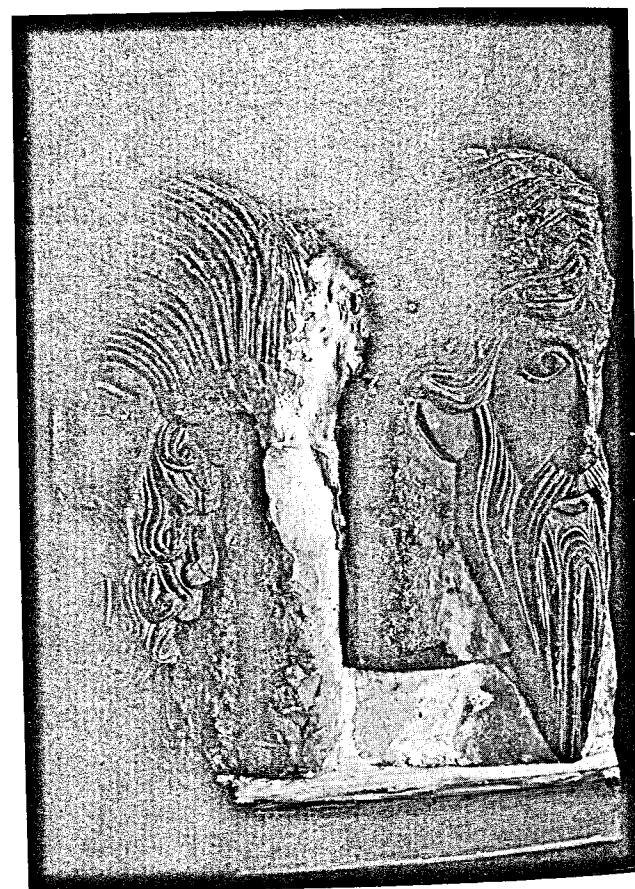
Other Decoration and Furnishings

Apart from the sculpture and the decoration of the Cave, already discussed above, little evidence remains



LXXXIX Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): carved torso and legs of a female or angelic figure.

concerning the decoration of the rest of the church. An inscription, cut in letters 5 cm high, reading, *Ecce ancilla Do[mini] conce[pit d]e Spirit[u Sancto]*, seems to have formed part of a frieze below a mural painting or mosaic representing the Annunciation (Bagatti 1984: 84 (no. 1), fig. 24.3, pl. 27; de Sandoli 1974: 284, no. 381). Various diminutive architectural fragments also point to the existence of church furnishings, including a decorated chancel screen (Bagatti 1984: 120, 130–1, figs. 44.3, 50). A fragment from a rounded-arched window (diameter c.0.73 m) found outside the east end indicates that some of the windows contained stone window plates with cut openings containing glass held in place by plaster (Bagatti 1984: 51, fig. 29, pl. 14.2).



xc Nazareth, cathedral church of the Annunciation (no. 169): two carved bearded heads, found in 1867 and now in the Museum of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem.

Associated Buildings

In his plan of the Franciscan convent buildings north of the church, Viaud identifies certain walls that he considered to be medieval (1910: 35, fig. 2); but little remained of them after the demolition of the convent buildings in 1930. They appear, however, to have represented in plan a rectangular building, some 30.5 m (north–south) by 57.5 m (east–west), extending about the same length as the church itself and separated from it by a barrel-vaulted passage with transverse arches corresponding to the buttresses of its north wall. It consisted of vaulted ranges set around a central courtyard, 11.5 by 23 m, containing a cistern and would have had at least two storeys. On the west, a row of four vaulted undercrofts facing end-on to the street front probably represented a row of ground-floor shops or magazines. Quaresmi's identification of the building as the house of the (arch-) bishop may well be correct (1626a: II, 620; 1626b: 390; Bagatti 1984: 70–1, plan, pls. 21–3).

South of the church was another, larger courtyard, with buildings on two or perhaps three levels around it. At first-floor level, corresponding with the pavement level of the church itself, there would probably have been a cloister linking together the conventual buildings of the canons, including their chapter house and refectory, with perhaps the dormitory on the floor above. All that now remains is part of the ground floor of the east range, adjoining the church. This is 18 m wide overall, and consists of a barrel-vaulted undercroft, 7 m wide internally, flanked by a groin-vaulted portico, 4.1 m wide, opening into the courtyard through a row of pointed arches, each about 3.5 m wide. It may be assumed that these bays corresponded with those of the cloister above (Viaud 1910: fig. 2; Bagatti 1984: 71-2, fig. 29, pls. 24-5).

Part of an extensive cemetery was excavated east of the church during building work for the modern one. The inhumations were without coffins, but were set in stone-lined cists, covered with slabs, with in some cases a plain or ridged tombstone set over the top (Bagatti 1984: 86-7, pl. 28, plan). A fragment of a once dated, and presumably thirteenth-century, inscribed tombstone also came from the site; it reads: *an lan de lincarnacio* n : *nostre : seig[nor]* . . . (Bagatti 1984: 86 (no. 4), pl. 27; de Sandoli 1974: 286-7, no. 385).

Epigraphy

None of the surviving inscribed fragments from the church is dated. Inscriptions include a text surrounding the west portal, a roughly cut text of the opening line of the *Ave Maria*, and the tombstone and the caption to a mural painting or mosaic described above (Bagatti 1984: 39-43, 85-6, figs. 12-13, pls. 6-7, 27; de Sandoli 1974, 283-7, nos. 380-6).

A collection of some forty-three different masonry marks has been recorded by Fr Alliata on the lower courses of the east end of the church, of which twenty occur only once and the rest up to thirteen times. Only two ashlar carry more than one mark. That they were in most cases the personal signs of individual masons is indicated by the fact that some consist of entire names, including: *Ogier* (eight times), *Elias* (six times), *Ioh(anne)s* (three times), *Pe(t)r(us)* (once) and, in Armenian, *H(a)gop*. Besides these, there are represented individual letters (*a, b, e, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, v, w, x, z*), a fish, boat, eagle's head, pennant, shield, five-pointed star, hourglass and other abstract signs (Bagatti 1984: 74-84, figs. 30-5, pl. 26; Viaud 1910: 73-82; Pringle 1981a: 175-6).

Seals are known of Archbishops Robert I (1138-53),

Lethard II (1158-90), Hugh (c.1220-37) and Henry (c.1238-68) (de Sandoli 1974: 288-90, nos. 387-9; 1994; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 96-8, nos. 64-70); and a tombstone with an incised effigy, identified as that of Archbishop William II of St John (1288-90), has been discovered in Acre (Prawer 1974; cf. de Sandoli 1974: 314-16, no. 417).

Discussion and Summary

Because so little remains of the church of the Annunciation, its buildings phases are hard to document. It seems probable that the church built or repaired by Tancred and seen by Saewulf and Daniel in the first decade of the twelfth century was much smaller than the vast basilica whose foundations the Franciscans uncovered in the 1890s. Possibly it corresponded in size, though possibly not in plan, with the earlier, Byzantine church. In any case, it was evidently demolished to make way for the larger cathedral that was built later in the twelfth century; and if its foundations were robbed out this may explain why modern excavators have found no trace of them. The style of the nave piers and surviving north wall of the larger church may be compared with that of other buildings such as the churches of Gaza, Caesarea and Lydda that were under construction in the mid-twelfth century (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 293); but it would seem from other surviving fragments, including ribs and some of the figural sculpture, that building work on some parts of the complex was still in progress as late as the 1180s. Assuming that work began at the east end and continued westward down the nave, which given the length of the building seems very likely, it may well be the case that the nave bays would have shown a progressive development of style, such as may still be seen at Tartus in Syria (which was completed only in the thirteenth century). There may also have been a need for rebuilding after the earthquake of 1170, though, as has been argued, the effects that this had on Nazareth have perhaps been exaggerated. In July 1187 the church itself was evidently complete; but work may still have been in hand on the aedicule above the Cave (including its fine sculptural detail) when Nazareth fell to Saladin and all construction work ceased abruptly. Apart from one fragment of sculpture datable to the 1230s (see above), there is no certain evidence for work in the thirteenth century. It may be assumed, however, that repairs of some kind would have been carried out when the rib-chapter returned between 1251 and 1257: the rib-vaulting of the antechamber to the Cave may possibly date from then, if it was not already in place by 1187.

Visited 7.7.79, 14.12.79, 12.1.80, 2.1.82, 6.7.82, 15.9.82, 22.9.94.

Sources

Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or. i, 150) (1263); Alexander III, *Epist. et Priv.*, mcccxxxi (PL, CC, 757-8) (1170-2); Alexander IV, *Reg.* (ed. Bourel de la Roncière et al., nos. 1300, 1330 (1255); *Annales* (ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 450) (1263); Anon. iii (1296-), 7 (IHC, iii, 20; PPTS, vi, 16); Anon. vii (c.1160), 7 (IHC, iii, 82; PPTS, vi, 75); Belard of Ascoli (1112-65), iii (IHC, ii, 46); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 7 (ed. Laurent, 46-7; PPTS, xii, 42; IHC, iv, 156; cf. 152); *Chemins et pèlerinages* v (1268), iv, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198); Clement IV, *Reg.* (ed. Jordan, no. 511) (1267); Daniel (1106-8), Lxxxix-xciii (trans. Ryan, 163-4; de Khitrowo, 69-71); *ELS*, 1-19, nos. 1-29; *Eracles* (RHC Occ, ii, 446) (1263); *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXIV, 217; 231; IHC, iii, 112) (1187); Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici* (AA SS, Aug., v, 550; IHC, iv, 104) (1251); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 131-2, no. 25 (1107-25); Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (trans. Sadèque, 171, 175) (1263); Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, 18-20, nos. 5538-9) (1252); *Itin. Ric.*, vi, 34 (RS, xxxviii.i, 438) (1192); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, i, 56 (IHC, iii, 326); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 80-81); *Patriarcats de Jérusalem* (1180) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 11-12); *Pèlerinages* (c.1231), xvi (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100); Phocas (1185), x (PG, cxxxiii, 936; PPTS, v, 12-13); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289-91), ii, 1-4 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, iv, 262); Saewulf (1102-3), xxvii (CCCM, cxxxix, 74; IHC, ii, 27; PPTS, iv, 25; 48; trans. Wilkinson, 111); *Sains Pèlerinages* (c.1230), i (16) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104); Sanudo (c.1321), iii, 7, 1-2; 11, 12; 12, 6; 12, 11; 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 174; 176; 213; 221; 224; 253); Theodoric (1169-72), xlvii (CCCM, cxxxix, 192-3; PPTS, v, 68); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 149); Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, ii, 161, no. 344) (1263); William of Tyre, viii, 4; ix, 13; xiii, 2; xxii, 17 (16) (CCCM, LXIII, 388; 437-8; 588; 1030-31); Zorzi (ed. Berggötz, 82) (1270).

Abel 1967: ii, 395; Adorno 1470-1: 312; Ali Bey 1816: ii, 253-4; Alliata 1988; Anon. 1901: 489-90, fig.; 1956; d'Arvieux 1735: ii, 271; Bagatti 1939: 14-15; 1955; 1959; 1960a; 1967; 1969a; 1977a; 1984; Baldi 1953: 231-5; 1955a: 19-43, nos. 29-42; 1955b: 226-43; 1959; 1973: 221-4, fig.; Barasch 1964; 1971: 67-183, figs. 7-45; 1973; Benvenisti 1970: 165-7, 345-6; Boase 1939: 8-12, pl. 2; 1967: 89-93, pls. p. 91; 1971: 118-20, pl. 84; 1977: 102-5, pls. xx-xxii; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 262; Borg 1982; Brémond 1679: 216; Briand 1975: 21-47, figs.; de la Brocquière 1422-3: 298; van Bruyn 1725: ii, 315, pl.; Buckingham 1822: i, 148-55; Buschhausen 1978: 276-9, fig. 34, pls. 301-3, 431-2; du Cange 1869: 759-63; Carola 1969; Chandon de Briailles 1943: 254; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: i, 27; Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 275-6, 328; Dapper 1677: 87; Deschamps 1930a: 97-108, figs. 5-9, pl. x; 1930b: 95-9; 1932; 1964: 249-55, pls. 113-30; 1972: 189-97; Egidi 1921; Enlart 1925: i, 129-33; ii, 292-7, 298-310, figs. 422-8, pls. 8, 41, 129-36; Fedalto 1981: i, 160-3; Fiorini

1944; Folda 1977: 275-6, pls. xx-xxii; 1984; 1986a; 1986b; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 6-48; Frescobaldi 1384: 81; Germer-Durand 1911; Governanti 1962: 17-18; Grethenios c.1400: 190; Gucci 1384: 139; Guérin 1880: i, 83-7; Guide Bleu 1932: 514-16, fig.; Hamilton 1980: 60-1, 67, 76, 95, 137, 143, 150-1, 153 n.1, 247, 250-1, 258, 260, 265-6, 268, 271-2, 273, 274, 279, 293-5, 307, 311; le Hardy 1905; Hoade 1978: 686, 689-98; Horn 1725-44b: 245-63, figs. 53-61; Humbert of Dijon 1332: 538-9; Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: i, 19, no. 14 (1546); 49, no. 38 (1558); 228, no. 152 (1627); 243, no. 161 (1634); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: ii, 56-7, 59; Israel Museum 1965: 276-7; Jacoby 1981; 1982b: 124, fig. 106; 1984; 1986; James of Verona 1335: 273-4; Kedar 1983a: 64-5 nn.54-5; Kootwyk 1619: 349; Kopp 1940: 82-116, pls. ix-x; Kresser 1909; Kühnel 1994: 15, 24, 163, 164, 165; Ladoire 1720: 296-310, 327-30; Langé 1965: 155, 185, figs. 96-9; Lassalle 1995; de Lasteyrie 1910; Loffreda 1985; 1986; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336-41a: 358; 1336-41b: 124-5; Mandeville c.1356-66b: 184-5; Mansūr al-Kass 1924; Mantegazza 1616: 383; al-Maqrizi c.1400b: i, 197; Mariti 1769: ii, 175-80; Maundrell 1697a: 477; 1697b: 151-2; Meistermann 1936: 527, 532-7, fig.; Meysels 1956; Mujir al-Din 1494-5: 237; Nau 1679: chs. xiii-xvi; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 74; Olivani 1954; Pace 1984a; Perera 1553b: 20, 55, 73; Piccirillo 1981: 285; 1986; Pococke 1743: ii, 63; Porter 1923: i, 105, 167; Pringle 1988; 1993: 31; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 619-30; 1626b: 388-92; Reil 1912; Rey 1883: 443; Richard 1982: 96-7; Riley-Smith 1971: ii, 200; Roberts 1842b: ii, 12-21, pls. 28-31; Roger 1664: 58, fig. p. 59; Salet 1983; Saller 1963; de Sandoli 1965; 1974: 283-90; 1994; de Saulcy 1853: i, 76-7; Smail 1973: 158-60, pls. 51-3; Suriano 1485a: 145; 1485b: 159-60; Testa 1963; 1966; de Thévenot 1687: i, 212; Thomas of Novara 1620a: 1620b; Tzaferis 1985: fig. p. 79; Tzaferis and Bagatti 1993: 1104-5; Viaud 1894: 187; 1910: 31-131, 149-63, figs. 1-63, 76-82; 1913; Vlamink 1900; de Vogüé 1860: 348-51; Wilson 1880b: ii, 47; Wylie c.1883: 342-3.

No. 170 Church of St Gabriel 1786.2347

History

The traditions surrounding the holy places in Nazareth during the Middle Ages derived not only from the New Testament, but also from various uncanonical gospels. Amongst these, the Proto-Gospel of James tells how the Virgin Mary first encountered the Archangel Gabriel when she went to draw water from a spring (cf. Baldi 1955a: 9 n.1; Bagatti 1984: 155); and the Gospel of Thomas relates how the Child Jesus, at the age of six, when sent by His mother to fetch water, accidentally dropped and broke the jar, but succeeded in carrying home sufficient in His mantle (Baldi 1955a: 12 n.1). Both traditions are reflected in pilgrim writings of the twelfth century, the former notably in Orthodox texts, the latter in Western ones.

The possibility that these differing twelfth-century traditions, as well as reflecting different gospel versions, also related to different sites is lent added plausibility by the topography of the spring itself. The waters which issue from the Jabal as-Sikh are carried along a rock-cut underground channel for some 17 m to emerge in a little room adjoining the modern Greek church of St Gabriel; from here they continue beneath the church itself for another 130 m or more to reach the public fountain, known today as Mary's Well (Mansūr al-Kass 1913; 1924: 160; cf. Bagatti 1971a: 24, fig. 8). The date of this canalization is uncertain, but appears to be earlier than the twelfth century.

Western accounts of the twelfth century make no mention of any church, and seem to relate only to the public fountain. The earliest, that of Saewulf (1102-3), states:

Near the town bubbles out a spring of clear water, still enclosed all around, as it was before, by marble columns and panels; from here the Boy Jesus along with other boys very often drew water for His mother. (ch. xxvii (CCCM, cxxxix, 74; ELS, 7, no. 12))

Other accounts offer fewer details (e.g. Peter the Deacon (1137), section T (CCSL, clxxv, 98; trans. Wilkinson, 193-4); *Descriptio locorum* (1131-43), xxix (IHC, II, 94; PPTS, v, 30); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 81)). Theodoric (1169-72), however, not only relates in full the story of the broken jar, but also how the spring gushed out through the head of a lion carved in marble (ch. XLVII (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; PPTS, v, 68-9); cf. Bagatti 1971a: 24).

In contrast to the twelfth-century Western pilgrim accounts, the earliest one by an Orthodox Christian, that of the Russian Abbot Daniel (1106-8), already refers to the existence of a church associated with the first Annunciation:

Then we left this town and went a little way to the north east where we found a wonderful well which was deep and very cold, and to reach the water you must go deep down on a stairway. And above this well there is a church dedicated to the Archangel Gabriel, and it is round.

It is a good bow shot from the town of Nazareth to this holy well. At this well took place the first Annunciation of the Archangel to the Holy Mother of God. (chs. xciii-xciv (trans. Ryan, 164))

It may be, as Bagatti suggests, that this church was a former Byzantine structure, perhaps in ruins, the existence of which may also be indirectly attested by a sixth-century terracotta plaque in Monza illustrating the Annunciation, with the Greek text: 'Eulogia of the Rock of the Water of the Mother of God' (Bagatti 1984: 155). This church was also probably the one above a spring

that was seen by Arculf around 670 (Adomnán, xxvi.2-3 (CCSL, clxxv, 219); see also below, no. 173). Whatever the date of Daniel's church, however, a church certainly existed on the site by 1185, when the Greek John Phocas, approaching Nazareth from the direction of Saffuriya, wrote:

As soon as you enter the first gate of this large village, you will find a church of the Archangel Gabriel; and there is to be seen a little grotto on the left side of the altar in this church, in which a fountain wells up, pouring forth a transparent stream. (ch. x (PG, cxxxiii, 936; ELS, 12-13, no. 19))

The fact that only Eastern writers refer to the church of St Gabriel suggests that it was an Orthodox establishment. There is charter evidence, however, attesting the existence of a Latin priory of St Gabriel in Nazareth in the first quarter of the twelfth century. In 1109, William, prior of St Gabriel appears as a witness to a charter of Bernard, bishop of Nazareth (Kohler, *Chartes*, 8, no. 3; RRH Ad, 4, no. 56a); and a charter of 1121 is witnessed by G. *sancti Gabrielis prior* (Delaborde, *Chartes*, 35, no. 9; RRH, 22, no. 97). However, in October 1125 the same William appears as prior of St Mary's. Furthermore, he is accompanied by the subdeacon Basil, who appears as a clerk in the charter of 1121 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 68, no. 71; RRH, 25, no. 106). This suggests that the newly constituted cathedral chapter may have had its origins in the priory of St Gabriel, which receives no further mention after 1121. It is uncertain, however, whether that priory had as its church the Orthodox church of that name, or some other building, such as the otherwise undocumented Crusader church (no. 173) lying just north of the church of the Annunciation.

During the thirteenth century, most Western pilgrim accounts refer only to the Fountain of St Gabriel, lying a bow-shot from the town, and make no mention of any church there (e.g. Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); Michelant and Raynaud, 104 (c.1230), 100 (c.1231), 172 (1261), 198 (1268), 234 (1280); Phillip of Savona (1283), III (IHC, IV, 222); Anon. Saec. XIII (1244-), I (IHC, IV, 386); Albert of Stade (c.1251-2), XIV (IHC, IV, 6); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289-91), II, 5 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, IV, 262)). The Dominican Burchard, however, who visited Nazareth around 1283, writes:

There is also at the edge of the town in the church of St Gabriel a certain spring, which is held in veneration by the local people (*ab incolis*), and from which it is said that the Boy Jesus . . . often used to draw water. (ch. vi, 7 (ed. Laurent, 47; IHC, IV, 156; ELS, 18, no. 28))

The apparent merging of the earlier Eastern and Western traditions associated with the spring is also

found in Sanudo (ch. III, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 176)); but it is clear from what Burchard says that the church was an Orthodox one.

Later writers also refer to a fountain. Some, including the Catalan pilgrims (1323: 379), William of Boldensele (1333, in Baldi 1955a: 20), John Mandeville (c.1336–66: 185) and Ludolph of Sudheim (1336–41a: 358), appear to be describing the public fountain (cf. Baldi 1955a: 19–21, nos. 29*–31). The Russian Grethenios also seems to be referring to this fountain, which he describes as covered by a square vault on four columns (c.1400: 190; Baldi 1955a: 24, no. 33), as does Francesco Suriano, who describes it as a basin, 20 cubits (i.e. about 10 m) square, covered over, enclosed by a wall and approached by sixteen steps (1485a: 145; 1485b: 161; cf. Baldi 1955a: 25–6, no. 34). The fountain is also described by Francesco Quaresmi, who calls it the Fountain of Jesus and Mary (1626a: II, 632; 1626b: 392).

Other post-thirteenth-century Western writers, however, record a spring next to the church of St Gabriel. James of Verona, for instance, saw at two bow-shots from the church of the Annunciation,

the church or chapel of St Gabriel the Blessed Archangel. This was a decorous and beautiful chapel, but now it is partly destroyed. And next to the same is a small clear spring, of whose water the Virgin Mary used to drink and Jesus Christ, when He was a Boy, used to go to draw water . . . And there I prayed and drank of that good water. (1335: 274; cf. Baldi 1955a: 21, no. 30*)

Nicolas of Poggibonsi also went to the spring of St Gabriel and found to one side of it a fine church of St Gabriel, held by 'Indians of Persia, who are called *Alaphisi*' (1346–50: 75); it is not altogether certain whether this community consisted of Nestorians or Ethiopians, whom Nicolas elsewhere groups together with the *Indiani* (cf. Bagatti 1984: 156; Fiaccadori 1985a: 76–7; Cerulli 1943: I, 129). Fr Boniface of Ragusa, who served in the Holy Land between 1551 and 1564, also refers to people of 'other nations' praying and holding religious services in this church (1577: 262; cf. Baldi 1955a: 29–30, no. 38). In 1563, however, Luigi Vulcano della Padula records that the church was completely ruined, with only a small cave left as a memorial (Baldi 1955a: 28, no. 37); and at the end of the century, Jan Kootwyk saw only 'the ruins, of arched construction, of a certain sanctuary of the oriental Christians dedicated (it is said) to the Archangel Gabriel' (1619: 349; cf. Baldi 1955a: 31, no. 39). Kootwyk describes this church as being built on the foundations of the House of Joseph (cf. Bagatti 1984: 157).

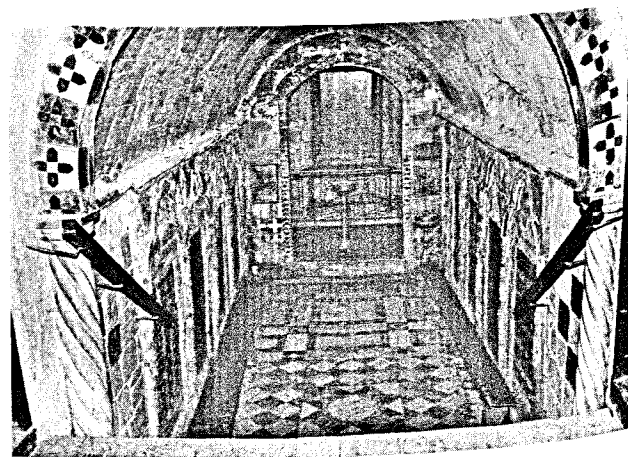
A more detailed description of the subterranean part of the church of St Gabriel is given by Quaresmi:

We descend by some steps into a certain underground chapel dedicated to St Gabriel the Archangel, paranymp of the Virgin Mary. Its length is 24 palms [4.8 m], its width 14 [2.8 m] and its height or projection about 15 [3 m]. In the middle of it, to the east, is an altar for celebrating Mass. There are many pictures in it, but they are well-nigh destroyed by dampness, age and the ill-will of the infidels. In the farthest part of the chapel is the mouth of a spring, from which its waters are said to flow forth. And there is a stair and, at one time, a door by which one used to ascend to a convent of nuns, which, so the tradition goes, used to be above it in times gone by. At present, however, no trace of it is visible; and one would not find the chapel without a guide, because from above it is not visible – its vault in fact is level with the ground surface. From time to time the Greeks hold services in it. (1626a: II, 632; 1626b: 392–4; cf. Baldi 1955a: 38–9, no. 41)

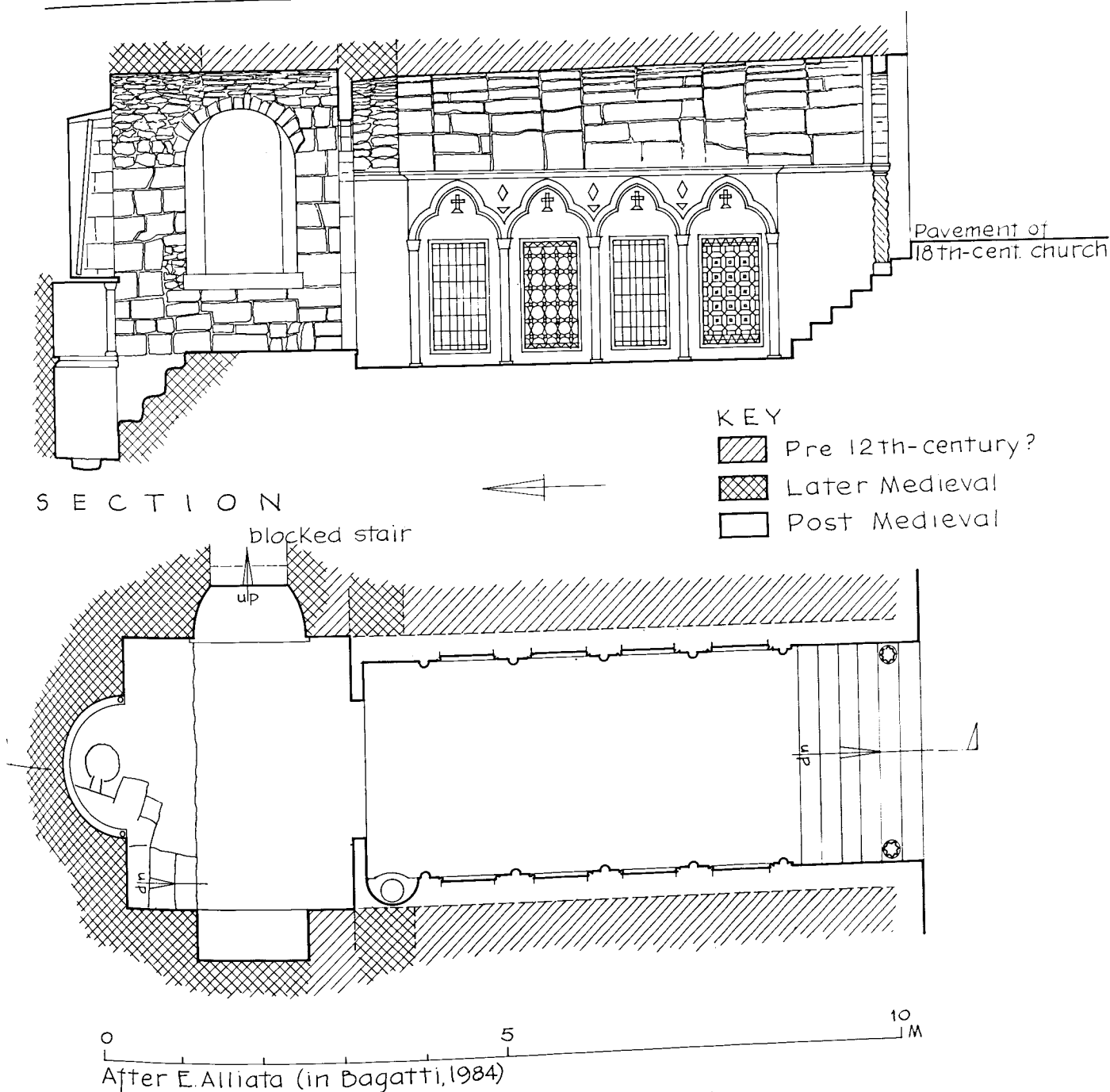
In 1741, the Greek Orthodox obtained a *firmān* from Dāhir al-Umar allowing them to take over the church from the Franciscans and Greek Catholics, who had earlier occupied it. In 1750, they built the church which still exists today on the south side of the underground chapel and, judging by earlier accounts, on the site of the medieval church. A wooden iconostasis was provided in 1767 (Bassi 1857: I, 150; Bagatti 1971a: 26–7, fig. 10; 1984: 159).

Description

The Greek church of St Gabriel stands some 650 m north of the church of the Annunciation, by the road to Saffuriya and 130 m north-west of the public fountain (Mary's Well). The underground medieval chapel containing the spring opens from the north aisle, down seven steps (fig. 40; pl. xci). It is some 10 m long, 3.3 m



xcI Nazareth, church of St Gabriel (no. 170): chapel containing the spring.



40 Nazareth, church of St Gabriel (no. 170): plan and section of the spring chapel.

wide, 3.5 m high, and covered by a rounded barrel-vault constructed for the first 6.4 m with large, cut voussoirs and for the rest in rubble. At the northern end the canalized spring is accessible below an altar within a semi-circular apse. Near the northern end of the east wall is a blocked doorway, apparently leading to the stair recorded by Quaresmi in 1626; and opposite it, in the west wall, is a corresponding recess.

The position of a former altar seems to be betrayed

near the centre of the east wall by a rounded intersection of the spring of the vault. As Bagatti suggests, this may well have been the altar mentioned by Quaresmi. After its suppression, however, probably when the present church was constructed in 1750, the two side walls of the chamber were each decorated with shallow blind arcades, consisting of trilobed arches containing crosses above rectangular panels filled with geometrical designs made up of coloured pieces of marble and glazed terra-

cotta (Bagatti 1971a: 27–9, figs. 8–12; 1984: 159–60, fig. 55, pls. 66–67a).

This chapel was evidently the grotto enclosing the spring seen by Phocas in 1185. But apart from the vaulting and the canalization of the waters, none of the other architectural features seems likely to be of so early a date. No part of the structure can with certainty be attributed to the twelfth century.

Visited 14.12.79, 31.7.81.

Sources

Albert of Stade (c.1251–2), xiv (IHC, iv, 6); Anon. Saec. xiii (1244–), i (IHC, iv, 386); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 7 (ed. Laurent, 47; PPTS, xii, 42; IHC, iv, 156); *Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), iv, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 172); Daniel (1106–8), xciii–xciv (trans. Ryan, 164; de Khitrowo, 71–2); Delaborde, 35, no. 9 (1121); *ELS*, 7–19, nos. 12–29; *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxix (IHC, ii, 94; PPTS, v, 30); Eugesippus (1148–) (PG, cxxxiii, 996); John of Würzburg (1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 81); Kohler, *Chartes*, 8, no. 3 (1109); Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land (c.1252); *Pelerinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), x (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234); *Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), xvi (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100); Peter the Deacon (1137), section T (CCSL, clxxv, 98; trans. Wilkinson, 193–4); Philip of Savona (1283), III (IHC, iv, 222); Phocas (1185), x (PG, cxxxiii, 936; PPTS, v, 12; trans. Wilkinson, 319); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), ii, 5 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, iv, 262); *RRH*, 22, no. 97 (1121); *RRH Ad*, 4, no. 56a (1109); Saewulf (1102–3), x, 27 (CCCM, cxxxix, 74; PPTS, iv, 25; 48; trans. Wilkinson, 111); *Sains Pelerinages*, I (16) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104); Sanudo (c. 1321), iii, 7, 2 (ed. Bongars, 176); Theodoric (1169–72), xlvii (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; PPTS, v, 68–9).

Bagatti 1967b: 7, 246, 248, figs. 1, 3; 1971a: 23–9, figs. 7–12; 1984: 154–60, fig. 55, pls. 66–7; Baldi 1953: 236–7; 1955a: 19–39; 1955b: 248–50; 1959; 1973: 226; Bassi 1857: i, 150; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 262; van Bruyn 1725: ii, 318; Catalan Pilgrims 1323: 379; Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 277–8; Enlart 1925: i, 60, 86, 97; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 57–60; Grethenios c.1400: 190; Guérin 1880: i, 90–2; Guide Bleu 1932: 516; Hoade 1946: 461–2; 1978: 700–2; James of Verona 1335: 274; Jerusalem Post 1972: Kootwyk 1619: 349; Kopp 1940: 253–77, fig.; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 358; 1336–41b, 124–5; Luigi Vulcano della Padula 1563 (in Baldi 1955a: 28, no. 37); Mandeville c.1356–66: 185; Mansūr al-Kass 1913; 1924; Meistermann 1936: 527, 542–3; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 75; Pococke 1743: ii, 63; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 632–3; 1626b: 392–4; Rey 1883: 443; Roberts 1842b: ii, 10–11, pl. 27; Röhrich 1887a: 16; Roger 1664: fig. p. 58 (p); Suriano 1485a: 145; 1485b: 161; Terra Santa 1973; Tobler 1868: 217–21; de Vogüé 1860: 352; William of Boldensele 1333 (in Baldi 1955a: 20, no. 30); Wilson 1880b: ii, 46–7.

No. 171 Abbey Church of St Zacharias 1779.2334

History

In a number of early thirteenth-century sources, the story of the Visitation is located in the vicinity of Nazareth, rather than of Jerusalem. Thus, a map attributed to Matthew Paris and now in Oxford, dating to c.1252, indicates just south of Nazareth, between the town and the Mount of Precipitation (no. 149), the 'meeting place of Mary and Elizabeth', where there was 'a hill and a monastery'. The description of Galilee given in the Chronicle of Ernoul (1228–31) also relates how Mary visited Elizabeth on a mountain near Nazareth, and continues:

In this place there is an abbey of the Greeks, called St Zacharias, because Zechariah lived there. (ed. de Mas Latrie, 66; Michelant and Raynaud, 60; *ELS*, 16, no. 24)

Two other roughly contemporary sources place the chapel of St Zacharias on the way from Nazareth to the Mount of Precipitation; but they say that it was held by the Armenians (*Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), xvi; *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), i (16) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100; 104)); and another slightly later source, while omitting to mention which community was then in possession of the chapel, adds that there was to be seen there the altar where Zechariah sang (*Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), iv, 7 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198)).

In the following century Nicolas of Poggibonsi relates another legend, which has some aspects in common with that associated with the church of the Visitation in 'Ain Karim (Vol. I, no. 8). As the mob were returning from their unsuccessful attempt to cast Jesus from the Precipice, the Virgin Mary, overcome by fear, was miraculously hidden from view by the rock.

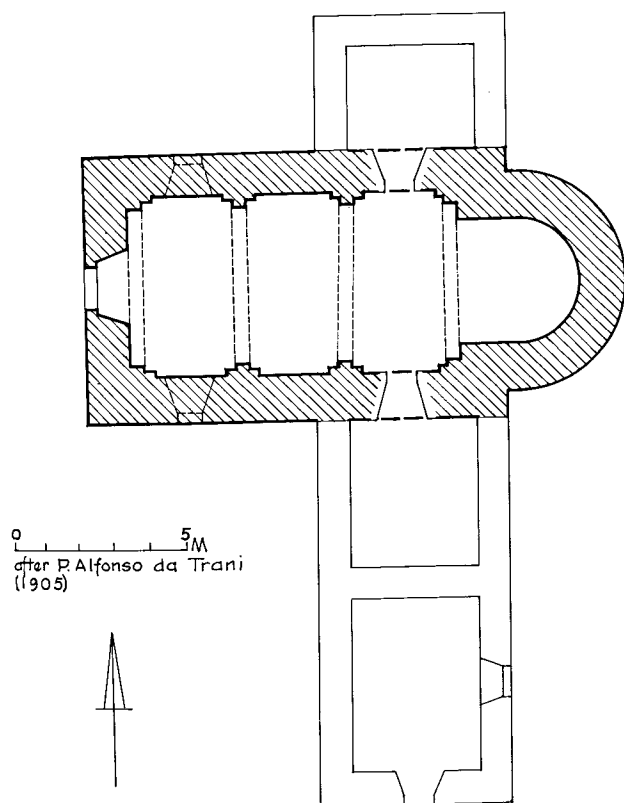
And one still sees the place, that is to say her form, which the rock gave her. And there is there a fine monastery, and inside a church; and it is called St Mary of the Fear (*Santa Maria della Paura*). And there are there black Nubian Christians (var.: Nubian monks of St Macharius). (1346–50: 73–4; cf. Baldi 1955a: 22, no. 32)

There appears to be no further mention of this church for another two centuries. In the sixteenth century, Boniface of Ragusa notes:

Next [to the Mount of Precipitation] is a chapel, built by the former Christian kings in honour of St Anne. (1577: 262; cf. Baldi 1955a: 29, no. 38)

Despite some possible confusion over its dedication, it seems that Boniface believed that this building dated from the time of the Latin Kingdom.

A fuller description is given by Francesco Quaresmi.



41 Nazareth, church of St Zacharias (no. 171): plan.

though by the date when he was writing the chapel (*sancta Maria del Timor*) and the convent buildings were in ruins, with only the 'upper part and the eastern chapel' still standing (1626a: II, 633; 1626b: 394-6; Baldi 1955a: 39, no. 41). Other seventeenth- to eighteenth-century writers also describe the church as being in ruins (e.g. Doubdan 1657: 564; Morone 1669: I, 354; Mariti 1769: II, 189).

Around 1875, the land was acquired by the Franciscans, and a chapel was built on the foundations of the earlier church (cf. Guérin 1880: I, 296; Bagatti 1984: 162-3). In 1892-3, Prosper Viaud noted that its apse was partly cut into the rock (1893). In 1905, a plan of the building was made by Fr Alfonso Mangialardo da Trani (see fig. 41). The chapel was demolished in 1969, and the site is now occupied by an old people's home, run by the Sisters of St Clare (Bagatti 1984: 164).

Description

Fr da Trani's plan of the nineteenth-century chapel shows that the medieval church on whose foundations it stood would have measured overall some 7 by 14.5 m, with walls 1.2 m thick (fig. 41). The rectangular nave

(8.75 by 4.7 m) was divided into three bays by T-shaped pilasters, though whether the bays were groin-vaulted or barrel-vaulted is uncertain. The main door was on the west; and at the east end, a stilted semi-circular apse, 3.2 m wide and of equal depth, projected in a rounded *chevet*. A row of other rooms, including no doubt a sacristy and extending north and south of the east bay of the church, are undifferentiated on da Trani's plan as to their phase, but seem likely to be nineteenth-century; the openings linking these to the nave were therefore probably late insertions. Da Trani's plan shows no windows in the central bay, but a pair of facing splayed ones lighting the western one; it is uncertain, however, to what extent the recorded fenestration followed the medieval arrangement.

During the demolition and construction work in 1969-70, a number of fragments of medieval pottery came to light (Bagatti 1967: 243; 1984: 163-4, fig. 56). Their stratigraphical relationship to the medieval structures, however, is unrecorded.

Visited 14.12.79.

Sources

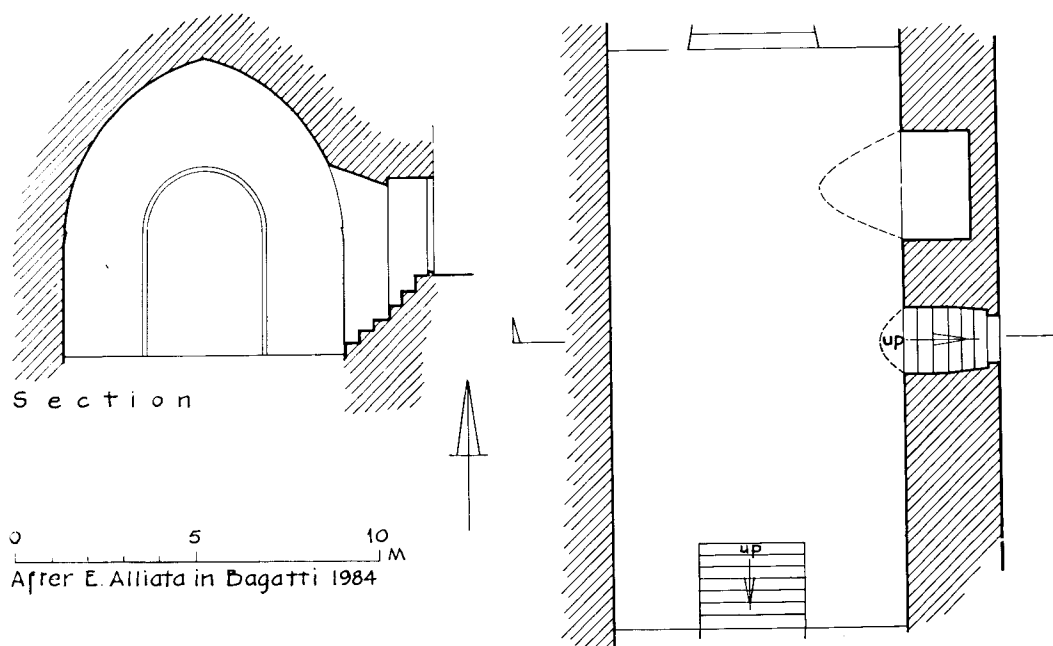
Chemins et pèlerinages B (1268), IV, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198); *ELS*, 16-17, nos. 24-5, 27; Ernoul (1228-31) (ed. de Mas Latrie, 66; Michelant and Raynaud, 60); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), xvi (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100); *Saints Pelerinages* (c.1230), I (16) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104).

Bagatti 1967: 241-3, fig. 203.1; 1984: 160-4, fig. 56; Baldi 1953: 245; 1955a: 22, no. 32; 29, no. 38; 39, no. 41; 1955b: 257; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 262; van Bruyn 1725: II, 317-18; Doubdan 1657: 564; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 55-6; Guérin 1880: I, 296; Hintlian 1976: 31-2; Hoade 1946: 463-4; 1978: 702-3; Mariti 1769: II, 189; Morone 1669: I, 354; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 73-4; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 633; 1626b: 394-6; de Thévenot 1687: I, 212; Viaud 1893: 483.

No. 172 Synagogue-Church (?) 1780.2342

History

The synagogue in Nazareth was associated by late Roman and medieval Christian pilgrims both with apocryphal stories of the childhood of Christ and with the events narrated by Luke's Gospel (4.16-30), when Jesus read there from the Book of Isaiah (61.1-2). In the sixth century, for example, the Piacenza Pilgrim saw in the synagogue the book in which Jesus had written His alphabet, and the bench upon which He sat with the



42 Nazareth, synagogue-church (no. 172): plan and section.

other children (ch. v (trans. Wilkinson, 79; *ELS*, 4, no. 5)).

Peter the Deacon, writing around 1137, seems to be relying on a contemporary source, rather than Egeria (cf. Wilkinson 1981, 193 n.5; cf. 1977, 165), when he states:

Inside the city, the synagogue where the Lord read the Book of Isaiah is now a church. (section T (*CCSL*, CLXXV, 98; trans. Wilkinson, 193; *ELS*, 10, no. 16))

This testimony is supported by Burchard of Mount Sion a century and a half later:

There is still in [Nazareth] the synagogue – but it is converted into a church – in which the Book of the Prophet Isaiah was propounded by Jesus teaching . . . (ch. vi, 7 (ed. Laurent, 47); cf. *ELS*, 18, no. 28; Sanudo, III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253))

The synagogue was visited by Ricoldus of Montecroce and his companions around 1289–91 (ch. II, 6 (ed. Laurent, 107; cf. *ELS*, 19, no. 29)).

It is unfortunately not clear from these accounts where the synagogue-church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stood. In the early fourteenth century, however, James of Verona located it near to the church of the Annunciation (no. 169), two stone-throws to the south. He also relates that it was inhabited by Greek monks, with whom he spent some time conversing through an interpreter on the events and localities associated with the childhood of Christ (1335: 274; Baldi 1955a: 21, no. 30*). Fr B. Bagatti interprets

James's description as relating to the church which in Crusader times had been dedicated to St Zacharias (no. 171), and which in the fourteenth century was known as St Mary of the Fear (1984: 161); his argument may indeed be supported by one thirteenth-century text, which mentions that within this church was the altar where Zechariah used to chant (*Chemins et pèlerinages* B (1268), IV, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198)). This theory is opposed, however, both by the absence from all twelfth- to fourteenth-century sources of any clear correlation between the synagogue-church and the chapel of St Zacharias/St Mary of the Fear, and by the evidence that the latter church belonged in the late thirteenth century to the Armenians and in the fourteenth to the Ethiopians (*Nubiani*). Without more conclusive evidence, it therefore seems safer to assume that James's sense of direction was possibly confused, and that the Greek church with whose monks he talked was located somewhere nearer the centre of Nazareth.

Francesco Quaresmi locates the synagogue-church, which he says was dedicated to the Forty Martyrs, to the north-west (or north-north-west) of the church of St Joseph (no. 173), before one reached Mary's Well and the church of St Gabriel (no. 170) (1626a: II, 632; 1626b: 392; Baldi 1955a: 38, no. 41). Quaresmi's synagogue-church was evidently the one that is known as such today (fig. 42). In the early eighteenth century, it was acquired by the father guardian of the Franciscan convent in Nazareth, Bruno de Solerio. At that time it

was described by Elias Horn as a rectangular house, 44 ft [13.4 m] long and 22 ft [6.7 m] wide; but because it had been abandoned and was full of rubbish, the guardian

ordered that the south wall should be restored and that a vent with a new door should be made in it and that a great heap of earth should be removed. Outside it has a small courtyard, but it had been badly damaged by the unbelievers, who also carried away the outer stones of the walls and rendered the whole house open to ruin. (1725-44b: 264)

In 1744, the same guardian allowed a group of newly converted Greek Catholics (Melkites) to erect an altar at the centre of the east wall and to celebrate the Eucharist there for a while (Horn 1725-44b: 263-5; Bagatti 1984: 166). In 1766, the Franciscans had to repair the vault and most of the external west wall. In 1771, the building was returned to the hands of the Melkites, who in 1882 constructed a new church near by (Bagatti 1984: 166).

Description

The outside walls of the building are scarcely visible today, as it is hemmed in by other constructions. Inside, however, it consists of a pointed barrel-vault, 6.3 m wide, 12.6 m long and 6.4 m high, aligned north-south with an altar emplacement against the north wall (fig. 42). The north and south wall (which contains the main entrance) seem to be modern, while the east and west ones along with the vault that they carry are more plausibly medieval, though much rebuilt. The south wall is 1.8 m thick, and contains a door 1.4 m wide and an arched niche 1.9 m wide and 1.4 m deep. A medieval date for the structure is also suggested by the fact that the floor level inside is 1.7 m lower than ground level outside. But there is no evidence for it having been a church before the eighteenth century. Indeed, it has more the appearance of an undercroft, whose *piano nobile* would have been on the floor above.

Discussion

Whether the vault known today as the Synagogue may have formed part of a medieval Greek convent associated with the synagogue-church, or whether it was simply adapted from secular to ecclesiastical use in the eighteenth century because its position seemed to approximate to a traditional siting of the synagogue of Nazareth (cf. Bagatti 1967: 226-7) are questions which cannot now be resolved with any certainty.

Visited 14.12.79.

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 7 (ed. Laurent, 47; *PPTS*, xii, 42; *IHC*, iv, 156); *ELS*, 10, no. 16; 18-19, nos. 28-9; Peter the Deacon (1137), section 1 (*CCSL*, clxxv, 98; trans. Wilkinson, 193); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289-91), ii, 6 (ed. Laurent, 107; *IHC*, iv, 262); Sanudo (c.1321), iii, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253).

Bagatti 1984: 166-7, fig. 57; Baldi 1955a: 21, no. 30*; 38, no. 41; 1955b: 250-2; 1959; 1973: 226; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 53-4; Guérin 1880: i, 89; Guide Bleu 1932: 516; Hoade 1946: 460-1; 1978: 699; Horn 1725-44b: 263-5, fig. 62; James of Verona 1335: 274; Kopp 1946; Mariti 1769: ii, 184-5; Maundrell 1697a: 478; 1697b: 152; Meistermann 1936: 543-4; Perera 1553b: 55; Pococke 1743: ii, 63; Quaresmi 1626a: 632; 1626b: 392; Saller 1969: 53-4, figs. 18-19; de Vogüé 1860: 351.

No. 173 Church (of St Gabriel ? - now St Joseph) 1782.2342

History

Some 100 m north of the church of the Annunciation there stands the modern Latin church of St Joseph, sometimes also known as the church of the Nutrition, because it is held to mark the site of Joseph's house where the Child Jesus grew up. This church was built in 1911, directly on the foundations of a twelfth-century church.

The identity of this medieval building, however, is far from certain, for no twelfth-century source appears to mention it. Fr B. Bagatti, noting an assertion made in the eighteenth century (le Quien 1740: iii, 1296) that Archbishop Lethard II of Nazareth (1158-90) had formerly been a prior in the Premonstratensian Order, suggests that this may possibly have been a Premonstratensian church (1984: 149); but it is more probable that Lethard had formerly been the prior of the cathedral chapter (cf. Bresc-Bautier, 84, no. 24; *RRH*, 59, no. 234).

Another possibility is that this might have been the Latin priory church of St Gabriel that is mentioned in 1109 and 1121, assuming that this was distinct from the other church of that name (**no. 170**), which appears to have been Orthodox. The evidence is not conclusive, though it may be noted that if, as seems likely, it was the canons of St Gabriel who were constituted as the cathedral chapter by c.1125, their convent buildings would have been conveniently sited to allow them to continue to serve both churches.

More commonly, this twelfth-century church, like its twentieth-century successor, is nowadays associated

with the house of St Joseph (e.g. Benvenisti 1970: 165–7). Twelfth-century pilgrims, however, seem to have associated the house of Joseph with the church of the Annunciation itself (no. 169); and when some of them speak of another church, marking the site of the house where the Saviour was brought up (e.g. Hugh of St Victor (1135), VIII (IHC, II, 164); Peter the Deacon (1137), XXIII (IHC, II, 192); Aymar the Monk (1199), XII (IHC, III, 188)), they are simply repeating a passage of Bede (ch. xv, 2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 276; ELS, 5, no. 7)), derived ultimately from the Description of the Holy Places related by Arculf to Adomnán of Iona around 685 (Adomnán, xxvi, 2–3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 219; ELS, 4–5, no. 6; trans. Wilkinson, 109)). This describes a church in the centre of the town, built over a spring on a system of vaults and arches. Here the townsfolk went to draw water, which was also brought up into the church itself by means of a mechanical device, probably resembling a *nuria*. Despite the existence of rock-cut features of the fifth to seventh centuries below the church of St Joseph, however, there is no evidence either for a spring, or for a system of vaults, or even for a church of that period on the site (*pace* Bagatti 1967: 225–6; Wilkinson 1977: 165; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 248, no. 61). Indeed, the archaeological evidence can be interpreted more satisfactorily as a wine-press with associated rock-cut collecting vats, water cisterns and wine cellar (see below). More probably, therefore, Arculf's second church was situated at Mary's Well, either above what is now the public fountain or on the site occupied in the twelfth century by the church of St Gabriel (no. 170).

The association of the church of St Gabriel with the site of the house of Joseph is made by Jan Kootwyk as late as 1598 (1619: 349; Baldi 1955a: 31, no. 39). Shortly afterwards, however, in 1626, F. Quaresmi provides the first certain reference to the ruined church whose site is today occupied by St Joseph's, and records that at that time local people identified it as the site of Joseph's house.

Going from the Holy Temple of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary as far as a stone's throw towards the north, you find a place which from ancient times down to the present day is called by the local people the House and Workshop of Joseph, or in Arabic *ducan* [dukkān] and corruptly *chania* [khān] . . . Here is a village dwelling like any others, where formerly there was a beautiful church dedicated to St Joseph, more or less the size of the Annunciation, 120 ft [36.6 m] long and about 50 ft [15 m] wide; at the east end there were three chapels; and it was skilfully worked out, as the ruins show quite clearly. The reason for the name is that the inhabitants . . . believe that St Joseph lived there together with the Mother of God and her Son Jesus, and practised the carpenter's art in it, particularly after

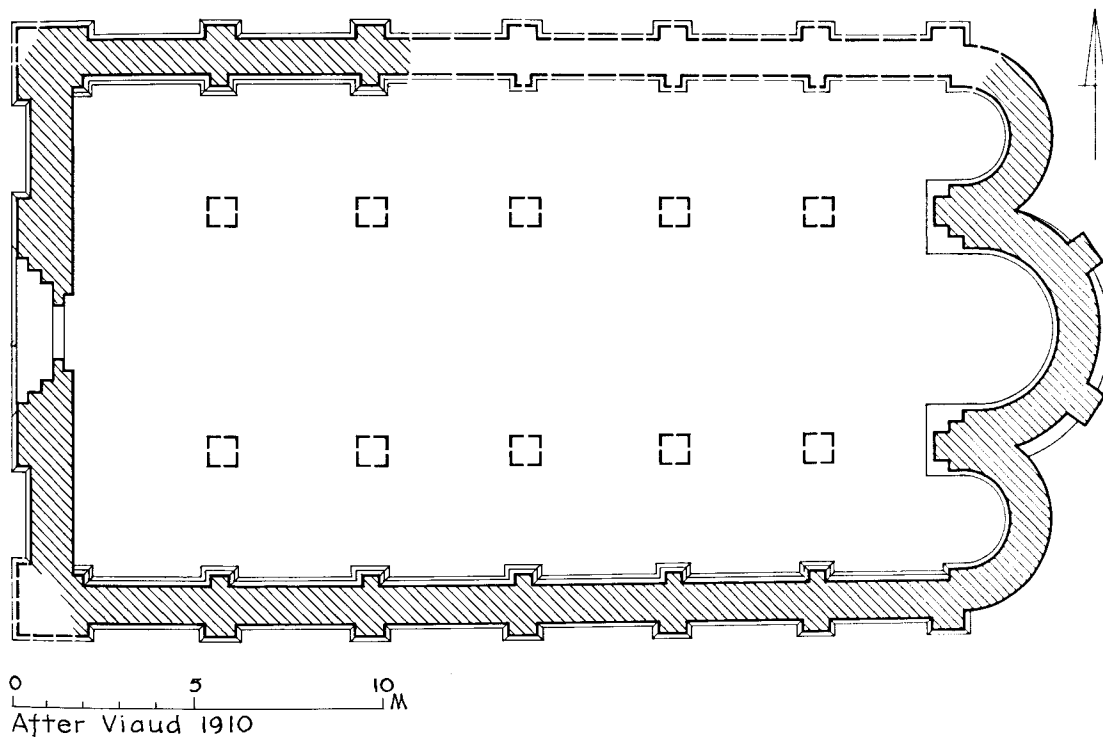
the return from Egypt into his home town Nazareth. (1626a: II, 631; 1626b: 392; Baldi 1955a: 38, no. 41)

From this time onwards, the ruined church or house of St Joseph is also mentioned by other Western travellers (e.g. Roger 1664: 53; Brémond 1679: 218; Nau 1679: 626; Maudrell 1697a: 477–8; 1697b: 152; Pietro Antonio 1704: 268–9; cf. Bagatti 1984: 150). In 1754, the Franciscans acquired a house built over the apses, and converted it into a chapel. During renovation of this in 1858, the floor gave way into an underground silo, killing one of the workmen. It was not until 1890, however, that the Franciscans succeeded in obtaining possession of the western part of the site and that excavations were undertaken by Frs P. Viaud and B. Vlamink (Viaud 1893: 454; 1894: 67, 98, 102; 1910: 133–48). In 1911, a new church was built on the medieval foundations; this was adapted in 1975, but is otherwise the building which still occupies the site (Bagatti 1984: 150–1).

Archaeological Context

The rebuilt church of St Joseph stands some 100 m north of the church of the Annunciation, from which it is separated by the Franciscan convent buildings, constructed in 1930. The excavations by Viaud and Vlamink revealed a number of earlier features cut into the rock beneath the medieval foundations; some of these have been preserved below the floor of the modern church. Principal among them are a system of rock-cut caves, corridors and silos, including at one point four bottle-shaped silos one above the other forming a shaft over 9 m deep (Viaud 1910: figs. 64–6; Bagatti 1967: 215–21). Although material recovered from the main cave suggests that it may have been accessible as late as the twelfth century (Bagatti 1967: 221), the origin of these man-made cavities seems to lie in the late Roman period.

At ground level above these, there was constructed, also in late Roman or Byzantine times, a rectangular tank (2.05 by 2.2 m, and 1.6 m deep), partially rock-cut, with plastered sides including sherds of rilled coarse pottery. It was entered down seven steps. These and the bottom of the tank were paved in white mosaic with a simple black rectilinear pattern, and in one corner was a circular sump. Despite the absence of any Christian symbols associated with it, an elaborate theory advanced by E. Testa (1962) and followed by Bagatti (1967: 225–6) interpreted the tank as a baptistery of the early Judaeo-Christians. It is clear from its orientation, however, that the tank was contemporary



43 Nazareth, church of St Joseph (no. 173): plan.

with certain of the other features recorded by Viaud, including a rectangular masonry platform just north of it, another tank to the north-east, and the stair and corridor leading to a large rock-cut cellar below. Taken together, these features may be interpreted quite simply as a wine-press of the fifth to seventh centuries (cf. Roll and Ayalon 1981; Taylor 1993: 246–50, fig. 26, pl. 6).

Apart from the tank, whose supposed religious significance may therefore be discounted, there is no other evidence for any religious building on the site before the twelfth century. Furthermore, the existence of a secular, industrial complex on the site in the late Byzantine period also seems to rule out any possibility that the church seen by Arculf could have stood here (pace Bagatti 1967: 225–6; Wilkinson 1977: 165; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 248, no. 61). When the Crusaders chose this as the site for a new church, it is quite likely that it was open terrain, which had been lying abandoned for several centuries (cf. Bagatti 1984: 151, 154).

Description

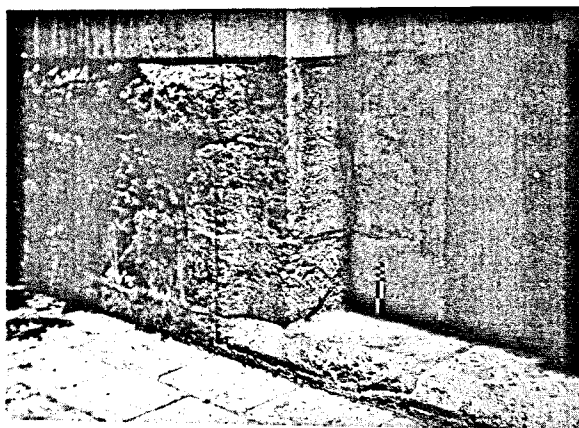
The Crusader church was a three-aisled basilica of six bays, with a central west door and three semi-circular apses with rounded external walls at the east end (fig. 43). Internally it measured some 27 by 13.6 m, the

central nave being almost twice the width of the side aisles. It was constructed throughout in ashlar, with courses varying between 22 and 35 cm in height. At most the walls survived only 2.5 m high; and for part of the north wall only the foundations were left. None of the nave piers or columns remained, but their positions may be determined by the spacing of the plain rectangular pilasters (75 by 31 cm, averaging 3.3 m apart) on the north and south walls. Externally the walls have rectangular buttresses corresponding to these pilasters, with clasping buttresses at the western corners, and another pair helping to support the central apse. The building's elevation is uncertain, though it seems probable that it would have been vaulted, with a clear-storey.

The west door was 1.75 m wide, with an internal rebate and an external stepped splay, which could perhaps have once supported a portal of two orders (pl. xcii). A chamfered plinth with a quirked edge runs around the exterior of the building some 80 cm above ground level, except at the west door, where it steps down below the threshold (Bagatti 1984: 151–3, pl. 65.2–3).

Various architectural fragments which appear to have come from the church have been recorded by Viaud and Alliata (Bagatti 1984: fig. 54).

Visited 7.7.79, 14.12.79.



xcii Nazareth, church of St Joseph (no. 173): left side of the west door.

Sources

Bagatti 1967: 215–26, figs. 182–9; 1971b; 1971c; 1971e; 1977: 921–2; 1984: 149–54, fig. 54, pls. 62–5; Baldi 1955a: 31, no. 39; 38, no. 41; 1955b: 243–8; 1959; 1973: 224–6, fig.; Baldi and Bagatti 1937; Benvenisti 1970: 165–7; Brémond 1679: 218; Briand 1975: 49–79, figs.; Dressaire 1906; Enlart 1925: i, 44, 53, 59, 76; ii, 295, 297–8, pl. 8; Freeman-Grenville 1994: 49–52; Guérin 1880: i, 87–8; Guide Bleu 1932: 516; Hoade 1978: 698; Kootwyk 1619: 349; Kopp 1940: 117–19, 277–85; Mariti 1769: ii, 184; Maundrell 1697a, 477–8; 1697b: 152; Meistermann 1936: 537–42, fig.; Nau 1679: 626; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 248, no. 61; Pietro Antonio da Venezia 1704: 268–9; Pococke 1743: ii, 63; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 631; 1626b: 392; Roger 1664: 53; Taylor 1993: 246–50, fig. 26, pl. 6; Tzaferis and Bagatti 1993: 1104; Viaud 1893: 454; 1894: 67 (plan), 98, 102; 1910: 133–48, figs. 1, 64–75; de Vogüé 1860: 351.

OLD HAIFA

Tall Abu Hawam; Cr. Cayphas Vetusta, Vetus Caypha

No. 174 Priory Church (of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre) (?) 1519.2448

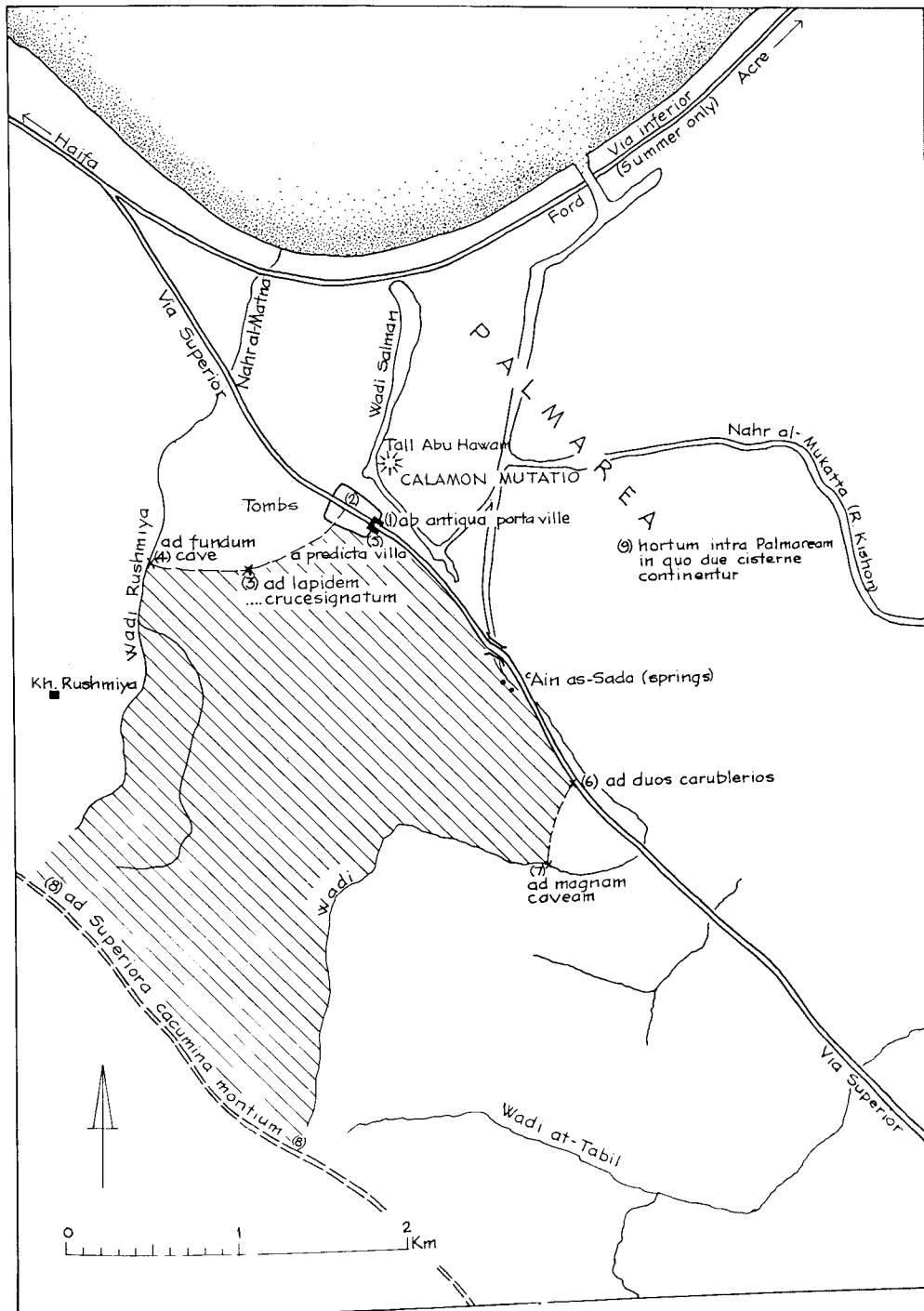
History and Identification

Two Haifas, an old and a new town, are referred to in twelfth-century sources (e.g. Theodoric (1169–72), xxxix–xl, li (CCCM, cxxxix, 185; 196–7)). New Haifa, or simply Haifa (Vol. i, q.v.), was a fortified settlement (*qasr* or *castrum/castellum*) situated in what is today the south-eastern part of lower modern Haifa. It seems to

have been established under the Fatimids towards the end of the eleventh century, and in 1100 it fell to Baldwin I after a month-long siege (Prawer 1988: 35–40). Old Haifa, which in 1046 had been no more than a village (Nāṣir-i Khusraw (*PPTS*, iv, 19–20)), was by then deserted. Its ruins lay east of the Nahr al-Matna (or Wadi Rushmiya), between New Haifa and the Palm Grove (*Palmarea*) around the Kishon estuary. It should not be confused with another *Palmaria* (no. 176) by the Sea of Galilee, where there was later an abbey (cf. Röhrich 1887a: 36; Friedman 1979: 86, 104–7, 125; Prawer 1980: 136–40; Hamilton 1980: 101).

A little before July 1164, Roger of Haifa and his brother John granted the canons of the Holy Sepulchre six carrucates of land lying either side of the *flumen de Cayfa* (Bresc-Bautier, 260–61, no. 134; RRH, 99, no. 377), which may be identified with the River Kishon, or Nahr al-Mukatta (cf. *Chemins et pèlerinages* v, 1, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 190 (*Flum de Caïphas*)). Shortly afterwards, in 1164 or 1165, Vivian, lord of Haifa, and his son Payen gave the canons an extensive tract of land between the Nahr al-Matna and the wadi east of it that flowed into the Kishon. This was defined on the north by the main upper road between Haifa and Acre which avoided the low-lying area around the estuary, and on the south by the heights of the Carmel range (*usque ad superiora cacumina montium*). The donation included the south-eastern part of the deserted town (see fig. 44), and was defined by a boundary running: (1) from the ancient east gate facing *Palmarea* (*ab antiqua porta ville ex parte Palmaree*), (2) westward along the main road (*juxta superiorem viam*) to a marker stone near the town centre (*usque ad lapidem, ultra mediatem ville pro termine fixum*), (3) thence south or south-west to another sited above a carob grove (*ad lapidem supra carublerium cruce signatum*) and (4) thence over a hill and into the bottom of the Wadi Rushmiya (*per collem usque ad fundum cave*), excluding an ancient cemetery (*relictis antiquis sepulcris infra eorum terminos*). The charter also refers to buildings of the canons located in the vicinity of the deserted town and of the wadi (Bresc-Bautier, 268–9, no. 137; RRH, 108–9, no. 418).

The very precise details given in this charter allow the 'old town' to be located at or near Tall Abu Hawam (Grid ref. 1521.2452), as G. Beyer formerly proposed (1945: 238–9). This is identified as *mutatio Calamon*, a road station between Acre (*Ptolomaida*) and Shiqmona (*Sicaminos*) that is mentioned in AD 333 by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (CCSL, clxxv, 12; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 96). Since the tell itself is shown virtually surrounded by water on the Survey of Western Palestine map of c.1877 (sheet v; cf. *Atlas of Israel* 1970: sheet 1/5).



- 44 'Old Haifa' (Tall Abu Hawam): suggested interpretation of the extent of the lands granted to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre by Vivian, lord of Haifa, in 1164-5 (Bresc-Bautier, no. 137). The borders ran: (1) from the ancient gate of the town facing Palmarea; (2) along the upper road as far as the stone set as a boundary marker beyond the middle of the town; (3) and from the same stone as far as the stone marked with a cross above the carob grove (or tree); (4) again, from the same cross-marked stone over a hill as far as the stone marked with a cross above the ancient tombs outside [the] boundaries; and in the other direction: (5) from the aforesaid town, (6) along the public road as far as the two carob groves (or trees); (7) from here, leaving the plain by not much, by a double and ancient blocked path, and through thorn and denser carob groves (or trees), as far as the large valley whose waters flow into Palmarea; (8) from this aforesaid valley as far as the other valley, which is near to the deserted town and its buildings, in a straight line up to the upper heights of the mountains. In addition: (9) a garden (or orchard) within Palmarea, containing two cisterns.

it seems likelier that the main Roman settlement would have been on the road itself, a small distance to the south-west, than on the tell itself; its remains may even be represented by the subrectangular enclosure astride the road that is shown on the same map. Finds from the tell itself, however, include objects and pottery of the Roman, Byzantine and medieval periods, including the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Balensi, Herrera and Artzy 1993; Ronen and Olami 1983: xi, 9–10 (no. 16)); and Iron Age tombs extend along the foot of the mountain to the south-west (Ronen and Olami 1983: x, 9 (no. 15)).

From a confirmation of privileges granted to the Holy Sepulchre by Pope Alexander III in March 1168, we learn that the canons had indeed built a house in Old Haifa, and that they had been granted a church (with presumably parish rights) and tithes in respect of these lands by Archbishop Ernesius of Caesarea (1160–75) (Bresc-Bautier, 283–7, no. 146; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 252, no. 95; *RRH*, 115, no. 444). Their possession of this house (*domus iuxta Caiphas*) and their rights in the archdiocese of Caesarea were also later confirmed by Patriarch Amalric in 1168–9 (Bresc-Bautier, 292–6, no. 150; *RRH*, 123–4, no. 469), by Pope Alexander III in September 1170 (Bresc-Bautier, 297–301, no. 151; *RRH*, 124, no. 474), and by Pope Celestine III in February 1196 (Bresc-Bautier, 323–8, no. 170; *RRH*, 194, no. 725).

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 260–1, no. 134 (1164); 268–9, no. 137 (1164–5); 283–7, no. 146 (1168); 292–6, no. 150 (1168–9); 297–301, no. 151 (1170); 323–8, no. 170 (1196); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250–5, no. 95 (1168); *RRH*, 99, no. 377 (1164); 108–9, no. 418 (1164–5); 115, no. 444 (1168); 123–4, no. 469 (1168–9); 124, no. 474 (1170); 194, no. 725 (1196).

PAIN PERDU

Pan Perdu, Peine Perdue, tur de Seynt Lazare

History

The thirteenth-century village of Pain Perdu lay near the saltings of the Order of St John, on or west of the main road as one approached Caesarea from Tantura (Dor) and 'Atlit (*Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), III; *Sains Pelerinages*

(c.1230), VIII (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 91; 104³)). One text locates it actually on the coast and associates it with a Tower of St Lazarus (*Chemins et pelerinages* B (c.1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 190)). The precise identification of the site, however, is uncertain. It is unlikely to be Khirbat Kabara (Grid ref. 144.218), which lies on the eastern edge of the coastal marsh at the foot of the limestone hills (*pace* Beyer 1936: 28–9; Prawer and Benvenisti 1970). More probably it was located on one of the *kurkar* ridges west of this site. It is not impossible that the Tower of St Lazarus was the same as the Tower of the Saltings (Burj al-Malih, Grid ref. 141.215), which in 1182 had belonged to the Hospitallers (*RRH*, 164, no. 619) and in 1265 was destroyed by Baybars (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 72; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: I.ii, 8). But this was not the only fortification in the area (see, for example, Kh. ash-Shaumariya, no. 231), and it seems as likely that the Tower of St Lazarus represented another building altogether.

Pain Perdu may also possibly be identical to the village of St Peter of Caesarea (*casale Sancti Petri Cesaree*) that is mentioned in 1144–5 as adjoining *Defluisse* (Kh. ad-Dufais, Grid ref. 149.214) (Bresc-Bautier, 150–51, no. 58; *RRH*, 60, no. 237).

No. 175 Parish Church of St Lawrence (Unlocated)

In March 1234, Peter, archbishop of Caesarea, granted to Rainald of Fleury, master of the Leper House of St Lazarus in Jerusalem (q.v.), a house and the church of *Painperdu* with all their rights and appurtenances. The gift was in free and perpetual alms, though in recognition of the archbishop's 'ordinary jurisdiction' over the church a payment of eight candles was to be made each year to the cathedral of Caesarea (see Vol. I, no. 68) (de Marsy, 154, no. 37; *RRH*, 275, no. 1051). In a fuller version of the charter, issued the following year, the dedication of the church is given as being to St Lawrence (de Marsy, 154–5, no. 38; *RRH*, 278, no. 1066).

It would seem that by the time that the area fell to the Mamluks in 1265, the property belonging to the Order of St Lazarus at *Pain Perdu* also included a tower (see above).

Sources

Chemins et pelerinages B (c.1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 190); de Marsy, 154–5, nos. 37–8 (1234–5); *RRH*, 275, no. 1051 (1234); 278, no. 1066 (1235).

Beyer 1936: 26–9; Rey 1883: 423; Röhrich 1887b: 278 n.16.

PALMARIA

Palmarea, Palmaereia, Palmareia, Palmerium, Solinum

No. 176 Abbey Church (?)198/200.248/52

History and Identification

James of Vitry, describing Frankish Palestine in the early decades of the thirteenth century, writes of hermits who had earlier established themselves in the plain and hills around the Sea of Galilee (*Hist. Or.*, I, 53 (IHC, III, 321)). In the 1130s, one such group, organized as a monastery at *Palmaria* not far from Tiberias, received as their prior a certain Elias, a former grammarian from the south of France, who had lived for some time as head of a community of hermits in the valley of Jehoshaphat outside Jerusalem before entering the nearby Benedictine monastery of St Mary (q.v.). New light has been shed on the history of the monastery of *Palmaria* by the rediscovery of the Life of Elias, written by his friend and contemporary, Gerard of Nazareth (*Vita abbatis Elie* (ed. Kedar, 75); cf. Kedar 1983a: 68; 1983b).

Elias was appointed to *Palmaria* by the archbishop of Nazareth; but it seems that he had certain misgivings, for, with the help of Queen Melisende, he soon returned to Jerusalem and had to be encouraged back to *Palmaria* by the archbishop a few years later (Gerard of Nazareth (ed. Kedar, 75); Kedar 1983b: 261–2). The monastery was probably a recent foundation, for its founder and patron, Warmund of Tiberias, first appears in charters in 1132 and was apparently still alive in 1174 (Bernard and Bruel, v, 586–7, no. 4234; Kedar 1983b: 262–3; Hiestand 1992: 176). In February 1138, Elias, styled abbot of *Palmaria*, was in Jerusalem, when he witnessed a charter of King Fulk (Bresc-Bautier, 100, no. 34; RRH, 43–4, no. 174).

The abbot's austere mode of life evidently proved to be something of a trial for the rest of the community. Though the influence of Cluny on the house was already strong, both through Elias's association with the abbey of St Mary of Jehoshaphat and through his friendship with Geoffrey, abbot of Mount Tabor, Gerard tells us that it was on Cîteaux that he attempted to model *Palmaria*, sending one of his monks to France to fetch a brother who could instruct them in Cistercian ways. Whatever the outcome of this mission may have been, Elias did try to make his monks adopt the Cistercian habit; but in the heat and humidity of the area around the Sea of Galilee, this proved too much for them, and the abbot would have left once more in disgust had he not been

persuaded to remain by the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishop of Nazareth. Elias eventually died at *Palmaria* in 1140 (Gerard of Nazareth (ed. Kedar, 75); Kedar 1983b: 263).

The exact site of *Palmaria* is unknown. The Life of Abbot Elias places it 'not far from Tiberias' (Gerard of Nazareth (ed. Kedar, 75)). It is clear therefore that it cannot be identified with another district known as *Palmarea* or *lucus palmarum* (the palm grove), situated around the estuary of the Kishon just east of Haifa (*pace* Röhricht 1887b: 207 n.12, 235; Beyer 1945: 238–9; Prawer 1980: 136–40).

An area near Tiberias called *Parva Palmeria*, possibly to distinguish it from another larger one near by (cf. Beyer 1945: 229 n.5; Kedar 1983b: 262 n.8), is mentioned in a charter of 1174; by this Eschiva, lady of Tiberias, granted the Hospitallers a hill (*turronis*), called in Arabic *Lacomedia*, situated between *Parva Palmeria* and Tiberias, together with all the land between the hill (*mons*) and the Sea of Galilee (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 315, no. 459; RRH, 139, no. 522). *Lacomedia* may be identified with al-Qunaitira and the 'hill' specifically with Tel Raqqat, 2.5 km north-west of Tiberias (Grid ref. 1995.2457; cf. Conder 1890: 36; Beyer 1945: 229, 236; Palestine 1948: 38; Israel 1964: 1392). *Parva Palmeria* would therefore have been a little further north of this, where there is still today a small oasis around the place where the Nahr Amis enters the lake.

The first village site that one meets going north along the lake shore from Tiberias is al-Majdal, the ancient *Magdala* (Grid ref. 1986.2478); but any ecclesiastical establishment there could hardly have been known by anything other than its New Testament name (see no. 139). The plain of al-Ghuwair (Gennesareth), however, extends for some 5 km beyond it around the lake shore as far as Khirbat al-'Uraima (Tel Kinrot), the ancient Gennesareth (Grid ref. 2008.2528; cf. Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), v, 9 (ed. Laurent, 40); Palestine 1948: 36; Avi-Yonah 1976: 60; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 132). In the first century AD this area was noted for the variety of trees growing in it, including palms (Josephus, *War*, III, 10, 8 (trans. Williamson, 221)). Watered by the Wadi Hamam, the Nahr al-Limun (Nahal Zalmon) and the Nahr al-'Amud, this area could well have contained the large Palm Grove in or near which the twelfth-century monastery lay and from which it took its name (cf. Beyer 1945: 229 n.5).

After the death of Elias, the abbey of *Palmaria* disappears from recorded history for some three decades. In or a little before 1170, however, Theobald of Vermandois, prior of the Cluniac house of Saint-Arnoult at Crépy-en-Valois, journeyed to the kingdom of Jerusalem

and persuaded King Amalric to permit the foundation there of a daughter house of Cluny (Bernard and Bruel, v, 590, no. 4237; Kedar 1983b: 264–5). In 1170, the bishop of Acre granted Theobald permission to found such a house in the parish of Acre; but it seems that the offer was not taken up (RRH, 125, no. 476; Kedar 1983b: 265; Mayer 1977: 403–5). Instead, following the intervention of Pope Alexander III, with a letter addressed on 20 October 1170/72 to the archbishop of Nazareth and the bishops of Bethlehem, Acre and Lydda, Theobald was given the *monasterium de Palmarea*, which it seems had fallen on bad times. The pope asked the bishops to ensure that the monastery was brought under the jurisdiction of Rome or of the bishop of Tiberias (Bernard and Bruel, v, 590–1, no. 4237; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 267–9, no. 104; Kedar 1983b: 265–6). He also seems to have written in similar terms to King Amalric, who replied saying that the original founder, Warmund, had agreed to the proposal and asking that an abbot or prior and three to four monks should be sent to *Palmarea* from Cluny (Bernard and Bruel, v, 586–7, no. 4234; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 274–5, no. 108; RRH, 130, no. 495; Kedar 1983b: 264, 266).

By 1179, Theobald had returned to France to become abbot of Cluny itself (Kedar 1983b: 264). That a prior and community were indeed sent from Cluny to *Palmaria*, however, is suggested by a charter of April 1180, by which Ahuhisa, lady of *Palmerium*, granted to the monastery of Mount Tabor and its abbot, John, in free and perpetual alms,

the houses which belonged to Brother Pelagius at *Palmerium*, which is also called *Solinum*, and a certain new house which you [Abbot John] caused to be made there when you were prior there, and all the property which lies between and adjoining them up to the *Cayre* gate (*ad portam Cayre*), and a certain oven there in which none of the townsfolk (*burgenses*) may cook loaves unless they belong to your *familia*, and also all the land which Brother Pelagius possessed in the territory of *Palmerium*, except for one piece of land lying at the foot of the mountain.

The charter goes on to define the separate legal arrangements made for regulating the affairs of the *burgenses* of *Palmerium* on the one hand and of the abbey of Mount Tabor's servants (*familiares ecclesie*) on the other. From this it would appear that the place contained two distinct communities of Frankish settlers: the *burgenses* dependent on the lord or lady of *Palmerium*, whose affairs were regulated 'according to the use and custom of Dabburiya' (*ad usum et consuetudinem burie*); and the *familiares* of the abbey, who came under the jurisdiction of the abbey's own bailiff resident in the

town (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 908–9, appx., no. 19; RRH, 158, no. 594; cf. Prawer 1980: 137–40).

The interpretation proposed by Kedar is that *Palmerium/Solinum* which is mentioned in this charter was identical with *Palmaria*, beside the Sea of Galilee. The fact that Abbot John of Mount Tabor is referred to as having previously been prior of *Palmerium/Solinum* indicates, in his view, that a prior and community was indeed sent to *Palmaria* from Cluny sometime after 1170–2. Prior John would then have left *Palmaria* to become abbot of Mount Tabor sometime between October 1175 and April 1180 (1983b: 266–7). The mention of a Brother Pelagius, who had possessed houses and land in *Palmerium/Solinum* apparently before the time of Prior John, also seems to indicate the former existence of a monastic community in the place (Kedar 1983b: 267), though Brother Pelagius's precise identity and ecclesiastical status remain obscure.

Kedar's interpretation is lent further support by the fact that two of the witnesses to the charter of 1180, the archbishop of Nazareth and the bishop of Lydda, were among those who had earlier been entrusted by Pope Alexander III with ensuring that *Palmaria* became a Cluniac house. In his reply to the pope, King Amalric had also warned of the possibility that the monastery's possessions, through default of succession, might pass into secular hands. Kedar suggests that this is in effect what had happened. The charter of 1180 may therefore be seen as a compromise concluded between the abbey and the secular owner of *Palmerium/Solinum* (1983b: 267–9).

The absence from the charter of any mention of a serving prior or of monks at *Palmerium/Solinum*, however, also suggests that the community's independent existence there had already come to an end by 1180. The remaining brethren would probably have been absorbed into the abbey of Mount Tabor, which was itself closely associated with Cluny, and its possessions brought under the administration of the abbey's bailiff. The abbey of *Palmaria* would therefore probably have ceased to exist almost a decade before Saladin finally took control of the region in 1187. Although Christian pilgrims were able to reach the holy places around the Sea of Galilee once more in the 1240s–60s (cf. *de Constructione Castri Saphet* (ed. Huygens, 43–4, lines 270–87)), there is no evidence that the monastery was ever reconstituted.

Alternative Identifications of *Palmerium/Solinum*

One possible weakness identified by R. Hiestand in the case for identifying *Palmerium/Solinum* with *Palmaria* is

the lack of any convincing explanation for the alternative name *Solinum*, which appears only in the charter of 1180 (1992: 180). However, a considerable number of Frankish place-names are similarly unexplained; this apparent difficulty does not therefore seriously affect the argument. Another topographical problem concerns the *porta Cayre*. Kedar suggests that this may be simply a rendering into Latin of the Arabic *bāb al-khayr* (the good gate) (1983b: 266–7); indeed, this could even have been a natural feature, such as the mouth of a valley. An alternative explanation is that it was the gate facing Tiberias, which in this period is also sometimes referred to as *Cyneret* or *Cinereth* (cf. *Descriptio locorum* (1137–41), xxviii (IHC, II, 94); Theodoric (1169–72), xlvi (CCCM, cxxxix, 192)). The hill or mountain (*mons*) referred to in the charter could, of course, have been located anywhere.

Another objection raised by Hiestand to the identification of *Palmaria* with *Palmerium/Solinum* is that, while the former clearly lay in the diocese of Tiberias, the charter relating to the latter was drawn up under the auspices of the archbishop of Nazareth (1992: 183; cf. 176). This objection, however, cannot be sustained. For there is nothing in the charter to prove that *Palmerium/Solinum* lay in the diocese of Nazareth, as Hiestand implies; and the archbishop of Nazareth would in any case have had metropolitan authority over the diocese of Tiberias in which *Palmaria* was located.

A third contention of Hiestand, that Abbot John had formerly been prior of Mount Tabor, not prior in *Palmerium* (1992: 180), contradicts the clear and precise wording of the charter of 1180.

The grounds for seriously questioning the identification of *Palmaria* with *Palmerium/Solinum* are therefore far from secure. None the less, two possible alternative locations for *Palmerium/Solinum* have been suggested and may be considered here:

1. Although R. Hiestand's recent re-examination of the evidence relating to *Palmaria* (or *Palmarea*) and *Palmerium/Solinum* succeeds in creating possibly more problems than it solves (1992), one of his more positive contributions is the proposal that *Palmerium, quod et Solinum dicitur*, should be identified with Sulam, or Biblical Shunem, located some 11 km south-west of Mount Tabor in the plain of Jezreel (Grid ref. 181.223; cf. Abel 1967: II, 470–1; Guérin 1880: I, 112–14; Petrozzi 1976: 402–13; Palestine 1948: 43). This is referred to as *Sulem* in the list of villages belonging to Mount Tabor that is included in a confirmation granted by Pope Paschal II in 1103 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 827, no. 2832; *RRH*, 6–7, no. 39), and as *Solem* in a similar

confirmation granted by Baldwin I in 1107 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 826, no. 2831; *RRH*, 10, no. 51; cf. Beyer 1945: 220). Hiestand proposes further that the *porta Cayre* mentioned in 1180 should be identified as the gate of the village facing Kh. Qara, a site lying 4 km south-east of Sulam (Grid ref. 185.222; Palestine 1948: 43); this is referred to as *Kara* and *Cara* respectively in the same two documents (Hiestand 1992: 183–8; cf. 1985: 72–3).

The principal difficulty in accepting this identification is that the place-name evidence, though suggestive, is no more convincing than in the preceding case. From the fourth century the village of *Sulem* had been identified as the site of Biblical *Sunem* (Shunem) (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 158, lines 11–12); cf. Jerome, *Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 159, lines 11–12)). *Sulem*, *Solem* and (Biblical) *Sunam* are the names used in Latin sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (cf. Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), VII (IHC, IV, 160)); but the case for associating *Solinum* with them appears weak, unless perhaps the final *-um* is simply to be explained as a neutral case ending. Secondly, even if a similarity between *Sulem* and *Solinum* were admitted, it would still have to be explained why in that case Sulam was also called *Palmerium*; the plain of Jezreel is not generally noted for its palm trees and at no other time is Sulam called by such a name.

2. A second possibility is to identify *Palmerium/Solinum* with the area around the Kishon estuary, east of Haifa, that is also referred to as *Palmarea* (Bresc-Bautier, 268–9, no. 137 (1164–5)), *lucus palmarum* (Theodoric (1169–72), XL (CCCM, cxxxix, 185)). *Palmaria* (Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land (c.1252)), or *la Paumere* (*Chemins et pelerinages B* (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 190)). This was the identification proposed by J. Prawer in his discussion of the charter of 1180 (1980: 136–40); and although he was wrong in seeking to locate the abbey of *Palmaria* there, the case for identifying it with *Palmerium/Solinum* bears further examination. First of all, the nearest settlement to this palm grove was Tall Abu Hawam (Grid ref. 1521.2452), which in the fourth century is referred to as *mutatio Calamon* (Bordeaux Pilgrim (CCSL, CLXXV, 12)) and in the Jerusalem Talmud as *Salmonah* (Avi-Yonah 1976a: 45; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 96; Reeg 1989: 544–5). In the twelfth century it may be identified as Old Haifa (*Cayphas Vetusta*, *Vetus Caypha*), where by 1168 the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had a house, church and other properties (see no. 174). The toponym *Calamon/Salmonah* appears to have persisted at least until

c.1877, when the compilers of the Survey of Western Palestine marked on their map (sheet v) the Wadi Salman lying adjacent to the tell. In addition to the resemblance between *Calamon/Salmonah* and *Solinum*, we may also note the explanation for the *porta Cayre* already given by Prawer, namely that it was a misspelling of *porta Cayfe*, the gate facing Haifa (1980: 137). We know that Old Haifa had walls and a gate on the east facing *Palmarea*; these are mentioned in a charter of 1164–5 by which Vivian, lord of Haifa, granted the Holy Sepulchre properties in the eastern part of the town (Bresc-Bautier, 268–9, no. 137; *RRH*, 108–9, no. 418). It might therefore seem plausible to locate the properties extending *usque ad portam Cayre* that were donated by Ahuhisa to the abbey of Mount Tabor in 1180 in the western part of the same town. Whether any connection might be adduced between the putative priory of the Holy Sepulchre at Old Haifa and the house at *Palmerium/Solinum* of which Abbot John of Mount Tabor had formerly been prior, however, is altogether more problematical; and it may be noted that the Holy Sepulchre still appears to have been in possession of its properties there in 1196 (see no. 174).

Two other objections may be raised to the proposed identification of *Palmerium/Solinum* with Old Haifa. First, it is difficult to explain why in such a case the charter of 1180 should have been given in the presence of the archbishop of Nazareth and of the bishop of Lydda, when Old Haifa is known to have been situated in the archdiocese of Caesarea. Secondly, the place-name evidence is no more clear-cut in this instance than in the other two interpretations outlined above.

In conclusion, neither of these two alternative identifications for *Palmerium/Solinum* appears any more persuasive than that proposed by Kedar; and the acceptance of either raises considerably more unresolved consequential problems than does the identification of *Palmerium/Solinum* with *Palmaria* beside the Sea of Galilee.

Sources

Bernard and Bruel, v, 586–7, no. 4234 (1170); 590–91, no. 4237 (1170–1); Bresc-Bautier, 100, no. 34 (1138); *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 908, appx., no. 19; Gerald of Nazareth, *Vita abbatis Elie* (ed. Kedar, 75); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 267–9, no. 103 (1170–1); 274–5, no. 108 (1171–4); *RRH*, 43–4, no. 174 (1138); 130, no. 495 (1171–5); 158, no. 594 (1180).

Berlière 1888: 559–60; Beyer 1945: 229 n.5, 238–9; du Cange 1869: 837; Hiestand 1985: 72–3; 1992; Kedar 1983a: 68, 75; 1983b; Mayer 1977: 403–5; 1989: 8; Prawer 1980: 137–40; Röhrich 1887a: 36; 1887b: 207.

al-QABU

Hebr. *H. Qovi*.

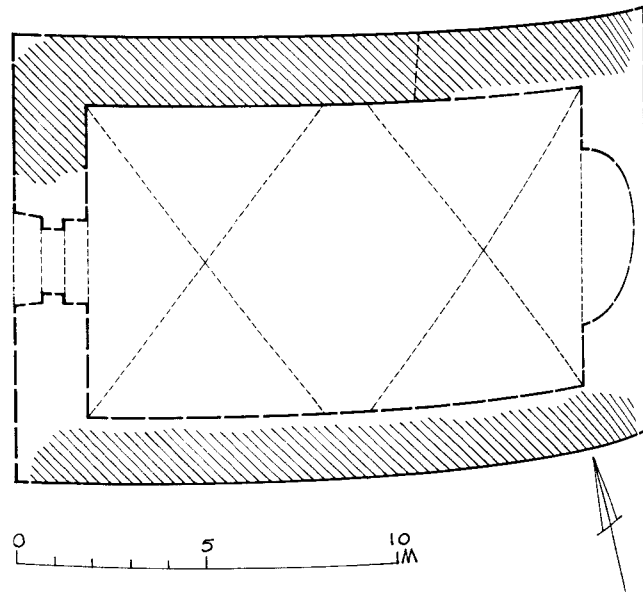
No. 177 Church 1612.1261

History

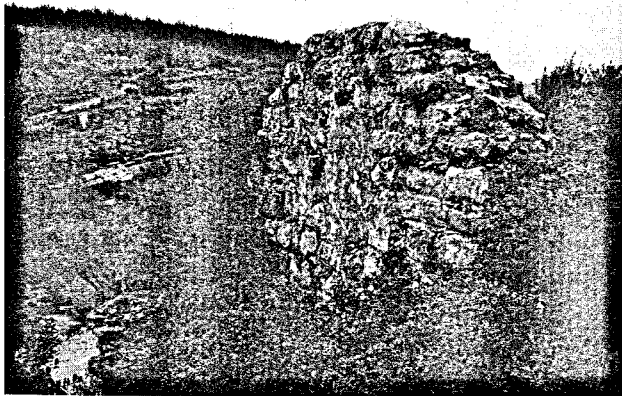
Al-Qabu is a village site, abandoned since 1948, which lies on the south side of the Nahal Soreq (Wadi as-Siqqa) at the tenth milestone on the road constructed under the emperor Hadrian from Jerusalem (Aelia) to Bait Jibrin (Eleutheropolis) (Avi-Yonah 1940: 44; Abel 1967: II, 226; Khalidi 1992: 307–8). The remains of a church of apparently medieval date were seen and recorded near the spring by the Survey of Western Palestine in October 1873 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 100, fig.). More recently they have also been studied by the Rev. Dom M. Gisler, OSB, who deposited his survey notes at the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem in February 1939 (Bagatti 1983: 26, fig. 8.1).

Description

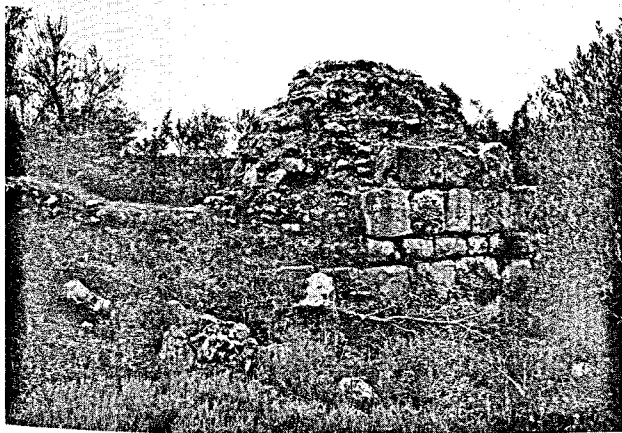
The church lies about 50 m east of the spring on the east side of a track descending to the valley bottom. Only parts of its north, west and south walls are now visible, the former standing some 5.5 m above ground level (fig. 45; pls. xcIII–xcIV); however, it is likely that most of the building up to the spring of the vaulting survives below ground level. The masonry consists externally of good



45 al-Qabu, church (no. 177): plan.



xciii Al-Qabu, church (no. 177): north wall from inside.



xciv Al-Qabu, church (no. 177): north wall from outside.

ashlar, with course heights varying between 20 and 50 cm; most of the blocks appear to be reused, and none was found to have the characteristic diagonal tooling of the twelfth century. On the inside the work is rubble concrete with some irregular facing blocks, laid in courses corresponding to the outer facing. Gisler noted the existence of mosaic cubes in the mortar. At the north-west corner some internal plaster is preserved, with signs of blue and red painted decoration.

Because it is now half buried by hill wash, the plan of the church is difficult to distinguish. It appears, however, to have been rectangular externally, measuring overall some 12 by 18 m with walls 1.8–1.9 m thick. The nave was covered by two bays of groin-vaults and terminated at the east end with a semi-circular apse, 2.5 m deep, accommodated within the thickness of the east wall. Although the SWP plan shows the bays to have been separated from one another by shallow pilasters, Gisler apparently saw no evidence of these and none is visible today. The elliptical profile of the vaulting,

noted by Gisler, is reflected in the surviving portion of the north wall. Gisler indicates that the main door was in the west wall and records it as being 1.8 m wide, with thick jambs. The BSAJ survey (1981) also recorded the west reveal of another opening, possibly a splayed window, in the eastern bay of the north wall; Gisler's notes also suggest the existence of a lancet window in the centre of the opposite wall of the same bay, though apparently none in the western bay.

Decoration

Traces of painting in blue and red survive on the plaster at the north-west corner of the nave.

Discussion

Gisler thought the church to be Byzantine, though post-dating the Persian invasion, while the SWP considered it to be of the Crusader period. The form of the building, in particular its vaulting, points to a medieval date, though the method of construction suggests that it may possibly be earlier than twelfth century.

Visited 21.3.81, 5.6.81, 21.10.81.

Sources

Bagatti 1983: 25–6, fig. 8.1; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 25, 100, fig.; Enlart 1925: II, 266; Israel 1964: 1469; Khalidi 1992: 307–8; Palestine 1929: 213; 1948: 167.

al-QADISMU

Bir al-Qadismu; Gk. Kathisma; Cr. Cadichinos.

No. 178 Chapel of St Mary 1702.1275

History and Identification

A monastery founded by a deaconess named Ikelia between AD 451 and 458 beside the public road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem is referred to as the 'Old Kathisma' by Theodore of Petra in his *Life of St Theodosius*, written between 536 and 547 (*Vita S. Theodosii*, v (ed. Usener, 13–14; trans. Festugière, 108–9; *ELS*, 93, no. 106); cf. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Theodosii*, I (ed. Schwartz, 236–7; trans. Festugière, 58); Wilkinson 1977: 163). This name, meaning the 'sitting down', evidently recalled the place at the third milestone

where, according to the Proto-Gospel of James, the Virgin Mary dismounted before the birth of Jesus (trans. Cullmann, 383; ed. Amann, 244; cf. *ELS*, 95, no. 107). Around 570, the Piacenza Pilgrim saw a church at this place, and a cistern from which travellers were permitted to drink (ch. xxviii (CCSL, CLXXV, 167; *ELS*, 95–6, no. 108; trans. Wilkinson, 85)). The church of the Kathisma (*Kat'isma*), dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, is also mentioned in the Georgian Lectionary of the fifth to eighth centuries (13 Aug., 2 Dec. (CSCO, CLXXXIX, 55; ed. Garitte, 84; 108; cf. 301; 401; *ELS*, 100, no. 112)).

Abbot Daniel, who travelled down this road in 1106–8, records that at a point mid-way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem and three versts from each, 'there was once a (large) church and a monastery of the Holy Mother of God but now they are destroyed by the pagans' (ch. xlv (trans. Ryan, 143)). By 1169–72, however, it seems that a new chapel of St Mary had been built, before the doors of which was a cistern from which passers-by could refresh themselves; according to Theodoric, the chapel stood in the place where Mary was accustomed to rest on her way from Bethlehem to Jerusalem (ch. xxxii (CCCM, cxxxix, 179)).

Some other twelfth- and thirteenth-century Western texts also mention a chapel where Mary rested while pregnant, but locate it below or beyond Bethlehem, towards the Shepherds' Fields and Hebron (Anon. vii (c.1160), 6 (IHC, III, 80; PPTS, vi, 74); Michelant and Raynaud, 99 (c.1231), 186 (–1265), 196 (1268)); another related text differs only in placing Mary's visit after the birth of Jesus (Michelant and Raynaud, 170 (1261)). Although they appear to reflect the same Proto-Gospel tradition, however, the building to which these texts relate should probably be identified either as the chapel of St Joseph or as the cave-church of St Mary (the Milk Grotto), both situated near the church of the Holy Nativity itself (see Vol. I, nos. 62–3).

In the mid fourteenth century, Nicolas of Poggibonsi records the existence of a ruined church in the plain a ballista-shot from the church of St Elias towards Jerusalem; a mosaic pavement was almost all that could be seen of it. Nicolas associated this church with the place where the Three Magi saw the star again on leaving Jerusalem in search of the new-born Christ (1346–50: 58). Similar details are given by John Poloner (1422a: 246; 1422b: 18). By the sixteenth century, the place where Mary rested was marked by no more than a terebinth tree, while the place where the Magi had seen the star was associated with a cistern beside the road (Faber 1480–3: I.ii. 541; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 192; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 453–5; 1626b: 292–6; *ELS*, 139, no. 150.1; 149, no. 153.3).

The name of this cistern as recorded in recent times, Bir al-Qadismu, allows it to be associated with the site of the Byzantine church of the Kathisma; indeed, it may well have been the cistern that is mentioned in the sixth- and twelfth-century sources (Riess 1889; Schneider 1934; Wilkinson 1977: 163; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 55; Hoade 1978: 375; Bagatti 1983: 34–7). Unfortunately it has now been destroyed by road widening. On the higher ground some 400–500 m east of it, however, excavations carried out between 1959 and 1962 on a site known as Kh. Abu Buraik or Kh. Salih (now Kibbutz Ramat Rahel) revealed the foundations of a large Byzantine church and associated buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries, overlying part of a Roman military installation of the third to fourth centuries (Aharoni 1962; 1964; 1978; 1993; Ovadiah 1970: 152–3). Occupation of this site seems to have come to an end soon after the Muslim conquest, and no trace has yet been found of the twelfth-century chapel seen by Theodoric. Quite possibly, as Theodoric implies, it would have been sited nearer the road, just east of the cistern. Indeed, remains of a roughly built apse suitable for a small chapel have been noted in this position, and the foundations of a larger octagonal Byzantine building have only recently been uncovered there (Alliata 1993).

It seems likely that the medieval chapel would have been constructed by the canons of Bethlehem, who were granted the village of *Cadichinos* between Jerusalem and Bethlehem by Pisellus, viscount of Jerusalem, and his wife Gisla, probably between 1110 and 1118 (Riant, *Études*, I, 144, no. 9; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 381, no. 190; RRH, 248–60, no. 983; cf. Beyer 1942: 191; Tibble 1989: 32).

Visited 1.5.95.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), xlv (trans. Ryan, 143; de Khitrowo, 38); *ELS*, 109, no. 127 (1106); 113, no. 132 (1169–72); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxii (CCCM, cxxxix, 179; PPTS, v, 51; trans. Wilkinson, 305).

Abel 1914: 460; Aharoni 1962; 1964; 1978; Alliata 1993; Bagatti 1983: 34–7, fig. 4, pl. 3; Compagnoni 1978: 110; Guide Bleu 1932: 607; Hoade 1946: 289–90; 1978: 375; Israel 1964: 1469; Moore 1961: 43; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 58; Ovadiah 1970: 152–3 (no. 152), pl. 62; Palestine 1929; 1948: 170; Perera 1553b: 33; Pixner 1991: 412–22; Poloner 1422a: 246; 1422b: 18; Riess 1889; Schiller 1980: 162 (photo. 1877); Schneider 1934; de Thévenot 1687: I, 198; Vincent and Abel 1914b: 3 n.1.

QAIMUN, Tall

Cr. *Caimun, Chaimon, Caun Mons, le Caymont, Mons Cain, le Quaimont*; Med. Ar. *al-Qaymūn*; Hebr. *Tel Yoqne'am*

In July 1103, *Caimun in terra Acon* was included in a list of villages confirmed by Pope Paschal II as belonging to the abbey of Mount Tabor. In granting the confirmation, however, the pope also recognized that some of these villages were already in the hands of Frankish knights (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 827, no. 2832; *RRH*, 6, no. 39; cf. *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 824, no. 2829 (1146)). It seems likely that Qaimun would have been one of these, for the building of a castle at *Caun Mons* is attributed to King Baldwin I (1100–18) (Bartolf of Nangis, *Gesta Francorum* (continuation), *RHC Occ*, III, 543 n.). Qaimun became in time the centre of a lordship, amongst whose lords documented in the twelfth century were: Joscelin, mentioned between 1139 and 1145 (*RRH*, nos. 191, 198, 211–12, 217–18, 233, 236); Walter, mentioned in 1152 (*RRH*, no. 276); and William, mentioned between 1182 and 1199 (*RRH*, nos. 621, 742, 754). John of Ibelin refers to the lord of *le Caymont*'s right of 'court, coin and justice' and to the existence of a court of burgesses (*Livre*, CCLXX (*RHC Lois*, I, 420)).

The Frankish settlement at Qaimun fell to Saladin in 1187 ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 37; cf. 107); *de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 232; *IHC*, III, 112); and in August 1191, the sultan halted there on his southward march towards Ascalon ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 334); Bahā' al-Dīn (*PPTS*, XIII, 275–6)). Saladin restored the castle and its territory to the Franks by the treaty of 1192, and they came into the hands of Balian II of Ibelin (*Eracles*, xxvi, 17g (*RHC Occ*, II, 199 n.4); Ernoul, xxv (ed. de Mas Latrie, 293)). A lord named Aymar is attested in Acre in June 1253 (*RRH*, 317, no. 1206). In May 1262, however, a dispute between the Hospitallers and the Templars over possession of the town and seigneurie was settled by arbitration in favour of the latter (*Cart. des Hosp.*, III, 30–1, no. 3028; *RRH*, 344, no. 1318). It seems likely that Qaimun would have been attacked and possibly taken by Baybars some time between 1263 and 1266 (cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 451–85); and in June 1283 it was confirmed as being in the possession of Sultan Qalāwūn (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 75; Quatremère 1837: II.i, 225; cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 524).

No. 179 Parish Church 1604.2300

Description

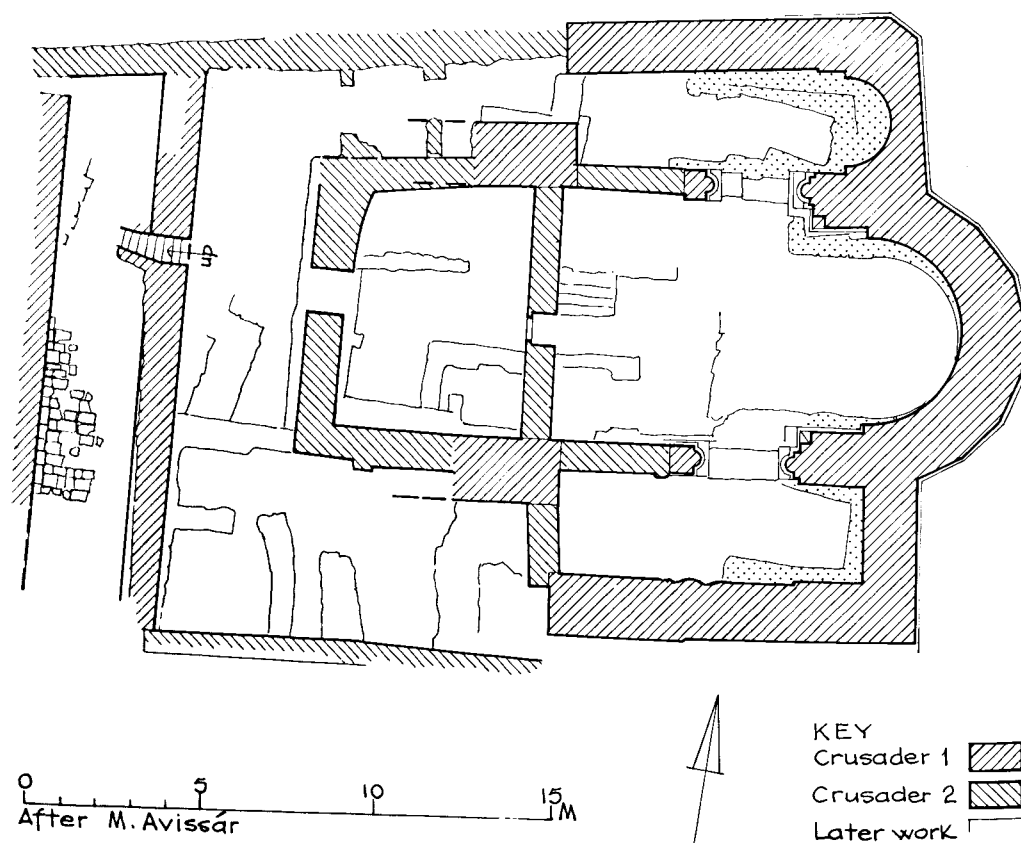
The remains of a church at Tall Qaimun were discovered by Corporal Armstrong, RE, on 3 December 1872 and were planned by Lt C.R. Conder, though the drawing (now in the PEF Archive) was never published (cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 70). The building was assumed by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine and later by A. Ovadiah to date from the Byzantine period (1970: 182, no. 180). Excavations by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem between 1977 and 1993, however, have shown the building to be Crusader, probably of the twelfth century, though built over the remains of an earlier Byzantine church.

The church lay in the mid southern part of the tell, at the eastern foot of its highest south-western part, which may perhaps mark the site of the Frankish castle (cf. Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978a: 63 n.17). Only the eastern part of the church was visible before excavation, surviving downhill of the rest of the building. On excavation in 1977 this was found to survive no more than about 1.5 m in height. When excavations resumed in 1987, however, the rest of the building was uncovered and four principal phases were identified (see fig. 46).

Phase 1. Two periods of Byzantine construction have been identified. They included a central semi-circular apse underlying the Crusader one, and rectangular sacristies north and south of it (Zarzecki and Avissár 1988). The orientation of these structures deviates by up to 18° south of that of the Crusader walls built over them.

Phase 2. The construction of the Crusader church evidently began in the usual way at the east end and proceeded towards the west. This and the existence of the pre-existing Byzantine foundations may account for its somewhat unusual plan. For while the *chevet* and first two bays conform to the tripartite arrangement of the earlier building, the western part of the building was reduced to the width of the central nave. It seems unlikely, however, that this represented a sudden change of plan, for the first 2.8 m of the reduced nave were already built as part of this initial phase; indeed, these two abutments would have been required to support the vaulting of the two eastern bays, which would thus seem to have been completed before work stopped.

As initially planned, it appears therefore that the building was intended to have a single nave, 6.5 m wide and with walls 1.8 m thick, flanked towards the east by two aisles, 2.5 m wide and about 8 m long, producing a



46 Tall Qaimun, church (no. 179): plan.

tripartite *chevet*. The central nave terminated in a semi-circular apse, 5 m wide, preceded by a barrel-vault; externally it was enclosed by a seven-sided outer projection. The northern aisle had a shallow semi-circular apse contained within the thickness of the wall, while the southern aisle terminated in a flat east wall.

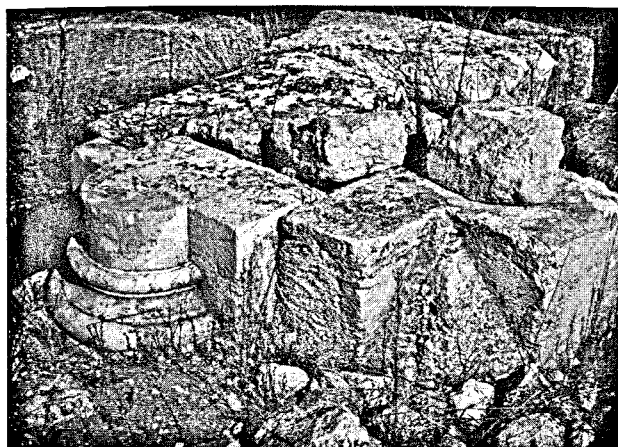
The aisles were evidently each separated from the nave by a pair of arches, the two eastern ones springing from engaged columns (pl. xcv), while the two western ones were either entirely without ornament or, as seems more likely perhaps, carried on corbels at a higher level. Each aisle appears to have been open to the outside on the west; although no trace of door-posts was found it may be assumed that some form of door would have been provided in both cases.

Two terrace walls separated by a paved street which lie to the east of the remains of the church suggest that the nave might have been intended to extend 10 m or so in length. However, work seems to have stopped with only the eastern part completed.

The church's plan is singular, and unfortunately provides insufficient clues to allow one to determine its elevation with any certainty. The excavators' initial

assertion that the space immediately in front of the central apse was covered by a dome (Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978a: 66, fig. 4) represents but one of various possibilities – and an unlikely one perhaps, in view of the fact that the area was not precisely square and would not have formed a true crossing, since the aisles north and south of it were separated from it by arcades. The building could be more plausibly reconstructed with a single barrel-vault (or perhaps groin-vaulting) over the nave and with two bays of groin-vaulting over each of the aisles.

Phase 3. The second Crusader phase has the character of temporary work, probably intended to allow the completed eastern part of the building to function as a church. The work entailed blocking the west door of the south aisle and constructing a crude 3 m extension to the nave with a door in its west wall. Inside the building, narrower walls were built across the western two openings between the nave and aisles; and another wall with a door at its centre was built to separate the eastern and western parts of the central nave itself. It seems likely that these latter walls would have had the



xcv Tall Qaimun (Tel Yoqne'am), church (no. 179): pilaster base to the left of the main apse.

function of a chancel screen or *pulpitum*, separating the choir and presbytery from the parts of the church that were open to lay people. The door in the centre of the chancel screen was narrowed twice during the period of its use.

Phase 4. In the Mamluk period, when the church's religious use was at an end, the building was used for domestic occupation. Various partition walls and a staircase to an upper floor were inserted, as well as a number of clay bread ovens (*tabūn*).

Associated Buildings

Excavations by M. Avissár in 1993 revealed a number of contemporary Frankish buildings lying to the west of the church. These included: parts of a house, with its own latrine, standing just west of the paved street that defines the west end of the church complex; to the west of this an underground barrel-vaulted structure, some 9 by 12 m with walls 2 m thick; and 48 m west of the paved street, the foundations of a tower or *donjon*, measuring 18 by 22 m with walls 3 m thick, the basement of which had latterly been used as a stable (Avissár 1995).

Visited 17.12.79.

Sources

Avissár 1995; Ben-Tor 1993: 806; Ben-Tor and Rosenthal 1978a: 65–7, fig. 4; 1987b; Ben-Tor *et al.* 1987: 11 (air photo.); Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 170; Israel 1964: 1383; Meistermann 1936: 713; Ovadia 1970: 182, no. 180; Palestine 1929: 247; 1948: 29; Pringle 1993: 34; Zarzecki and Avissár 1988.

QALANSUWA

Cr. *Calanchun*, *Calanson*, *Calansue*, *Calanthone*, *Calanzon*, *Calenchum*, *Calenson*, *Calenzon*, *Calumzum*, *Kalenson*, *Kalensu(e)*; Med. Ar. *Qalansuwa* 1485.1878

In the 1870s, Victor Guérin identified a large ruined medieval building which stands in the centre of the village of Qalansuwa as having formerly been a church (1874: II, 351). His identification has persisted and is even found in some recent literature (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 266; Benvenisti 1970: 198; Bagatti 1979: 133). A survey of the structure, now the village mosque, was undertaken in 1983, and confirms the conclusion of the Survey of Western Palestine that it was a hall, built in all probability by the Hospitallers who received Qalansuwa in 1128 (Pringle 1986a: 43–53, figs. 10–14, pls. XII–XIX; cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 199–201). Doubtless there would also have been a Hospitaller church or chapel in Qalansuwa in the twelfth century, and very possibly a church serving the needs of the Frankish settlement which also seems to have developed there in that period (see Pringle 1986a: 42–3). But despite the existence of other medieval buildings in the village (Pringle 1986a: 53–6, fig. 10, pls. X–XI, XX–XXII), no trace of any church building has yet been found.

QAL'AT AD-DUBBA

Qal'at Dubal 1986.2893

The castle, whose twelfth-century name is unknown, extended some 80 m north–south by 35 m east–west over a spur and was surrounded by an oval ditch. Although largely rebuilt in Mamluk or Ottoman times, it incorporates a tower (8.5 by 10.3 m) and other structures which betray a Frankish origin (Guérin 1880: II, 382; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 122–3, fig.; Guide Bleu 1932: 432; Johns 1937: 35; cf. Tibble 1989: 13–14, 20). The plan made by the Survey of Western Palestine shows on the north side of the central courtyard an elongated room (measuring some 13 by 4.4 m over the walls) with a semi-circular northern end. C. Enlart took this to be a Crusader chapel (1925: II, 266–7). However, the room's orientation makes such

an interpretation unlikely, and its date is in any case more probably post-Crusader.

QAL'AT JIDDIN

Cr. Iudin, Iudyn; Hebr. Mezudat Gadin, Yehi'am.

No. 180 Castle Chapel (?) 1710.2665

History

Qal'at Jiddin occupies a rocky ridge, aligned east-west on the north side of the Wadi Jiddin, 16 km north-east of Acre. Around 1283, Burchard of Mount Sion describes Iudin as a castle that had formerly belonged to the Teutonic Order, but was by then destroyed (ch. iv, 1 (ed. Laurent, 34); cf. Sanudo, III, 14, 3 (ed. Bongars, 249)). Other indirect evidence suggests that it had been built sometime after May 1220, when the order acquired the nearby village of Shifaya, and that it would have fallen to Sultan Baybars between 1268 and 1271 (Pringle *et al.* 1994: 136–7).

Description and Discussion

The remains of the Frankish castle surviving today are enclosed by those of an eighteenth-century Ottoman castle that was destroyed in 1775 (for a detailed description and analysis, see Pringle *et al.* 1994). The Frankish castle consisted of two massive rectangular towers, set 21 m apart on the spine of the ridge and surrounded by a high wall of enclosure, which also formed a retaining wall for terraces and vaults which eventually came to occupy most of the space within it. Overall it measured some 65 by 30 m, with a gateway on the east and traces of what may possibly have been an outer enceinte. The eastern tower, which dominates the site and contained a vaulted basement, first-floor hall, mural chamber and at least two latrine closets, has been tentatively identified as the residence of the castellan or prior. The western tower, which had three storeys and was more spacious internally (with at least one latrine), may, by the same token, have been occupied by the community of brother knights who formed the garrison. As a castle built and held by a military order, Qal'at Jiddin would doubtless have had a chapel; and analogy with Montfort (Qal'at al-Qurain), with which it is roughly contemporary, suggests the likeliest location for this to have been at

first-floor level, within the inner ward but outside either of the two main towers. A large barrel-vault (9 by 13.5 m internally, with walls 3.5–4 m thick), aligned east-west, which was built against the east face of the west tower and the inside face of the north curtain wall, might possibly have been intended as the undercroft for a chapel; but nothing now survives of its first floor, nor of the upper floors of any of the other structures enclosed by the castle's curtain wall.

Visited 3.7.81, 11.10.91, 10.3.92, 21.9.94.

Sources

Pringle, Petersen, Dow and Singer 1994: 162, figs. 4–6.

Khīrbat QANA

Cr. Cana Galileae, Chana Galileae, Quane Galilee; Hebr. H. Qana

No. 181 Church of the Ruler of the Feast 1786.2476

History

Before the twelfth century, Cana of Galilee, where Jesus performed His first miracle by turning water into wine at a wedding feast (John 2.1–11), seems to have been identified by Christian writers with Kafr Kanna, 5 km north-east of Nazareth (see Vol. I, pp. 285–6). This tradition appears to have persisted with Orthodox writers even into the twelfth century (e.g. Daniel (1106–8), xciv (trans. Ryan, 164); Phocas (1185), x (PG, cxxxiii, 933; trans. Wilkinson, 319)). By this period, however, Western pilgrims had begun to favour an alternative site at Khīrbat Qana, 14 km due north of Nazareth, on the northern side of the fertile plain of al-Battāuf (Bagatti 1965: 252–4, figs. 1–3; cf. Wilkinson 1977: 153; Abel 1967: II, 291, 412–23).

The position of Cana is clearly defined by Saewulf (c.1102–3), who locates it 6 miles north of Nazareth, on a mountain beyond Roma (Kh. ar-Ruma), a road-station lying on the road from Acre to Tiberias that passed between Nazareth to the right (south) and Cana of Galilee to the left (north). 'Nothing remains there except the church (*monasterium*) that is called after the Ruler of the Feast (*Architriclinius*)' (ch. xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 74)). This location also seems to be confirmed by the

Descriptio locorum (1131–43), which places Cana beyond Saffuriya on the way from Nazareth to Acre and also recalls that it was the home town of Simon of Cana, Philip and Nathaniel (ch. xxix (IHC, II, 94); cf. John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 81); Theodoric (1169–72), XLVIII (CCCM, cxxxix, 193–4); Anon. v (1180s), 12 (IHC, III, 32); Anon. vi (1148), 6 (IHC, III, 62); Anon. ix (1175), 6 (IHC, III, 96); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227), *Descriptio*, vi (IHC, IV, 386); Anon. Saec. XIII, II (IHC, IV, 342)).

Belard of Ascoli (1112–60) describes the place of the Marriage Feast as a crypt, excavated in the rock and large enough to accommodate a good fifty people (ch. v (IHC, II, 49)). In 1217, the site was visited by the pilgrim Thietmar:

And in that place is constructed a church. There to this day are to be seen the impressions where the jars were placed. And a certain Muslim told me that the cistern from which was drawn the water that was turned into wine contains today water that has the taste of wine. (ch. I, 10–13 (ed. Laurent, 4))

The place where the Feast was held, the position of the six (or seven) jars, and the cistern from which the water was drawn are also mentioned by other thirteenth-century pilgrims (e.g. *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), II (17); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), xvii; *Chemins et pelerinages* (–1265/8), A (–1265), IV, 17; B (1268), III, 16 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 101; 104–104¹, 187, 197)). One such, in March 1251, was Louis IX of France, who travelled to Nazareth by way of Saffuriya, Cana of Galilee, and Mount Tabor (Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici*, I (IHC, IV, 104)); his route, however, suggests that this Cana may have been Kafr Kanna, rather than Kh. Qana.

By this time, the Frankish hold on the area, and on Nazareth itself, was becoming precarious. In July 1255, Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, therefore handed over Cana Galilee and three other villages in the plain of al-Battauf (*Batuf*) to the Hospitallers to administer on behalf of his church (RRH, 326, no. 1239; cf. 335, no. 1280 (1259); Hamilton 1980, 293–5). It may have been as a result of this circumstance that Roger de Vere, prior of the Hospital in England, was able to present to his church at Clerkenwell, in 1269, 'one of the six jars in which Jesus turned water into wine' (Gervers, *Cartulary*, 571, no. 961).

The village would have been finally lost at the time of Baybars' expeditions in the 1260s; but it was still accessible to some pilgrims. Burchard of Mount Sion's description of Cana in 1283 clearly relates to Kh. Qana, which he places north of Ruma and Saffuriya. He locates the miracle and the place where the six jars stood in a

subterranean cave, and offers his own scientific explanation for how such sites came to be buried (ch. vi, 1 (ed. Laurent, 44); cf. Pringle 1987: 347). Another Dominican, Ricoldus of Montecroce, also visited Cana with a party of pilgrims between 1289 and 1291, and saw the well and the impression of the jars (ch. I, 2–7 (ed. Laurent 105–6)).

In the early fourteenth century, James of Verona saw there 'a church, to which you descend by many steps, which, however, is destroyed and was most beautifully built by the Christians in antiquity' (1335: 281). The itinerary of the Franciscan Fr Nicolas of Poggibonsi from Nazareth to Saffuriya, Cana of Galilee and Capernaum, also appears to point to Kh. Qana, rather than Kafr Kanna. In the village (*castello*) he saw a church where the miracle occurred, and outside it the well (1346–50: 75–6; cf. Baldi 1955a: 210–11, no. 258). John Poloner's description, apparently based on that of Burchard, likewise seems to be of Kh. Qana, though he says that the cave could only hold a few people (1422a: 271; 1422b: 36; cf. Baldi 1955a: 211, no. 259).

Later in the fifteenth century, the traditional location of Cana of Galilee by Western pilgrims moved back once more to Kafr Kanna, where supposed traces of a church were to be found (Suriano 1485a: 143; 1485b: 153, 157; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 264; Baldi 1955a: 211, nos. 260–1). Francesco Quaresmi was aware of both traditions, but describes Kh. Qana as 'a trifling little village containing very few houses, no church, nor sign of a church, as I and others have observed' (1626a: II, 641; 1626b: 400; cf. Baldi 1955a: 211–12, no. 262).

Description

Kh. Qana occupies an oval hillock, detached from the higher Jabal Qana on the north by a saddle and overlooking to the south the plain of al-Battauf (*locus Batuf*). No trace of any church has been found at the site in modern times. A cave, however, which may possibly represent the site visited by pilgrims in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, has been identified by Frs B. Antonucci and E. Testa on the south-eastern flank of the hill, in the area occupied by the medieval village (Bagatti 1965: 257–60, figs. 6–8; cf. Riley 1993: 142, pl. p. 141).

The cave was entered from the south through a ruined house, which, as Bagatti suggests, may perhaps have covered the site of the church mentioned by some pilgrims. There appear originally to have been two doorways built in masonry, but one had subsequently been walled up. The cave was roughly oval, measuring some 5.8 m north–south by 5 m east–west, and at least

2.2 m in height; in a secondary phase, a smaller chamber, 3.3 m long, 2 m wide and 1 m high, was excavated on the west. A stone bench and a large circular stone were observed at the north end of the room; but without excavation it would not be possible to verify whether these installations tally with the pilgrim descriptions.

The walls and ceiling were covered with four coats of plaster, representing apparently as many periods of use. The second plaster coat was yellow, and incised on its surface were graffiti in Greek, medieval Latin and Arabic script. The veneration of the cave seems to have persisted after the thirteenth century, for rough crosses were observed even on the latest coating of plaster.

Not visited.

Sources

Belard of Ascoli (1112–60), v (IHC, II, 49; trans. Wilkinson, 231); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vi, 1 (ed. Laurent, 44; IHC, IV, 152–4; PPTS, XII, 38); *Chemins et pelerinages* A (–1265), IV, 17; B (1268), III, 16 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 187; 197); ELS, 208–10, nos. 247–57; Gervers, *Cartulary*, 571, no. 961 (1269); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 101); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), I, 2–7 (ed. Laurent 105–7; IHC, IV, 260); Saewulf (c.1102–3), xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 185); IHC, II, 27; PPTS, XI, 26, 49); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), II (17) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104–104¹); Sanudo (c.1321), III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253); Thietmar (1217), I, 10–13 (ed. Laurent, 4).

Abel 1967: II, 412–13; Bagatti 1965: 252–63, 291–2, figs. 1–9; Baldi 1955a: 210–12, nos. 258–9, 262; Beyer 1945: 225 n.9; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 313–14; Guérin 1880: I, 168–9; Hoade 1978: 715, 720; James of Verona 1335: 281; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 75–6; Poloner 1422a: 271; 1422b: 36; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 641; 1626b: 400; Riley 1993: 142, pl. p. 141; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 64.

QAQUN

Cr. *Caco*, *Caccho*, *Caqo*, *Caque*, *Chaco*, *Quaquo*; Med. Ar. *Qāqūn*; Hebr. *Yikon*

Qaqun was an important minor town of the lordship of Caesarea. Its population was partly Syrian Christian (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 171, no. 223; *RRH Ad*, 19, no. 298a), but also included Frankish knights (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I,

21–2, no. 20; *RRH*, 12, no. 57; 98, no. 373) and other settlers dependent on the castle, which is first mentioned in 1123 (Fulcher of Chartres, III, 18, 1 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 664–5; trans. Ryan, 241–2); cf. William of Tyre, XII, 21 (CCCM, LXIII, 572); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 185)). Viscounts of the lord of Caesarea are mentioned in 1131, 1135 and 1175 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 83–4, no. 94; 97, no. 115; 322–3, no. 470; *RRH*, 35, no. 139; 39, no. 159), and a dragoman in 1135 and 1146 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 97, no. 115; 133, no. 168; *RRH*, 39, no. 159; 61, no. 243).

The Hospitallers held properties in and around Qaqun in the twelfth century, and seem to have been maintaining a house there by 1131 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 21–2, no. 22 (1110); 83–4, no. 94 (1131); 133, no. 168 (1146); 167, no. 217 (1153); 171, no. 223 (1154); 173, no. 225 (1154); II, 322–3, no. 470 (1175); *RRH*, 12, no. 57 (1110); 35, no. 139 (1131); 61, no. 243 (1146); 74, no. 293 (1154); *RRH Ad*, 18, no. 280b (1153); 19, no. 298a (1154)). The lands held in Qaqun by the abbey of St Mary Latin, in Jerusalem, were confirmed by Pope Hadrian IV in 1158 (Holtzmann, 55; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 218–22, no. 79; *RRH*, 85, no. 331) and by Alexander III in 1173 (Holtzmann, 57, no. 2; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 271–3, no. 106); but by October 1189 the abbey had leased them to the Hospital (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 559, no. 879; *RRH Ad*, 46–7, no. 682a). This lease was renewed in 1248 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 673–5, no. 2482; *RRH*, 306, no. 1164).

On 30 April 1187, the knights of the Templar convent at *Caco* were summoned by their master, Gerard of Ridefort, to assemble at *La Feve* (al-Fula, q.v.) in the Jezreel Valley, which they did before nightfall the same day (*Eracles* (RHC Occ, II, 39); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, xxv (ed. Morgan, 38); Ernoul, XII (ed. de Mas Latrie, 145–6)). The distance from *La Feve* to *Caco*, however, which the sources indicate was only 4 miles (say 6.5 km), seems to rule out the possibility of identifying this *Caco* with Qaqun; 'convent', in any case, does not necessarily imply the existence of a house of the order, since it could equally apply to a mobile body of knights and sergeants living according to the rule of the order (cf. Upton-Ward 1992: 14–15, 192). There therefore appears to be no certain evidence for any Templar interest in Qaqun (Kedar and Pringle 1985: 168–9; Pringle 1986a: 60; Barber 1994a: 87, 111, 350 n.70; *pace* Rey 1883: 419; Prawer 1975a: I, 645).

Qaqun fell to Sultan Baybars in 1265 (see below), and under the Mamluks it became an important road-station and the centre of a district. It was to feature once more in Crusading history, when, in November 1271, an

unsuccessful attempt to retake it was made by King Hugh of Cyprus and Prince Edward of England. (On the Crusading history of Qaqun and for further references, see Pringle 1986a: 58–63.)

The remains of the castle of Qaqun were surveyed by the BSAJ in 1983 (Pringle 1976a: 63–70, figs. 15–18, pls. xxiii–xxxi; cf. Dar and Mintzker 1987: 192–210, figs. 1–10). Apart from these and the ruins of the mosque, the village has been levelled and has recently been planted with trees (cf. Khalidi 1992: 559–60).

No. 182 Parish Church 1497.1962

In 1265 Qaqun fell to Sultan Baybars and the next year he rebuilt the castle and converted the church into a mosque (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 101; al-Maqrīzī c.1400: I.ii, 40). It seems more likely that this would have been the Latin parish church than a church of the Syrian inhabitants (cf. Riley-Smith 1971: II, 216, 218; Pringle 1986a: 60). The remains of the building, however, have yet to be located and investigated archaeologically.

Sources

Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 101; al-Maqrīzī c.1400: I.ii, 40; Pringle 1986a: 60; Riley-Smith 1971: II, 216, 218.

QASR 'ANTAR

Qasr al-'Abd, Juwar al-Qasr

No. 183 Church of St Habakkuk (?)1719.1150

History

When Abbot Daniel visited Tekoa (no. 254) in 1106–8, he came from St Chariton's monastery (nos. 199–200), having ascended from the wadi one verst to the south of the monastery. This suggests that he would have approached Tekoa either from the track that leads west from the Hanging Cave (Grid ref. 1725.1165; cf. Hirschfeld 1985: 53–5, 34*–35*, no. 26, figs. 16, 38, map) or along a well-made track of the Byzantine period which leads north-westward to Tekoa from the Rock of the Crosses further south (Grid ref. 1740.1158;

cf. Hirschfeld 1985: 70, 72–4, 41*–42*, nos. 41, 45, fig. 52, map). Once out of the ravine, Daniel came to a 'flat place in a field' from which the prophet Habakkuk had been carried to Daniel in the lions' den in Babylon (cf. Bel and the Dragon, 33–7). Here, he records, 'a kind of chapel has been built . . . on account of this miracle'. Variant versions of the text state that this place lay 'in a high place', and 'to the left' (ch. LV1 (trans. Ryan, 149)).

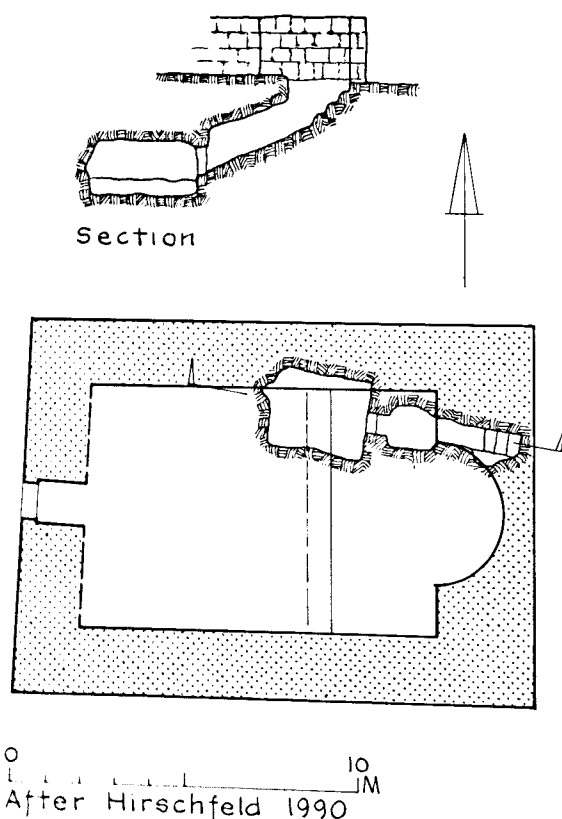
The association of Habakkuk with Tekoa is also mentioned by William of Tyre (ch. VIII, 1; xv, 6 (CCCM, LXIII, 382; 682)); and the author of the *Descriptio locorum* implies, like Daniel, that the prophet began his angelic flight from the borders (*de finibus*) of the village (IHC, II, 100).

At the end of the fifteenth century Francesco Suriano also saw in Tekoa 'the house of Habacuc turned into a little church not much larger than a cell: up to this day within and without it is paved with mosaic' (1485a: 121; 1485b: 134). In another draft of his treatise, however, Suriano reflects another tradition, which identified a ruined building at Kh. Tabaliya (q.v.), between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, as Habakkuk's church. The church east of Tekoa, however, was the one visited by Morosini with the Friars Minor in 1514 (Bagatti 1949: 134 n.1). Richard Pococke also visited a church about a mile south of Tekoa, which he was told was dedicated to St Pantaleone (1743: II, 41).

As the distances and directions given by the medieval writers who visited the church of Habakkuk are somewhat vague, it is difficult to locate it precisely. It is possible that one or other of the ruined Byzantine buildings on the edge of Tekoa (Kh. at-Tuqu'; see no. 254) could have been taken for a church. A site that corresponds well with Daniel's description, however, is Qasr 'Antar, also known as Qasr al-'Abd or Juwar al-Qasr, where remains of a small chapel have been recorded. This lies on the edge of a spur overlooking the track from the Rock of the Crosses, some 2 km south-east of Kh. at-Tuqu'. The site was investigated by M. Marcoff and D.C. Chitty in 1928–9 (1929), by V. Corbo and B. Bagatti in 1944, by Bagatti and S. Loffreda in 1968 (Bagatti 1968; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1982: 160–1 (no. 47)), and by the Archaeological Survey of Israel the same year (Kochavi 1972: 48; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 227–8 (no. 31); Hirschfeld 1985: 68–9, 13*, 40*–41* (no. 40), figs. 50–1).

Description

The church was single-celled with an inscribed east-facing apse, the nave measuring some 10.1 by 6.8 m



47 Qasr 'Antar, church (no. 183): plan.

and the apse having a diameter of 2.9 m (fig. 47). The structure survived four to five courses high, and was built in roughly dressed masonry with pinnings, set in lime mortar. The relatively thick walls (1.85 m) suggested to Bagatti that the nave may have been vaulted, rather than roofed in timber as shown in a recent reconstruction (Hirschfeld 1985: fig. 51). Bagatti's plan indicates a small semi-circular niche to either side of the apse, though one of these had gone by 1968. The plan published by the Archaeological Survey of Israel plausibly restores a door in the centre of the west wall, though no trace of it was found. The pavement appears to have been of mosaic. Beneath the northern part of the nave a rock-cut tomb chamber was discovered in 1968, reached by steps from a position just north of the apse; it seems, however, that the church's foundations covered the entrance to this cave, and that it would therefore have been inaccessible, and possibly unknown, after the church had been built.

Remains of other structures have been recorded east and north-east of the church, including an oven, part of an enclosure wall, a rectangular building and rock-cut cisterns.

Discussion

Bagatti considered the church at Qasr 'Antar to have been part of the laura of Romanus the Monophysite, which had a brief existence in the mid fifth century (Bagatti 1968). However, Hirschfeld has now shown this to be impossible (1990: 37), and has suggested that it is more likely to have been a commemorative chapel, erected over the tomb (1985: 41*; 1990: 78). It may perhaps be doubted, however, whether the existence of the tomb was known to the church's builders.

Although most commentators have assumed that the church dates from the Byzantine period, the simplicity of its plan makes precise dating difficult. If it had been vaulted, as Bagatti thought, a date after the Muslim occupation would seem likelier than one before it. However, since Daniel gives no indication as to the condition of the structure when he saw it in 1106–8, nor whether or not it was still in active use, a Byzantine date would not preclude its identification as the building that he saw.

Not visited.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), lvi (trans. Ryan, 149; de Khitrowo, 48).

Bagatti 1949: 134 n.1; 1968; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 374; Escobar 1976a: 48–9; 1976b: 14–15; Guérin 1868: III, 141; Hirschfeld 1985: 68–9, 13*, 40*–41* (no. 40), figs. 50–1; 1990: 37, 78, fig. 97; 1993c: 301–3, figs. 6–7; Kochavi 1972: 48; Marcoff and Chitty 1929: 174, pl. iv.7; Ovadia 1970: 100, no. 93; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 227–8, no. 31; 1982: 160–1, no. 47; Palestine 1948: 182; Pococke 1743: II, 41; Suriano 1485a: 121; 1485b: 134.

QATAMUN

Qatamon; Gk. *Katamonas* 1699.1296

It was claimed by T.E. Dowling (1911: 185) and R. Janin (1913: 215–16) that Vachtag, king of Georgia, established a religious house at Qatamun in 1177. Although the basis for this assertion is not explained, there is evidence that the Georgians held Qatamun at a later date.

From the late fourteenth century the site, lying between Jerusalem and 'Ain Karim, seems to have been

identified as the house of Simeon the Just (Luke 2.25–35; cf. d'Anglure 1395a: no. 153; Poloner 1422a: 246; 1422b: 18; Bagatti 1945: xlviii). Anselm Adorno also mentions a church (1470–1: 292). An addition to Francesco Suriano's *Trattato di Terra Santa* which appears in the edition by F. Bindoni, published in 1524, records that the Georgians of the Monastery of the Cross 'held for a time the church of Simeon the prophet; now they have abandoned it because the Moslems killed 19 of them and robbed the place: at present it is uninhabited' (Suriano 1485b: 146). As this passage does not appear in earlier versions of the treatise, it seems likely that the event had taken place since 1515, probably reflecting the Georgians' change in fortunes when the Ottomans took control of Palestine from the Mamluks in 1516 (cf. Abu-Manneh 1984). The church is mentioned in 1547 (Vryonis 1981: 41) and by Juan Perera some years later (1553b: 40).

In the early seventeenth century the 'house and tower' of Simeon the Old was described by Francesco Quaresmi as 'commodious and spacious enough; and although it has been pretty much consumed and destroyed by time, there are nevertheless still about ten rooms in it and a cistern in which rainwater is collected' (1626a: II, 452; 1626b: 294). An engraving of 1681 by Cornelius van Bruyn suggests a tower of L-shaped plan, standing some four storeys high with a roof vaulted in the manner of the time (1725; cf. Saller 1946: fig. 15).

When the site was acquired by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in 1859, evidence of a previous Georgian presence was attested by the discovery of an undated Georgian inscription (Peradze 1937: 227; Dowling 1911: 185). In 1881, the ruins were incorporated into a new patriarch's residence and church of St Simeon.

Such as we have it, neither the historical nor the archaeological evidence is sufficient to confirm the existence of a Georgian church on the site in the twelfth century. Even if the tower that was seen in the seventeenth century could be shown to have had a twelfth-century origin, that alone would not establish that there had been an ecclesiastical presence there at that date. In any case, a more plausible historical context for the Georgians' acquisition of the site would seem to lie in the two centuries following the agreement made between them and Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1305 (cf. Abu-Manneh 1984: 103).

Sources

Adorno 1470–1: 292; Amico 1620a: pl. XLIV.32; d'Anglure 1395a: no. 153; Bagatti 1945: xlviii; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 218ff.; van Bruyn 1725: pl.; Dowling 1911: 185;

Guérin 1868: I, 248; Hanauer 1926: 369; Hoade 1978: 342; Israel 1964: 1468; Janin 1913: 215–16; Mamalades 1961: 47; Meistermann 1936: 90; Palestine 1948: 166, 228; Peradze 1937: 227; Perera 1553b: 40; Poloner 1422b: 18; Prag 1989: 299; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 452; 1626b: 294; Saller 1946: 15, fig. 7; Suriano 1485b: 146; de Thévenot 1687: I, 198; Tobler 1853: 892–6; Vryonis 1981: 41.

al-QUBAIBA

Cr. *Kocabi*, *Parva Mahomeria*, *Ma(c)homaria Parva*, *Mahomeria*, *Mahomeriola*; Med. Hebr. *Mahomeria la Petita*

The medieval village of al-Qubaiba lay on the Roman road from Lydda to Jerusalem that passed through Barfilia, Bait Liqiya, Biddu and Bait Iksa (Avi-Yonah 1940: 43; Bagatti 1947: 95–6). Its ancient name is unknown; and although excavations in 1940–4 revealed finds from the Roman-Byzantine and early Islamic periods, the archaeological and historical evidence suggests that no major settlement existed there before the twelfth century. At the time of the Crusaders' conquest of Palestine, the site appears to have been a *khirba* forming part of the lands of Bait Suriq, a village situated some 2.5 km to the south-east along the same road (see Vol. I, no. 35).

Bait Suriq (*Bethsuric*, *Betsurie*) was one of the twenty-one villages near Jerusalem that were given by Duke Godfrey to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1099 and were confirmed to the chapter by Baldwin I in 1114 (Bresc-Bautier, 86–8, no. 26; RRH, 16–17, no. 74). When this grant was reconfirmed by Amalric I in July 1164, however, the name Bait Suriq was qualified by an additional clause reading, 'in whose territory has been founded the town (*villa*) that is called *Parva Mahomeria*' (Bresc-Bautier, 261–6, no. 135; cf. RRH, 17, no. 74n.: 105, no. 400). As Fr Abel has shown, there can be little doubt that *Parva Mahomeria* and al-Qubaiba were one and the same (1926a: 275–8; Beyer 1942: 179–80; cf. Bagatti 1947: 185–7); indeed, it is likely that al-Qubaiba, meaning 'the little dome', is no more than a subsequent rendering into Arabic of the name *Parva Mahomeria* (the small mosque) which the canons gave their new town to distinguish it from *Magna Mahomeria*, another settlement that they had established by 1124 at al-Bira, north of Jerusalem (see Vol. I, no. 66).

Parva Mahomeria evidently existed by 1159, for in

that year the lands of Gerald King (Geraudus Rex) of *Mahomeria*, or *Mahomeriola*, defined one of the boundaries of those of the deserted settlement (*gastina*) of *Bethanam* (Bait 'Anan), which lies to the north-west (de Marsy, 135, no. 16; RRH, 88, no. 338; Abel 1926a: 275–8, fig. 1). A confirmation of privileges granted to the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre by Patriarch Amalric in 1168–9 also makes it clear that *Parva Mahomaria*, like *Magna Mahomaria* and Bait Suriq itself, was a town built *de novo* by the canons and inhabited by Latins (Bresc-Bautier, 292–6, no. 150; RRH, 123–4, no. 469). Benjamin of Tudela found no Jews in *Mahomeria la Petita* when he travelled between Nabi Samwil and Bait Nuba in 1169–71 (trans. Adler, 27; cf. Abel 1926a: 278–80).

In September 1187, an advance party of Saladin's troops moving from Bait Nuba towards Jerusalem ran into a Frankish patrol at *al-Qubayba* and lost its leader, the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Sharwīn (Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, iv, 323)). The town would have been abandoned to the Muslims at about this time; and although Bait 'Anan (*Bechic Anan*), *al-Qubaiba* (*Kocabi*) and Nabi Samwil (*Bersamul*) were all returned to the Franks under the terms of the treaty made between Richard of Cornwall and the Ayyubids in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142)), they would have been lost again in 1244 (cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 283–7, 310–15).

The remains of the Frankish settlement at *al-Qubaiba* were excavated between 1861 and 1944 (see below). The town plan displays a linear development, extending for some 600 m east–west along the Roman road, with the church roughly in the centre on the south side of the street. The houses, numbering about fifty, were set end on to the street and were of south European urban type, with living areas on the first floor above vaulted undercrofts that were used as store rooms or workshops. Of the twenty-nine basements excavated, one was identified as a bakery, one contained a rotary olive-press, and almost half contained presses for olives or grapes. South of the church lie the remains of a *birka*, partly rock-cut and partly built, measuring 24.3 by 36 m and 4 m deep.

To the west of the church stood a large rectangular structure, which may be interpreted as the *curia* or administrative building of the canons' steward, similar in function to those recorded at *al-Bira* and *ar-Ram* (Pringle 1983: 160–74, fig. 6; 1985a: 151–7, 163, figs. 2–4). This measured some 67.7/68.9 m east–west by 48/49 m north–south. Its walls were 2 m thick, with a door 3.36 m wide on the east. Ranged along the north and south walls were rows of barrel-vaults, their gable ends facing on to a narrow central space or courtyard, in which there was a free-standing barrel-vaulted structure lying east–west. Although this has been interpreted

as a chapel (see below), it seems more probable that it represents the undercroft to the steward's hall, surrounded by the store-rooms into which the townsfolk's renders of rents and tithes would have been paid. (On the village see Bagatti 1947: 37–44, 68–94; Riley-Smith 1990: 40–1; Benvenisti 1970: 224–7, figs.; Langé 1965: 155, 185–6; Pringle 1985a: 163; 1997: no. 178.)

No. 184 Parish Church 1628.1386

History

The churches and parish rights of *Magna* and *Parva Mahomaria*, Bait Suriq 'and all the other towns which you are about to build, where Latins will live', were confirmed to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre by Patriarch Amalric in 1168–9 (Bresc-Bautier, 292–6, no. 150; RRH, 123–4, no. 469), and by Popes Alexander III in September 1170 (Bresc-Bautier, 297–301, no. 151; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261–5, no. 102; RRH, 124, no. 474), Lucius III in July 1182 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 298–301, no. 125) and Celestine III in February 1196 (Bresc-Bautier, 323–8, no. 170; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 350–2, no. 172; RRH, 194, no. 715). The central position occupied by the parish church and *curia* in the settlement suggests that they would have been among the first buildings to be erected when the town was laid out, sometime between the 1120s and 1159.

Although there is no indication that the church at *al-Qubaiba* was anything other than a parish church during the period of Frankish occupation, in later centuries its remains acquired a spurious Biblical association that has influenced the way in which it has been described and interpreted until well into the present century. During the course of the twelfth century, the traditional identification of the village of Emmaus, where Christ appeared to Cleopas and other disciples after His resurrection (Luke 24.13–35), migrated from 'Amwas to Abu Ghosh, nearer Jerusalem (see Vol. I, nos. 1 and 10). By the later thirteenth century, however, Christian pilgrims travelling from Ramla to Jerusalem were more likely to follow the road that passed through Bait Nuba, *al-Qubaiba* and Nabi Samwil than that through Bab al-Wad and Abu Ghosh. As a result, the site identified by Westerners as biblical Emmaus shifted its position once again. The *Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre* of c.1280, for instance, places *Emaus* between *Betynoble* (Bait Nuba) and *Montioie* (Nabi Samwil) (ch. I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229)). At this time the relocation of Emmaus on the northern route was not yet final, however, for the church of Emmaus that Ricoldus of Montecroce describes in 1289–91 (ch. VI, 20–1 (ed. Laurent, 113))

seems more likely to have been that at Abu Ghosh (*pace* Bagatti 1947: 47); quite possibly the church in al-Qubaiba had already been demolished, though positive evidence is lacking.

In the fourteenth century, pilgrims continued to describe Emmaus in terms that could apply either to al-Qubaiba or to Abu Ghosh (for the texts, see Bagatti 1947: 6–9). Three texts from the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, however, refer for the first time to the tomb of Cleopas being visible there (de Caumont 1418: 40; Bagatti 1947: 9, nos. 22c–e). As no such tradition appears to have been associated with Abu Ghosh, this suggests that they are speaking of al-Qubaiba, which during the fifteenth century came to be firmly identified as Emmaus in the minds of Western travellers, who were encouraged in this belief by the Franciscans in Jerusalem. One result of this has been the generation of a considerable body of pilgrim texts referring to the site (collected by Buselli 1886; Domenichelli 1889: 303–54; and Bagatti 1947: 9–32).

Pilgrimage accounts from the fifteenth century onwards also begin to refer to a church at al-Qubaiba, by then in ruins. One of the earliest to mention the church is Mariano of Siena, who writes:

Here the sweet Pilgrim and Master, Jesus, manifested Himself on the day of the Holy Resurrection to Cleopas and to Luke in the breaking of bread. In his own [Cleopas's] house was made a fine church; now perhaps only half of it is uncovered. (1431: 20–1; Bagatti 1947: 10, no. 23)

At about the same time a pilgrim from the Rhineland described the village of Emmaus (*castellum Emaus*) as completely devastated, but with the remains of houses and of the church still discernible (Conrady 1882: 22; Bagatti 1947: 10, no. 24). Louis de Rochechouart writes in similar terms:

From Bait Nuba (*Bethumbe*) we came through the mountains, by a rough and stony road, to the village of Emmaus (*castrum Emaus*). . . There is a church in ruins in which Cleopas was buried. The village has been completely overthrown; there are visible only the remains of the demolished church already mentioned. . . (1462: 240; Bagatti 1947: 11, no. 26)

The pilgrim Ulrich Brunner, from Haugstift in Würzburg, attributed the ruined church to St Helena (1470: 29; Bagatti 1947: 11–12, no. 28), while a French pilgrim of 1480 merely describes it as deserted (Anon. 1480: 98–9; Bagatti 1947: 13, no. 30).

Brother Felix Faber also saw the remains of 'the church of Christ's inn, whose ruins can only be traced by their foundations'. He added, however, that 'at the present day there stand here and there in the village the ruins of lofty vaulted houses, and a few people dwell there' (1480–3: 1, 278–9; Bagatti 1947: 13, no. 31; cf.

14–16, nos. 34–5). About the same time, St Brasca also noted a small church, containing the tomb of Cleopas; but the village was no longer standing (1480; Bagatti 1947: 14, no. 32). In 1508, the church was described by the Franciscan, Anselm of Cracow, as no more than 'a four-walled house, lacking a roof' (Bagatti 1947: 17, no. 41; cf. 17, no. 40). Jean Thénaud refers to it as 'a chapel of St Cleopas, whose body is in Montpellier' (1512: 117; Bagatti 1947: 17, no. 42).

Some further details of the state of the ruined church are provided by Barboni Morosini in 1514:

In this place there is a ruined church; the large chapel is still standing, that is, the east tribune with part of the side chapels; and the stone of the main altar is still lying there. (Bagatti 1947: 18, no. 43)

Francesco Suriano, who specifically identifies Emmaus with al-Qubaiba (*Chubebe*), makes an apt comparison between the ashlar-built church of Cleopas, containing his tomb, and the church at al-Bira (1485a: 20, 138, 140; 1485b: 37, 152, 154; Bagatti 1947: 18, no. 45).

Other sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century visitors provide little further detail, beyond confirming that part of the east end alone was still standing (Affagart 1533–4: 147–8; d'Aveiro 1564b: 202–3; Zvallart 1585a: 242; Kootwyk 1619: 314–16; Sandys 1615: della Valle 1616a: 539–40; cf. Bagatti 1947: 20, no. 46; 21–2, no. 52; 22, no. 54; 23, no. 55; 23, no. 56; 23–4, no. 57). In 1517, stone was taken from the ruined structures in al-Qubaiba for rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Quaresmi 1626a: II, 541; 1626b: 352; Bagatti 1947: 24–5, no. 58). However, the ruins of the church were still visible after this (cf. Antonio del Castillo 1627: 248; Stochove 1631: 403; Bagatti 1947: 25, nos. 59–60); and in 1642 Vincenzo Berdini describes the east end as still standing in part and the nave as full of thorns (Bagatti 1947: 26, no. 62).

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the process of decay seems to have continued apace. In 1652, Jean Doubdan visited al-Qubaiba as part of the annual pilgrimage led there by the Franciscans from Jerusalem on Easter Monday:

We entered the ruins of this church of Cleopas, where of the whole church there is at present only one section of large thick walls, in which there is still a door of ashlar, six or seven feet high and two-and-a-half wide, the remainder of the building being nothing more than large portions of walls thrown to the ground and reduced almost to powder. (1657: 107–14; Bagatti 1947: 26–7, no. 64)

Between 1666 and 1674, however, the Jesuit Fr Michel Nau paints a different picture:

At present not a single house there is intact. The church.

which still had some walls only seven or eight years ago, has scarcely any now. All that you see is a confusion of overturned stones, one on the other, except that beyond these ruins there is a long vaulted room in which there are some presses for making oil. (1679: 502-5; Bagatti 1947: 28, no. 66)

On 16 April 1686, the Discretorium of the Holy Land forbade Franciscans from visiting al-Qubaiba because of the difficulties and expense imposed by the Turkish authorities (Bagatti 1947: 29, no. 70; cf. Pietro Antonio da Venezia 1704: 127; Bagatti 1947: 29, no. 72). This did not prevent independent travellers from making the journey. Indeed, the Franciscan Fr Elzear Horn visited the site in 1737 for the official purpose of recording the buildings. The 'church' that he described, however, appears to have been the barrel-vaulted structure in the *curia* (see below), rather than the parish church, whose remains may by this time have virtually disappeared from view (Horn 1725-44a: 155-6; 1725-44b: 243-5; Bagatti 1947: 30, no. 74). Richard Pococke, who visited in the following year, also appears to identify the building in the *curia* as the church (1743: II, 49; Bagatti 1947: 30, no. 75).

In 1852, the annual pilgrimage to al-Qubaiba was resumed by the Franciscans, though the day was changed from Easter Monday to Easter Thursday (Bagatti 1947: 32, no. 79). In 1861, the site of the *curia*, known as *al-Dair* (the monastery), was acquired by the Marquise Pauline de Nicolay, who the following year restored the barrel-vaulted structure as a chapel and gave it to the Franciscans. Rooms for the accommodation of friars and pilgrims were added in 1873 (Bagatti 1947: 38; de Saulcy 1865: I, 89; Guérin 1868: I, 348-61).

In 1873, the Franciscans also acquired the land to the east of the *Dair*, known as *al-Kanisa* (the church), and between 1873 and 1875 excavations on this site by Captain Guillemot uncovered the foundations of the Crusader parish church (Guillemot 1875; Buselli 1886: 355-71; 1888; Mauss 1892; Viaud 1930: 25-9; Bagatti 1947: 38-9). Visitors to the excavations included Ch. Clermont-Ganneau and A. Lecomte de Noüy in 1874 (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 475-8) and the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine in May 1875 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 130-1; unpublished plan in PEF, London) (see also pl. xcvi).

Further excavations were undertaken in the area of the *curia* and to the east of the church by Fr Stanislas d'Ala in 1887-90 (Bagatti 1947: 38-40). Between 1891 and 1902, the site was also frequently visited by Fr F.H. Vincent of the École Biblique, whose observations provide a valuable corrective to those of the official investigators (1931: 72-6, pls. I-II).

In May 1902, the Franciscans obtained a *firmān* from Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II permitting them to rebuild the church at al-Qubaiba according to its ancient plan (given as measuring 31 by 20 m and 17 m high) at a cost of 600 Ottoman pounds (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: III, 850, no. 453). The rebuilding was carried out between 17 April and 12 October 1902 to the designs of Brother Vendelino of Menden, modified as necessary by Fr Barnabé Meistermann of Alsace, who also directed the work (Bagatti 1947: 61-6). Although care was taken to retain *in situ* what remained of the medieval building, some excavation was also required to secure the foundations and re-lay the pavement. This resulted in the discovery of a number of tombs around the outside of the building (Bagatti 1947: 40-1). Convent buildings and a bell-tower were added to the south side of the church in 1906-11 (Bagatti 1947: 67).

The convent was used as a hospital during the First World War, and during the Second as a place of internment for those Franciscans who were Italian nationals. This provided an opportunity, between 1940 and 1944, for completing the archaeological excavation of the *curia* and the village area west of it, using techniques of a rather more scientific nature than hitherto. The work was directed by Frs G. Leombruni, G. Pierri and D. Caputi, with the participation of B. Bagatti, who wrote the final report (Bagatti 1947: 42-4; Terra Santa 1946).

Although the church built in 1902 was intended to commemorate the site of the Emmaus of Luke 24.13-35, an identification supported not only by scholars such as C. Schick (1930), B. Meistermann (1902) and P. Viaud (1930) but also by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Jerusalem, it was demonstrated by the Dominican fathers Abel (1926a: 282-3) and Vincent (1931) that the association of al-Qubaiba with Emmaus dated from no earlier than the late thirteenth century. This view is now generally accepted, though the difficulty that it had in gaining acceptance against an entrenched official stance may be illustrated by the 1946 edition of the Franciscan guidebook, which still maintained that the excavations of 1940-3 had proved al-Qubaiba to be Biblical Emmaus (Hoade 1946: 387-S; cf. 1978: 580-1), and the extremely cautious manner in which Fr Bagatti evidently found it necessary to approach the question of the site's identification in 1947 (1947: 178-89; cf. 1979: 94-6).

Description

The church was located on the south side of the main street, its west front facing the east door of the *curia*.

What remains of the medieval structure is now overlain by the masonry of the new church, built in 1902. This poses some difficulties for interpretation; for although before the rebuilding the medieval remains were recorded by Lecomte de Noüy (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 476), the SWP (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 131), Viaud (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 478; Bagatti 1947: fig. 5), Mauss (1892: figs. 18–19) and Schick (1901a: 165; Vincent 1931: pl. v.6–8; Bagatti 1979: fig. 36), the plans that they produced are inconsistent (cf. Bagatti 1947: 48–9; Vincent 1931: pl. v). Other plans made by Meistermann (1902: opp. p. 109), Bazzocchi (1905: 109; Bagatti 1947: fig. 6), L. Thoennessen (in 1910) (Bagatti 1947: fig. 10), Enlart (1925: pl. 6, fig. 10); Viaud (1930: opp. p. 25; Bagatti 1947: fig. 7) and Vincent (1931: pls. I–II) post-date the reconstruction, though Vincent's was based on observations made between 1896 and 1899.

The first problem concerns the foundations of a rectangular building which Captain Guillemot uncovered in 1873–5 occupying the two western bays of the north aisle. This measured overall 18.25 by 8.15–9 m, with walls 1.8 m thick. The east wall, however, was partly missing, raising the possibility that there had been a door there. The interior was roughly paved with stone slabs, smaller than those in the rest of the church; and a small area of mosaic was later said to have been found, and removed without trace, towards its east end. The difference of 2° in orientation between this structure and the eastern part of the church's north wall, against which it butted, together with its smaller masonry, different mortar, and the fact that no trace could be found of the two western piers of the church's north arcade all led Guillemot, Schick, Viaud and Meistermann to think that it pre-dated the church, which had been built to incorporate it. Those who were keen to demonstrate that the church occupied the site of Biblical Emmaus readily identified the building as the house of Cleopas himself.

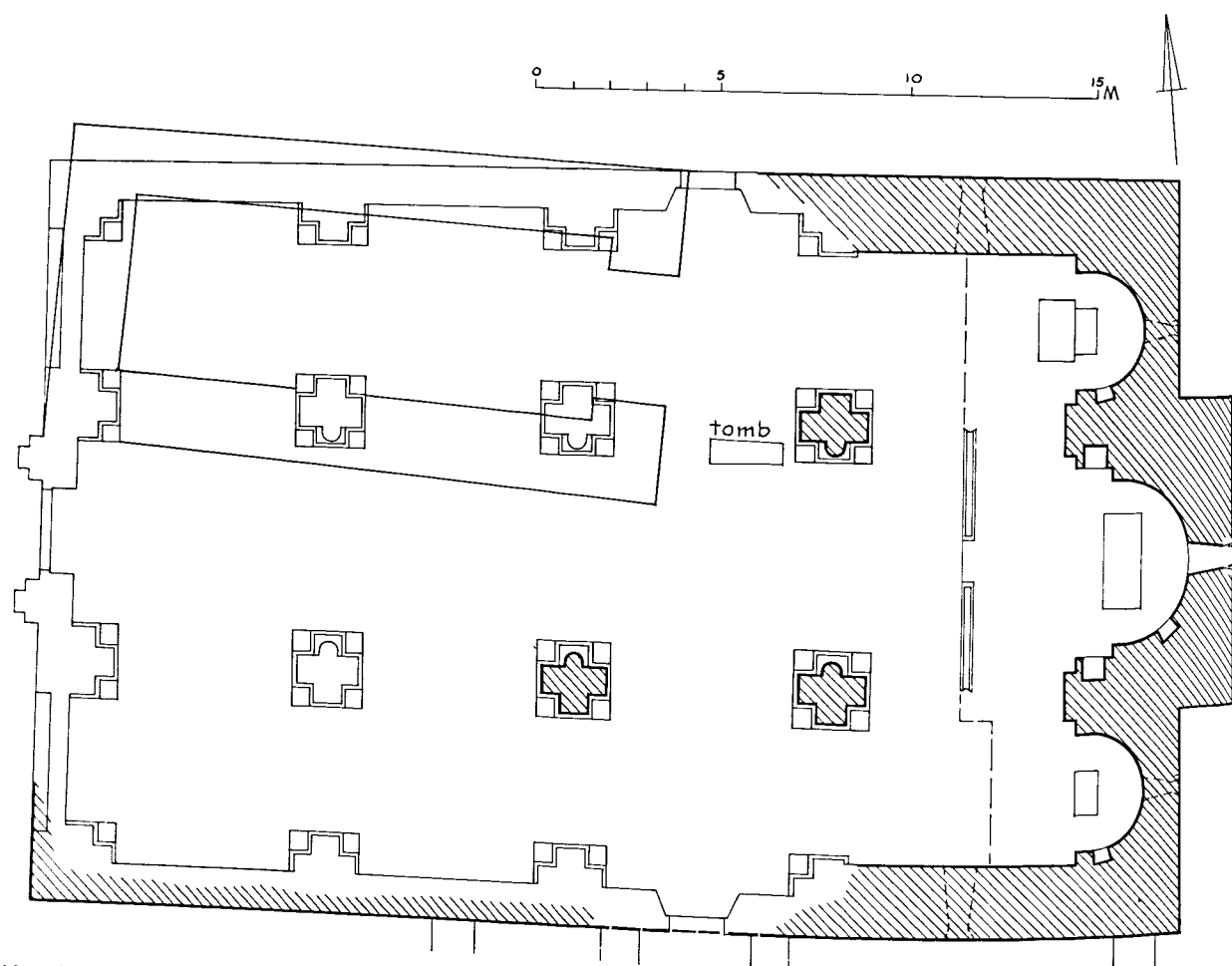
If it had really been the intention of the medieval builders to incorporate the smaller structure into the church's north-western corner, however, it seems very surprising that they should have shown such incompetence in laying out their building; as Vincent pointed out, it is perhaps significant that the restorers of 1902, including Meistermann, had no scruples about demolishing the north and west walls of the 'house' in order to rebuild the church to a regular plan. Secondly, to pose the north responds of the nave vault on such a flimsy wall would have made both structural and architectural nonsense. Vincent thirdly drew attention to the fact that there was a straight joint between the masonry of the

two structures, and that the poorer-quality masonry of the smaller structure included cut-down stones derived from the medieval church. This demonstrated very clearly that the smaller structure had been built after the three western bays of the church had been demolished to ground level (1931: 73–6, 79–91; cf. Enlart 1925: II, 328; Bagatti 1947: 53–5). Despite various claims to the contrary (cf. Bagatti 1947: 60–1), it would therefore appear that, as at al-Bira, the twelfth-century church at al-Qubaiba was built on a virgin site.

In plan the church was a three-aisled basilica of four bays, with three apses at the east end (fig. 48; pls. xcvi–xcvii). The east end and the walls for the first bay of the aisles still survive to a height of between 3.5 and 4 m, but to the west of this all that is traceable is the foundation of the south wall as far as the south-west corner. The overall dimensions would therefore appear to have been 20 m north–south and 34.3 m east–west, including a 2 m rectangular projection to accommodate the central apse. The church was built directly on the rock, which slopes down towards the west. The walls are about 2 m thick and constructed with facings of rough blocks laid in courses (44–52 cm high) with a rubble infill. Fine ashlar with characteristic twelfth-century tooling and masonry marks is used for the apses, piers, pilasters and windows, and rusticated blocks with drafted margins at the quoins.

Only the two piers that supported the western bay of the nave survive above ground level, though the spacing of the others (5 m apart) was indicated by the excavated foundations of the remaining two of the south arcade. The first two piers have bases 2.05 m square and are cruciform in plan. Above a chamfered plinth course, the side facing the nave consists of an engaged masonry column standing on a modified Attic base without fillets (pl. xcvi; cf. Vincent 1931: pl. II.2; Bagatti 1947: fig. 8.1). The other limbs of the cross are plain, but with chamfered arrises. It may reasonably be assumed that the engaged columns would have carried transverse arches across the nave, which would probably (as now restored) have been groin-vaulted with ample clear-storey windows. Vincent noticed on site the volute of a capital that might have come from one of the half-columns (1931: 74).

No trace of any responding pilasters was found in the surviving walls of the aisles; it seems likely therefore that the aisle vaulting would have been carried on corbels or have sprung directly from the wall. None of the plans drawn before 1902 (excepting that of Mauss, which is clearly idealized) indicates any aisle windows, though Vincent, who confirms that none remained *in situ*, restores them on the basis of a surviving sill as double-



48 Al-Qubaiba, church (no. 184): plan.

splayed with a daylight opening 44 cm wide (1931: 74, pl. 1; cf. Bagatti 1947: 52–3, fig. 6).

The central apse is slightly more than semi-circular in plan, the other smaller ones more markedly so. Set in each of the side walls that precedes the central apse is a rectangular aumbry, 1 m high, 0.6 m wide and 0.58 m deep, while another in the south-west side of the hemi-cycle is 0.54 m square and 0.32 m deep. Similar aumbries, 0.42 m square, exist on the south-west sides of the other two apses. Each apse had a narrow east-facing window, those of the side apses being 24 cm wide, opening to 60 cm on the inside and to 37 cm on the outside. The whole east end was raised two steps above the nave and Vincent indicates the base of a chancel screen occupying the central nave (1931: 75, pl. 1). On Schick's plan this extends across the whole church, while on Mauss's it encloses only the northern and central apse (Mauss 1892: fig. 19; cf. Vincent 1931: pl. v, 1 and 8); the reliability of these two plans, however, is questionable.

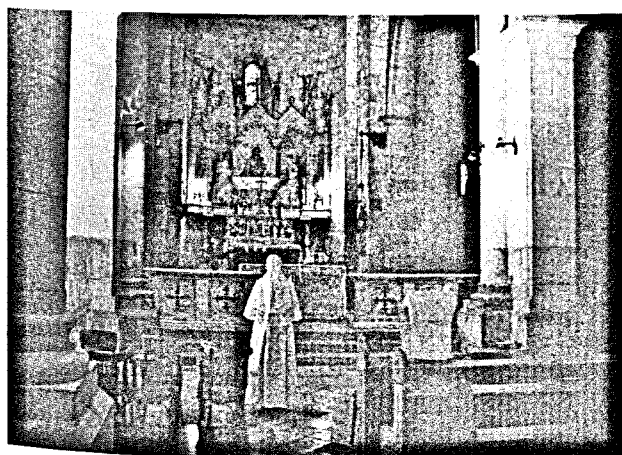
The restoration of a door in the centre of the west front is probable, though unproven; the location of others shown on some published plans is purely hypothetical (Bagatti 1947: 55; Vincent 1931: 74). Meistermann noted remains of foundations built off the rock in front of the west front, suggesting to him the possible existence of a porch or narthex (1902: 167n.; Bagatti 1947: 55).

Decoration and Furnishings

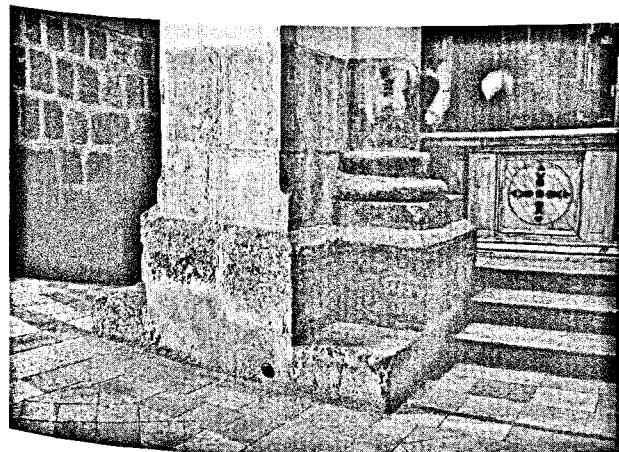
The floor of the church appears to have been paved with large stone flags (Bagatti 1947: 52). Schick and Clermont-Ganneau also allude to traces of a mosaic having been found in the area of the 'house' in the excavations of 1873–5 and removed for safety (Schick 1901a: 166; 1930: 31; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: 1, 478); however, no mention was made of this by the excavator, Captain Guillemot (cf. Vincent 1931: 90–1), and if it ever existed it is perhaps more likely to have



xcvi Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): the interior of the nave as it appeared c.1886.



xcvii Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): the east end as rebuilt in 1902.



xcviii Al-Qubaiba, parish church (no. 184): base of the first pier of the north nave arcade, from the south-west.

belonged to the twelfth-century church than to the 'house'.

At the time of the excavation the walls of the south apse still had traces of painted plaster adhering to them. Guillemot was able to distinguish 'the drapery of a garment drawn in at the waist by a cloth belt; a fragment of wing, a bust and an arm would be the remains of a picture representing the *Angelic Salutation*' (in Buselli 1886: 367; cf. Bagatti 1947: 52; Vincent 1931: 75; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: 1, 478). It is also possible that the central apse vault was decorated in mosaic, for the Marquise de Nicolay presented to the Franciscan Museum in Jerusalem a bag of turquoise, green and yellow glass tesserae, with a few in red, gold and white, set in white plaster (Bagatti 1939: 46, no. 53cd; 1947: 52).

The stone altar table from the central apse, seen by Morosini in 1514, still survives built into the present altar. It is a monolith, measuring 2.02 by 1.2 m and 0.25 m thick. The altar table from the north apse, visible in nineteenth-century photographs, seems to have disappeared, while Bagatti records a stone (1.6 by 0.6 m, 0.19 m thick) found near the north-west corner of the church that might have come from the altar in the south apse. The fragment of a marble panel, decorated on one side with low-relief colonnettes with Corinthian capitals supporting an interlace cornice and on the back with the dedicatory inscription in Greek, reading . . . ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΑΝ . . . (gift of Iōseios?), which Bagatti thought to have been a medieval altar frontal, is evidently Byzantine, though possibly reused; it is not certain, however, that it came from al-Qubaiba at all (Bagatti 1947: 55–7, pl. 6.10.1).

Other loose finds include: a marble water-stoup seen by Clermont-Ganneau in 1874 and similar to one from Bait Nuba (1896: 1, 474; cf. Vol. 1, no. 34, fig. 35); a stone reliquary box, consisting of a block of white *malaki* (28 by 28 cm, 18 cm high) with two compartments and the rebate for a lid hollowed out of it (Bagatti 1947: 57, fig. 9, pl. 5.9.10); a marble post, apparently from the chancel screen (Bagatti 1947: 57–8, pl. 5.9.11); some fragments of colonnettes and a base (Vincent 1931: 74, pl. 11.3d), possibly from the portal (Bagatti 1947: 55, fig. 8.2–3, pl. 5.9.4); and various cornice or impost mouldings (Bagatti 1947: fig. 8.4–7; Vincent 1931: pl. 11.3).

Beneath the second bay of the north arcade the excavations of 1873–5 uncovered a gabled tombstone lying east–west. This is 1.9 m long and measures 0.67 m wide at the head and 0.62 m at the foot; the gable end at the head is decorated in relief with a cross of Lorraine, while the foot has a Latin cross. The stone was lifted in April 1874, revealing a sealed coffin

containing the skeleton of a man aged about 70; his collar bone had been broken and had healed some years before his death. This tombstone seems to have been that regarded as the tomb of Cleopas by pilgrims from the end of the fourteenth century (Bagatti 1947: 58-9, fig. 8.10, pl. 2, 5.9.1; Mauss 1892: fig. 19).

Associated Tombs

In addition to the tomb inside the church, a number of inhumations of both adults and children were excavated to the east, north and south of the church in 1887-90, 1902 and 1944. These included four along the north wall of the church contained in rough stone cists cut into the rock. Some of these graves had evidently also been covered by gabled tombstones, of which another four are recorded, their ends decorated with Greek or Latin crosses, or crosses of Lorraine (Bagatti 1947: 40, 41, 59-60, fig. 8, pls. 4.8, 5.9, 10.10).

Epigraphy

A large number of masonry marks have been recorded, especially in the apses. They include the Latin letters (sometimes reversed) A, a, E, F, I, K, L, M, N, P, R, T, X, W and an arrow, cross of Lorraine and triangular figure of eight (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 131; Mauss 1892: fig. 19; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 10, 22; II, 478; Meistermann 1902: 126; Vincent 1931: 76; Bagatti 1947: 51-2; de Sandoli 1974: 246-7, no. 335; Pringle 1981a: 185, table 1).

Visited 4.2.79, 22.7.81, 25.7.81, 23.5.84, 14.9.94.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 292-6, no. 150 (1168-9); 298-301, no. 151 (1170); 325-8, no. 170 (1196); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261-5, no. 102 (1170); 298-301, no. 125 (1182); 350-2, no. 172 (1196); RRH, 123-4, no. 469 (1168-9).
Abel 1926a: 281; Adorno 1470-1: 302; Affagart 1533-4: 147-8; Angeli 1737: 123-4; Anselm of Cracow 1508; Antonio del Castillo 1637: 248; d'Aveiro 1564b: 202-3; Baedeker 1876b: 13-14; Bagatti 1947: 1-67, figs. 5-11, pls. 2-10, 42; 1979: 95-6, figs. 35-7, pl. 33; Baldi 1955a: 717-18; 1973: 161-3, fig., pl. opp. p. 144; Bazzocchi 1905: 97-115; Benvenisti 1970: 220, 225-7, 345, fig., pl.; Berdini 1642; Boase 1977: 113; Brasca 1480; Brémont 1679: II (ch. XI.II), 35; Brunner 1470: 29; Buselli 1886: 355-95; 1888: 280-1; de Caumont 1418: 40; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 22, 475-8, figs.; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 17, 130-1, fig.; Conrady 1882: 22, 206-7; Custodia di Terra Santa 1953; Domenichelli 1889; Doubdan 1657: 107-14; Enlart 1925: I, 39, 44, 47, 52, 60, 71, 74; II, 326-8, pl. 6; Faber 1480-3: I,

278-9; Guérin 1868: I, 348-61; 1874: I, 399; Guillemot 1875; Hoade 1946: 389-91; 1978: 580-4; Horn 1725-44a: 155-6; 1725-44b: 243-5; Hussein, Sciad and Gossein 1934: III, 840, no. 453; Johns 1937: 35; Kootwyk 1619: 314-16; Kühnel 1994: 24; Langé 1965: 155, 185-6, fig. 76; Mariano of Siena 1431: 20-1; Mauss 1892: 256-7, figs. 17-19; Meistermann 1902: 109-95; 1936: 438-40, fig.; Morone 1669: I, 252-4; Morosini 1514; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 275-7, fig.; Nau 1679: 502-5; Palestine 1929: 219; 1948: 153; Parmensi 1893: I, pls. 97-9; Perera 1553b: 62; Pococke 1743: II, 49; Pringle 1981a: 185ff.; 1985a: 163, fig. 7; 1993: 34; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 541; 1626b: 352; Riley-Smith 1990: 40-1; de Rochechouart 1461: 240; de Sandoli 1966; 1968: 32-44, pls.; 1974: 246-7, fig.; de Saulcy 1865: I, 89; Schick 1901a; 1901b; 1930; Smail 1973: 87; Suriano 1485a: 20, 138, 140; 1485b: 37, 152, 154; Terra Santa 1946; Thénard 1512: 117; de Thévenot 1687: I, 207; Tobler 1853: II, 538-45; della Valle 1616a: 539-40; Viaud 1930; Vincent 1931; Vincent and Abel 1932: 393-400; Zvallart 1585a: 242.

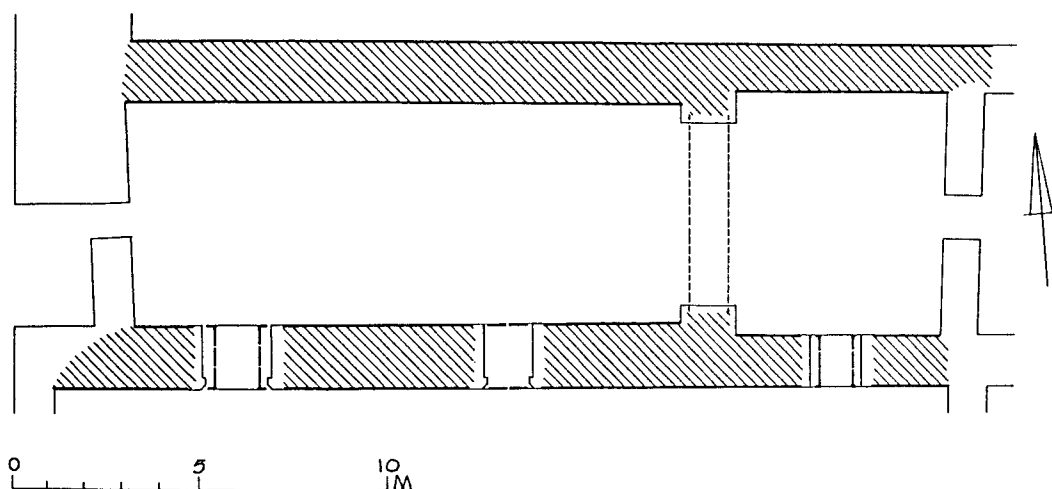
The Supposed Chapel in the Curia

In the seventeenth century it seems that pilgrims, under Franciscan guidance, began making use of a vaulted building other than the ruined church for their annual service on Easter Monday. In 1631, for example, Fr Eugène Roger writes of the 'castle':

At present it is not inhabited by anyone, although there is still enough lodging space; amongst others the same room where Our Divine Saviour made Himself known to His disciples by blessing their bread is still entire: where our religious from Jerusalem go on Easter Monday and sing the gospel . . . (1664: 189; Bagatti 1947: 26, no. 61)

This might possibly have been the 'House of Cleopas' whose remains were found occupying part of the north aisle of the church in 1873-5. The account written by the Jesuit Fr Nau a little later, however, points to another vaulted building, some distance away from the church, as being the only structure then standing. This he describes as 'a long vaulted room in which there are some presses for making oil' (1679: 502-5; Bagatti 1947: 28, no. 66). Fr Horn gives a good description of this structure, which by his day was identified as the House of Cleopas:

The aforesaid house of Cleophas was of old converted into a beautiful church by the Christians. . . But in our sad days Emmaus . . . is almost completely levelled to the ground by the Turks, and reduced to a miserable little village, inhabited by a few unbelievers; from which the aforesaid church is about a bowshot away (in between are ruins of many houses); now it is almost a complete ruin; it measures in length 118 feet and in width 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In the centre there stands a complete round baptistery, made from one stone in the Greek fashion, in height 2 feet, in depth 1 foot and in thickness at the top $\frac{1}{2}$ foot; its diameter is 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet . . .



49 Al-Qubaiba, hall: plan.

On the south the Church has two doors and near them three small windows; the walls on the east and west have completely collapsed. (1725-44a: 155-6; 1725-44b: 243-5; Bagatti 1947: 30, no. 74)

Horn's account is echoed by that of Richard Pococke:

The church was on the spot where the house of Cleophas stood . . . it is a long building, and there is a fine large vase in it of white stone, or marble, which doubtless was a font. The church stands in a large area, encompassed with a wall, and has on the north side of it, a pile of buildings, arched over. . . (1743: II, 49; Bagatti 1947: 30, no. 75)

These descriptions allow the supposed house of Cleophas to be identified with the large vaulted building of Crusader date that occupies the centre of the *curia*. The same building was made into a chapel when the Franciscans acquired the site in 1861-2 (see fig. 49). It measures some 22 by 5.8 m internally, though the end walls are modern. The interior is divided into two unequal parts by a transverse arch, 5.7 m from the east wall. The eastern part, which is now groin-vaulted and serves as the sanctuary, has thinner walls than the rest of the structure (1.2 m as opposed to 1.7 m), though on the exterior the masonry appears to be homogeneous. The original openings in the south wall have all now been reformed.

Bagatti lists four reasons for identifying the room as the chapel of the 'castle' or *curia*: its orientation; the discovery in it during excavation of two twelfth-century tombstones; the fact that such a room would easily lend itself to use as a chapel; and Horn's description of a baptismal font (Bagatti 1947: 91-2). The orientation, however, may simply be fortuitous, or the result of the constraints of the site on which it was built, inside the *curia*. The tombstones were found by the Marquise de

Nicolay, by her own account (cf. Bagatti 1947: 38), during the removal of later material that had accumulated inside the room; they do not appear to have been associated with graves. There is thirdly nothing suggestive about the form of the room, and the lack of any evidence for an apse makes its interpretation as a chapel highly suspect in the context of twelfth-century Palestine. Fourthly, the dimensions of the 'font' given by Horn suggest rather a part of an olive-press.

More plausible is M. Benvenisti's suggestion that the building was the hall of the steward appointed by the canons to run their estate (1970: 227). In the *curiae* at ar-Ram and al-Bira, the steward's residence seems to have consisted of a spacious hall or solar located on the first floor of a tower (see Pringle 1994b: 337, 342, table). At al-Qubaiba, as in other Frankish hall-houses (cf. Pringle 1994b: 342), the hall itself would also probably have been located on the first floor, with what is now the chapel being no more than an undercroft. Although the floor area may appear at first somewhat larger than that of the halls at ar-Ram (73 m²) and al-Bira (98 m²), if allowance is made for the division of the first-floor space into a hall and chamber, as seems to be implied by the division still evident in the basement, the size turns out to be closely comparable: 84 m² for the hall and 37 m² for the chamber.

Visited 22.7.81.

Sources

Bagatti 1947: 38, 88-9, 91-2, pl. 42; 1979: 95; Benvenisti 1970: 225, 227; Enlart 1925: II, 326; Horn 1725-44a: 155-6; 1725-44b: 243-5; Pococke 1743: II, 49; de Sandoli 1968: 49-50, photo.

RABA

Kh. Rabin 1864.1992

In 1872, the Survey of Western Palestine recorded the remains of a building west of the village, which appeared to be a chapel. Its internal length was 4.3 m including an apse with a diameter of 1.6 m; the walls were 1.5 m thick and built of large smooth ashlar with a core of rubble in soft white mortar. Although the Survey also reported on the remains of two towers north-west (Qasr ash-Shaikh Raba) and north-east of the village respectively, built with drafted masonry suggestive of Crusading work, the dating of these buildings remains unverified. Nor is it certain whether the apsed building was indeed a chapel, since its orientation was N19°E. The site has since been extensively excavated for building materials, and no trace now remains of either towers or 'chapel'.

Visited 10.6.81.

Sources

Abel 1967: II, 425; Bagatti 1979: 72–3; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 243–4; Palestine 1929: 220; 1948: 74.

RACHEL'S TOMB

Qubbat Rahil; Cr. Sepulcre Rahel, Sepulchrum Rachel(is), Kabrata, Chabrata; Gk. Rachel tafos; Hebr. Qever Rahel 1691.1251

According to Genesis 35.16–20, Jacob's wife, Rachel, died while giving birth to Benjamin on the way from Bethel to Ephrath, or Bethlehem. She was buried where she died, and Jacob set up a pillar over her grave, 'the pillar of Rachel's tomb, which is there to this day' (RSV).

From the early fourth century, Rachel's Tomb was shown beside the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, at the point where the road to Bethlehem diverged from it (Jerome, *Epist.*, cviii, 10, 1 (CSEL, LV, 316; trans. Wilkinson, 49); *Commen. in Jeremiam*, VI (31.15) (PL, xxiv, 877); *Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 45, lines 1–3)). Abbot Adomnán (c.685) quotes Bishop Arculf's words directly on this point:

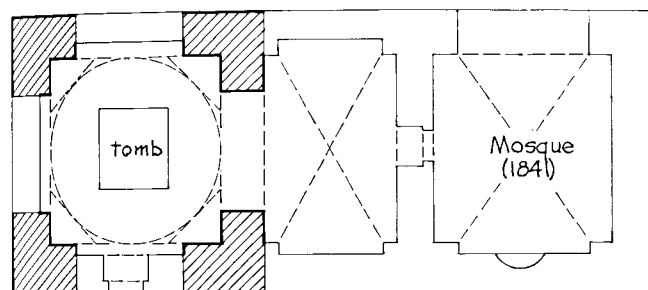
Rachel's Tomb is . . . on your right as you go towards Hebron. It is of poor workmanship, unadorned, and protected by a stone rail. Today they point out an inscription giving her name, which Jacob her husband erected over it. (ch. II, 7, 1–4 (CCSL, CLXXV, 208–9; trans. Wilkinson, 105))

The inscription giving Rachel's name is also mentioned by Bede in 702–3 (ch. VII, 4 (CCSL, CLXXV, 265)) and possibly by Jacinthus around 750 (ch. VIII (ed. Wilkinson, 205; cf. trans. 123)). Although early accounts imply that the tomb was in the open air, the liturgical commemorations that are recorded by the Jerusalem Lectionary suggest that there would have been some sort of chapel or altar at the site (cf. Petrozzi 1971: 143; Wilkinson 1977: 168).

In the period of the Latin Kingdom, pilgrim writers who mention the tomb usually do so in terms derived from earlier accounts, including Genesis itself. However, some texts also describe the grave as being covered by twelve stones set up by Jacob to represent his twelve sons (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxxiv (IHC, II, 100); Fretellus (1137), XLIX (ed. Boeren, 30); Anon. VI (1148), 8 (IHC, III, 68); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 998); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 86); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxii (CCCM, cxxxix, 179)).

Around the mid twelfth century there seems to have been a further structural addition, for in 1154 al-Idrisi writes, 'The tomb is covered by twelve stones, and above it is a dome vaulted over with stone' (trans. Le Strange, 34; cf. Le Strange 1890: 299; Marmardji 1951: 163). This is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71), who although mentioning only eleven stones on the grave, continues, 'Upon it is a cupola resting on four columns, and all the Jews that pass by carve their names upon the stones of the pillar' (trans. Adler, 25). Another Jewish traveller of this period, Rabbi Petahya of Regensburg (1174–87), explains that the eleven stones represented the tribes of Israel, excluding Benjamin, since Rachel had died while giving birth to him. All were of marble, with that of Jacob on top. However, this latter stone 'the Christian priests (*kōmarīm*) took away a distance of a mile and built into a building of idolatry [i.e. a church, possibly St Elias, **no. 202**], but next day they found it on the tomb [of Rachel] as before' (ed. Grünhut, 32; trans. Prawer 1988: 211; cf. 209). The Greek John Phocas also speaks in 1185 of 'a building roofed with a four-arched vault', or, as Aubrey Stewart translates his words, with 'a vault supported on four arches' (ch. xxvii (PG, cxxxiii, 956; PPTS, v, 31)).

While it would appear that this domed structure had been built during the period of Frankish occupation,



0 5 10 m
After Pease 1995 (sketch survey)

50 Rachel's Tomb: sketch plan.

most likely by Christians rather than by Jews or Muslims, it is not clear who was responsible for it. Nor is the date of the pillar or cenotaph that it enclosed very certain, except that it must have been considered ancient even in the twelfth century if the twelve (or eleven) stones from which it was made were seriously thought to have been placed there by Jacob.

In the fourteenth century, Antony of Cremona marvelled at the cenotaph's construction, calling it

the most wonderful tomb that I shall ever see. I do not think that with 20 pairs of oxen it would be possible to extract one of the stones that are there, nor even budge one. (1330: 160)

Nicolas of Poggibonsi describes the cenotaph as 7 feet high, and the tomb that enclosed it as rounded and with three gates, suggesting that perhaps one of the openings had by this time been filled in (1346–50: 58; Baldi 1955a: 128, no. 144.2).

In the fifteenth century, if not before, the tomb was appropriated by the Muslims, and the Russian deacon Zozimos, who travelled in 1419–21, describes it as a mosque (1421: 217; cf. Poloner 1422b: 18). The structure was also rebuilt at this time. According to Jars al-Din Khalil Ibn Shāhīn al-Dhāhirī, who wrote a geographical guide in 1467, his own father was responsible for the construction at Rachel's Tomb of a cupola, a cistern and a public drinking fountain (Marmardji 1951: 35). The Muslim rebuilding of the 'dome on four columns' is also attested by Francesco Suriano (1485b: 132; Baldi 1955a: 146, no. 151.2); and it seems that this would have been the domed structure described by Mujir al-Din (1494–5: 202; Marmardji 1951: 163). In the same period Felix Faber describes the cenotaph as 'a lofty pyramid, built of squared and polished white stone';

he also observed, 'By the side of this chapel the Saracens have made a trough to put drinking water in' (1480–3: I, 547; cf. Baldi 1955a: 139, no. 150.3).

A century later, around 1596, Bernardino Amico described the tomb as 'complete, as if it had been made only today'. He was prevented by the Muslim guardians from measuring it, but provides an illustration showing a dome supported on four open arches above the stone cenotaph, with a stone drinking trough beneath a small arch to one side (1620a: 14–15, pl. x). Francesco Quaresmi concluded on the basis of his own observations and conversations with local people that the structure had fallen down and had been rebuilt a number of times over the years. He also noted:

On the face of the chapel towards the road certain letters are incised on the stone, but of which particular language of the orientals I have not been able to determine. There is a cistern near by, and many tombs of the Moors round about. (1626a: II, 462; 1626b: 298–300)

In the eighteenth century some more structural alterations were recorded by Richard Pococke:

it is a dome, supported on arches, which have been lately filled up to hinder the Jews from going into it; the Turks are fond of being buried near it, which has raised the ground . . . (1743: II, 39)

In 1841 the tomb was acquired by Sir Moses Montefiore, who added a vaulted vestibule on the east for the Muslims to pray in. Photographs from 1867 onwards show the domed aedicule thus, with its arches walled up and the drinking trough located against its north-east pier (Schiller 1980: 164–5). Further restoration has been carried out since 1967 (Baldi 1973: 126–7; Hoade 1978: 377–8; Prag 1989: 312).

The present building is about 7 m square, with a walled up arch, 3.5 m wide and 6.5 m high, on each side (fig. 50). Surmounting it is a dome carried on a low octagonal drum supported on squinches. Although it is often claimed as a Crusader structure (e.g. Hoade 1978: 378; Prag 1989: 312) and although it appears to have the same general form as the building constructed in the twelfth century, it is doubtful whether any part of the existing structure dates from earlier than the fifteenth century.

Visited 1.5.95.

Sources

Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (IHC, III, 14; trans. Wilkinson, 241); Anon. V (1180s), I, 11 (IHC, III, 32; PPTS, VI, 26); Anon. VI (1148), 8 (IHC, III, 68; PPTS, VI, 63); Anon. VII (c.1160), 6 (IHC, III, 80; PPTS, VI, 74; trans. Wilkinson 236); Anon. IX

(1175), 5 (IHC, III, 94); Anon. x (1250–) (IHC, III, 104); Anon. Graecus (1187–), xv (PG, CXXXIII, 989); Aymar the Monk (1199), xi (IHC, III, 186); Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71) (ed. Adler, 40; trans. 25); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), ix, 10 (ed. Laurent, 78; IHC, IV, 196); *Chemins et pèlerinages*, A (–1265), III, 15; B (1268), II, 14 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 186; 196); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin) (1261), x (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 170); Daniel (1106–8), XLV, LIII (trans. Ryan 143, 147; de Khitrowo, 38, 45); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), XXXIV (IHC, II, 100; PPTS, v, 36); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, CXXXIII, 998); Fretellus (1137), XLIX (ed. Boeren, 30); al-Harawī (c.1171) (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 69); *Hec sunt peregrinationes* (thirteenth century), VII (IHC, IV, 338); Hugh of St Victor (1135), IV (IHC, II, 162); al-Idrisī (1154), III, 5 (trans. Jaubert, I, 345; Le Strange, 34); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 86); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227) (IHC, IV, 390); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), XII (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 98); *Pelerinages... de Acre* (c.1280), VI (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 232); Petahya of Regensburg (1175–87) (ed. Grünhut, 32); Peter the Deacon (1137), x (IHC, II, 184; CCSL, CLXXV, 265); Philip of Savona (1283), CXXXIX (IHC, IV, 236); Phocas (1185), XXVII (PG, CXXXIII, 956; PPTS, v, 31; trans. Wilkinson, 332); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), IV, 66–7 (ed. Laurent, 110; IHC, IV, 268); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), XVI (XII) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 1046); Theodoric (1169–72), CXXXII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 179; PPTS, v, 51); Thietmar (1217), VIII, 29–30 (ed. Laurent, 28).

Abel 1967: II, 425–6; Adorno 1470–1: 284–6; Amico 1620a: 14–15, pls. x, XLIV.56; Antony of Cremona 1330: 160; Baedeker 1876b: 136–7; Baldi 1955a: 119–49; 1973: 126–7; Bartlett 1847: 204; Basil 1466: 251; Ben-Arieh 1979: 44; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 192; van Bruyn 1725: II, 231; Buckingham 1822: II, 332, pl.; de Caumont 1418: 46; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 54, 129–30, pl.; Faber 1480–3: I, 546–7; II, 196; Frescobaldi 1384: 70; Gucci 1384: 126; Guide Bleu 1932: 607; 1979a: 263; 1981: 608; Hanauer 1926: 374–5, pl. 204; Hoade 1946: 291–2; 1978: 377–8; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 50; James of Verona 1335: 222; Le Strange 1890: 299; Lombardi 1971: 100–18, figs. 25–8; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 350; Mandeville c.1356–66: 164; Marmardji 1951: 35, 163, 166; de Martoni 1395: 612; Maundrell 1697a: 456; 1697b: 117; Meistermann 1936: 304; Mujir al-Din 1494–5: 202; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 58; Oderic of Friuli 1330: 153; Palestine 1929: 220; 1948: 168; Perera 1553b: 33, 69; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 366; Petrozzi 1971: 141–4, fig. 53; Pococke 1743: II, 39; Poloner 1422b: 18; Porter 1887: 114–15, fig.; Posniakov 1561: 332n.; Prag 1989: 312; Praver 1988: 131 n.5, 173, 185–6, 209, 211; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 462; 1626b: 298–300; de Rochechouart 1461: 259; Schiller 1980: 164–5 (photos 1862–87); Sigoli 1384: 191; Suriano 1485a: 119; 1485b: 132; Thomson 1876: 644–5; Tobler 1853: II, 782–92; Wilkinson 1977: 168; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 55, 79; Wilson 1880a: I, 122–3, fig. p. 126; 1880b: III, 2–3, fig. p. 6; Zozimos 1421: 217.

RAFIDIYA

No. 185 Church (of St George ?) (?)1724.1811

Description and Discussion

Travelling through Rafidiya in the 1870s Victor Guérin observed

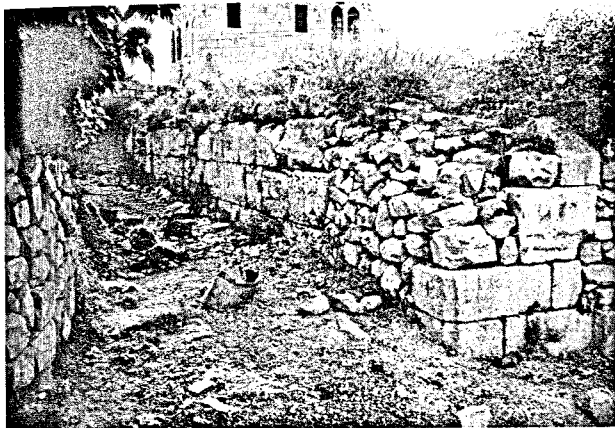
the remains of a former church, today divided into ten or so rooms... inhabited by a number of families. This church, oriented from west to east and formerly dedicated to St George, had slightly pointed vaults. The materials used in its construction are generally fairly regular; some blocks are cut with a boss.

Guérin also noted a long semi-circular barrel-vault, the more regular construction of which suggested to him a date earlier than that of the church (1874: II, 182).

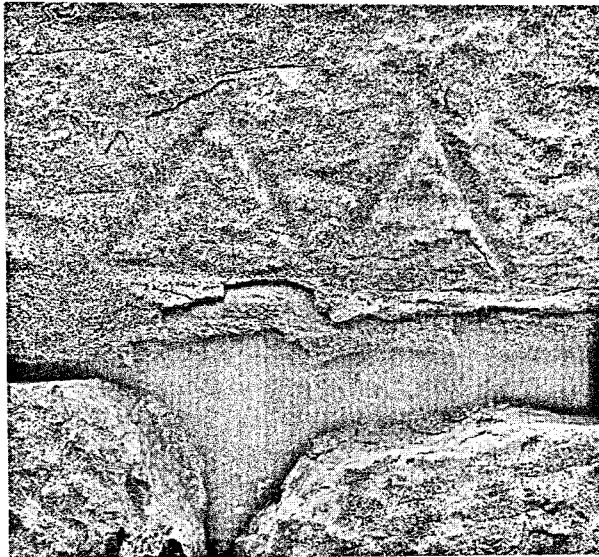
Although the Department of Antiquities files record 'Remains of church with three apses', besides medieval buildings in the village (Palestine 1948: 66), it is no longer possible to identify with any certainty the church that Guérin saw. A number of buildings in the village incorporate sections of early walling in fine ashlar.

The principal such structure is a wall which runs some 16 m east-west, is 2.03 m thick and survives three courses above ground (course heights 36–55 cm) (pl. XCIX). It is built of large limestone blocks dressed with a point, though on some the edges have been dressed with a chisel. Two blocks have masonry marks corresponding generally to types 28–22 (or 28–23, 29–1) and 3–16 (pls. c–c1); and Fr Bagatti also noted on another fragment of walling to the north another mark consisting of a flag displaying a cross (1979: 59, pl. 17; de Sandoli 1974: 274). The east end of the surviving wall terminates with the east jamb and reveal of a door facing north; the outer arris of the door-post is decorated with an angle roll, while the inner arris of the door-passage has instead a hollow chamfer. Only one voussoir of the rear-arch survives; but while this does at least show that it was arched (as no doubt was the door), the profile is unknown. The tooling on the remaining jamb stone suggests that it was reshaped for that purpose by chisel (leaving diagonal tooling marks) from a regular point-dressed block similar to the others in the wall.

Bagatti and others have identified this wall as Frankish largely on account of its masonry marks and style of masonry. As with the other fragments of ashlar walling surviving near by in house basements, however, the character of the dressing is not diagnostically Frankish and might be of any date from Roman to Mamluk. Nor are the masonry marks unequivocally of Frankish type. More telling perhaps is the doorway with its angle roll



xcix Rafidiya: wall in village, running east-west with remains of a doorway at its east end (to the right).



ci Rafidiya: masonry mark (3-16) on a wall in the village.

Sources

Bagatti 1979: 58-9, pl. 17; Guérin 1874: II, 182; Kochavi 1972: 164 (no. 7); Palestine 1929: 221; 1948: 66; Petrozzi 1973: 266-7, fig. 95; de Sandoli 1974: 274 (no. 369), fig. 107.

ar-RAM

Cr. Aram, Haram, Rama, Ramatha, Ramitta, Ramathes

Ar-Ram (*Aram*) was one of twenty-one villages given by Duke Godfrey to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1099 and confirmed to the chapter by Baldwin I in 1114 (Bresc-Bautier, 86-8, no. 26; *RRH*, 16-17, no. 74). In subsequent confirmations of this grant by Baldwin III in July 1155 and July 1160 (Bresc-Bautier, 115-19, no. 42; 123-7, no. 45) and by Amalric I in July 1164 (Bresc-Bautier, 261-6, no. 135), the village is also referred to by the Arabic form of its name, ar-Ram (*Aram, Haram*), meaning 'the hill' or 'high place'. Other documents, however, refer to it as 'Ramatha', the Aramaic or Syriac equivalent of the same name. A papal confirmation of 1140, for example, lists the village as *Ramitta* (Bresc-Bautier, 54-8, no. 12; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 172-4, no. 52); and around 1161 the *prud'hommes* of Jerusalem settled a dispute



c Rafidiya: masonry mark (28-22) on a wall in the village.

and hollow chamfer, both consistent with Romanesque work. It seems very likely therefore that the wall does indeed belong to a Frankish building, though it may well have been built with masonry derived from an earlier structure. It also seems very likely that Guérin's church, with its pointed vaulting, was medieval in date. Although there is therefore a strong likelihood that a church of the Frankish period once stood in Rafidiya, associated perhaps with other vaulted structures, further archaeological investigation will be required to determine how, if at all, it should be related to the fragments of walling visible at present in the village.

Visited 10.6.81.

concerning the boundary between the lands of the canons at *Ramatha* and those of the Jacobite monks of St Mary Magdalene (Jerusalem) in the neighbouring village of *Hadessa* (Kh. 'Adasa: 1727.1372) (Bresc-Bautier, 257–8, no. 131; RRH, 96, no. 365; cf. Pringle 1997: no. 6).

The continued use of the Syriac name for ar-Ram in this period may well have been due to the fact that the majority, perhaps all, of its inhabitants were Christian. Twenty-seven Syrian inhabitants of *Ramatha*, or *Ramathes*, are mentioned between 1150 and 1152; all of these have Greek or Semitic names that are consistent with their being identified as Christians (e.g. Cosmas, Theodros, Petros, Georgius, Jacob, Brahim, Ysaac, Helias), while none has a name that could only be Muslim (Bresc-Bautier, 103–5, no. 36; 111–12, no. 40; 119–21, no. 43; RRH, 70–1, no. 278; 92, no. 353).

By 1160 it seems that the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had established a new town (*nova villa*) below the village of ar-Ram (*infra casale nostrum de Ramathes*), similar to the one that they had set up in the 1120s in al-Bira (*Magna Mahumeria*: see Vol. 1, no. 66). A charter issued by the prior and canons on 25 March of that year sets out the terms on which three new settlers were to be given house plots and lands, in return for an annual payment of a proportion of the produce as well as tithes. The lands and house plots were to be designated by the canons' steward, Peter of the Sepulchre, and the annual payments of grapes, olives, corn and vegetables were to be made to the canons' grange, referred to as 'our vaults of the New Town' (*voltas nostras de Nova Villa*). The settlers were also allowed the use of an oven, mill and other customary rights, 'according to the usage of al-Bira' (*secundum Mahumerie usum*) (Bresc-Bautier, 252–3, no. 126; RRH, 90, no. 346; cf. Prawer 1980: 132–4; Pringle 1983a: 161).

After the Franks' abandonment of the area in 1187, wine production seems to have continued at least until the late fifteenth century. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, corn crops predominated and all the village's inhabitants were Muslim (Pringle 1983a: 161–2).

Occupying the centre of the village on the top of the hill stand the ruins of a large tower enclosed by vaulted ranges, one of which contains the remains of a winepress. These structures appear to represent the remains of the residence of the canons' steward and the vaults to which the inhabitants were obliged to bring their renders of produce in the twelfth century (see Pringle 1983a: 165–74, figs. 6–7, pls. xviiiB–xxib; 1997: no. 187).

No. 186 Parish Church (?) 1721.1402

History

In 1168–9, Patriarch Amalric confirmed to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre the churches and parish rights of *Magna* and *Parva Mahomaria*, Bait Suriq 'and all the other towns which you are about to build, where Latins will live' (Bresc-Bautier, 292–6, no. 150; RRH, 123–4, no. 469). Papal confirmations were issued in the same terms by Alexander III in September 1170 (Bresc-Bautier, 297–301, no. 151; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261–5, no. 102; RRH, 124, no. 474), Lucius III in July 1182 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 298–301, no. 125), and Celestine III in February 1196 (Bresc-Bautier, 323–8, no. 170; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 350–2, no. 172; RRH, 194, no. 715). Although it is not specifically named, it may be assumed that the canons' right to establish a church with full parish jurisdiction applied equally to their new town at ar-Ram, established according to the customs of *Mahumeria* by 1160.

Description

E. Robinson was among the first to recognize that the mosque in ar-Ram had been built on the site of a church (1841: II, 315). The same conclusion was reached by V. Guérin, who noted downhill from the tower

a mosque, replacing a former Christian church, of which it occupies the choir; the inhabitants venerate there the memory of Shaykh Hasen. The columns of this sanctuary come from the church. (1874: I, 200)

More details are given by the Survey of Western Palestine:

The remains of the north aisle, 6 feet 8 inches [2.03 m] wide, are marked by four columns 2 feet [0.61 m] in diameter. The chamber of the saint's tomb occupies part of the nave, and into its north wall the lintel of the old door is built, a stone 10 feet [3.05 m] long, half of which is visible . . . In the courtyard east of this chamber is an old well of good water and a fine mulberry-tree. In the west wall of the Mukâm other stones, with discs in low relief, are built in. (1881: III, 155)

The old mosque, more recently used as a school, stands just to the east of a more modern mosque building, and west of the complex of Frankish buildings on the hilltop. Unfortunately the building has been rebuilt since the 1880s (cf. Wilson 1880a: I, pl. p. 214; 1880b: III, pl. p. 94), though the courtyard, tree and cistern are still apparent. Dispersed throughout the courtyard and the rest of the village is a range of architectural *spolia*, evidently derived from a church building of the fourth to seventh centuries. These include various column-drums, some decorated with

equal-arm crosses in a Herculean knot, fragments of a chancel post and screen, and a broken hexagonally shaped stone (overall c.1 m across, sides 0.60 m, height 0.44 m) with a circular opening (diameter 0.60 m) which now serves as the cistern head but may originally have been part of a baptismal font (Pringle 1983a: 163, 169, fig. 8, pl. xxIIa).

Discussion

Given that the indigenous inhabitants of ar-Ram in the twelfth century were Christian, it appears very probable that the Byzantine church whose site was later occupied by the *maqām* of Shaykh Hasayn would have been either in use or restored in that period. The fact that none of the Byzantine ecclesiastical *spolia* at present littering the village is built into walls of the Frankish period is at least consistent with the idea that the destruction of the building may only have taken place at a later date. The dimensions of the church, however, would have been modest and its architecture old-fashioned by the twelfth century; it remains possible therefore that the canons of the Holy Sepulchre would have constructed another, more up-to-date church building along the lines of those at al-Bira (Vol. I, no. 66) and al-Qubaiba (no. 184) for the use of the Latin settlers in the new town. The location of such a building, however, as of the village houses themselves, remains unknown.

Visited 24.11.81, 30.1.82, 8.2.82, 29.6.82.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 292-6, no. 150 (1168-9); 298-301, no. 151 (1170); 325-8, no. 170 (1196); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261-5, no. 102 (1170); 298-301, no. 125 (1182); 350-52, no. 172 (1196); RRH, 123-4, no. 469 (1168-9).

Conder 1881: 196; Conder and Kitchenner 1881: III, 155; Geikie 1887: II, 171; Guérin 1874: I, 200; Meistermann 1936: 490; Pringle 1983a: 163, 169, 174, fig. 8, pl. xxIIa; Robinson 1841: II, 315; Wilson 1880a: I, 218, pl. p. 214; 1880b: III, 98, pl. p. 94.

In 1106-7, the Russian Abbot Daniel took advantage of the protection offered by Baldwin I's expedition against the ruler of Damascus to visit the various holy places situated along the way between Jerusalem and Tiberias (ch. LXXI (trans. Ryan, 154-5)). While the army was encamped around Jacob's Well, near Nablus, the abbot was able to visit Sebaste and, four versts from there, a village which he identifies as Arimathea (*Rimatha*)

where there are the tombs of St Joseph and St Maleleil [Gamaliel]. And it is a small town in the hills to the west above *Samaria* [Nablus]. A fine square church has been built above the tomb of St Joseph, and this place is called Arimathea. (ch. LXXIV (trans. Ryan, 156))

Arimathea was more usually, and correctly, identified with Rantis, where later in the twelfth century an abbey church of St Joseph was to be erected by the Premonstratensians (no. 190); but other candidates for Arimathea existed among the numerous Palestinian place-names derived from the root *rām*, meaning a 'high place' (cf. Pringle 1983a: 161 n.110). It seems very possible therefore that the church west of Nablus, which Daniel seems to have seen for himself, was indeed identified by local Christians as the burial place of Joseph of Arimathea (cf. Wilkinson 1977: 150). The likeliest location for it would be at Ramain (which represents simply the dual form of *rām*).

Sources

Daniel (1106-8), LXXIV (trans Ryan, 156; de Khitrowo, 58).

Beyer 1940: 192.

RAMLA

Cr. *Rama*, *Ramatha*, *Ramelie*, *Rames*, *Ramle*, *Ramola*, *Ramula*

The city of Ramla was founded by Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik while he was governor of *Filastīn* before succeeding his brother al-Walid as caliph in 715. The city's name not only reflected the sandy terrain in which it was built (*raml* being the Arabic for 'sand'), but also underlined the fact that it was, like other early Muslim foundations, including Fustat, Qairawan and Baghdad, a new city built on a virgin site. If it had a Byzantine antecedent, that would have been Diospolis, or Lydda, located 4 km to the north, whose mostly Christian

RAMAIN

Med. Rus. *Rimatha*

No. 187 Church of St Joseph of Arimathea (?)164.187

inhabitants Sulaymān forcibly removed to populate his new capital.

The construction of the new city was supervised by a Christian, al-Batriq Ibn al-Nakā (or al-Bakā). The first structures to be erected included a fortress-palace (*qasr*) and a building called the 'House of the Dyers' (*dār al-sabbāghin*), which contained a large cistern. The city's water supply was from an aqueduct and from wells. Sulaymān also began building a mosque, which was completed to a reduced plan by Caliph 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (717–20). The demise of Christian Lydda at the expense of Umayyad Ramla is emphasized in the foundation accounts by two stories in which al-Batriq threatened to destroy Lydda's church (see **no. 137**): in the first, because the priest refused to give up a piece of land on which al-Batriq wished to build a house; and in the second, in order to reuse the church's columns in building the new Friday mosque (Gil 1992: 104–7; Honigman 1936: 115–16; 1994: 423; Le Strange 1890: 303–8; Marmardji 1951: 81–6; Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923: 56–9).

In the version of the second story given by al-Muqaddasī (c.985), the events are transferred to the reign of the caliph Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (724–43), to whom al-Muqaddasī attributes the construction of the mosque and of its minaret. Al-Muqaddasī would have seen this mosque, which he is the first to identify as the White Mosque. He writes, 'The floor of the covered portion . . . is paved with marble, and the court with cut stone. The doors of the covered part are made of cypress wood and cedar.' Another manuscript adds, 'It is a construction . . . erected on beautiful columns of white marble, and panelled likewise with marble' (Creswell 1969: II, 482–3; cf. Marmardji 1951: 82–3; Le Strange 1890: 305). Though al-Muqaddasī praises Ramla for the fertility of its surroundings and describes its town gates, markets, khans, baths and stone-built houses, he was aware of the problems caused by the city's location, in particular the shortage of water and the tendency for it to be dusty in summer and muddy in winter (*PPTS*, III, 33–4; Le Strange 1890: 304–6; Marmardji 1951: 82–3).

The town walls were rebuilt around 1029 (Gil 1992: 398). But a severe earthquake on 5 December 1033, followed by a succession of shocks which continued into January 1034, destroyed a third of the city and damaged the town walls and the mosque (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 227; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 268; Gil 1992: 399–400).

The city's recovery from this disaster appears to have been rapid, for in March 1047 the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw describes Ramla as 'a great city, with

strong walls built of stone, mortared, of great height and thickness, with iron gates opening therein'. The Friday mosque had been restored, and over one of its porches was an inscription mentioning the earthquake. Many of the buildings were adorned with marble of different colours, evidently antique *spolia*, which was sawn locally into slabs and columns (*PPTS*, IV, 21–2; Le Strange 1890: 306–7; Marmardji 1951: 83).

Another earthquake occurred on 18 March 1068, leaving only two houses standing; and this was followed by another two years later (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 227; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 269). None the less, according to William of Tyre, when the Crusading army first arrived in Syria some three decades later, Ramla was still a populous city. On the approach of the Crusaders, however, the inhabitants fled to Ascalon. The city was therefore deserted and the town gates lying open when it was occupied by the Crusaders on 3 June 1099. When the army departed three days later, they left behind the newly consecrated bishop of Lydda, Robert of Rouen, with a small garrison to defend the place (*Gesta Francorum*, xxxvi–xxxvii (ed. Hill, 86); Fulcher of Chartres, I, 25, 12–13 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 277; trans. Ryan, 115); William of Tyre, VII, 22; x, 16 (17) (*CCCM*, LXIII, 373–4, 472; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 332–3, 438–9); Hagenmeyer 1900: 460–1).

The accounts of the Crusaders' occupation of Ramla and of the installation of a new Latin bishop in St George's church in Lydda suggest that the initial intention of the Crusading leaders was to create an ecclesiastical lordship, such as Raymond of Toulouse had already established at Albara, near Antioch, in September 1098 (Hamilton 1980: 10–12, 137). Indeed, William of Tyre states that Bishop Robert was granted in perpetuity the cities of Lydda and Ramla, with their adjacent suburbs (ch. VII, 22 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 374; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 333)). Evidence of the Franks' desire to repopulate the deserted city is also to be found in the words of Albert of Aachen, who says that there remained with the bishop 'Christian inhabitants who would till the soil, organize justice and bring in the fruits of the field and the vineyard' (ch. v, 42 (*RHC Occ*, IV, 460–1)). The administrative instrument by which such a settlement might have been organized has been identified by some in a clause relating to the administration of the Hospitallers' civilian settlement at Bait Jibrin (**q.v.**) in 1168, which states that the division of booty taken from the Saracens should be made 'according to the custom of Lydda, which by another name we call Ramla' (*iuxta consuetudinem Lithde quam alio nomine vocamus Ramas*) (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 272–3, no. 399;

RRH, 119-20, no. 457). Joshua Prawer has seen in this clause evidence for a set of customs governing the Frankish settlement at Ramla-Lyddā, which he believed had been established under the aegis of the lord-bishop in the early years of the Latin Kingdom (1980: 112-16, 119-26).

More recent analysis of the sources, however, has revealed that, whatever the intentions of the Crusading leaders in June 1099 may have been, any ecclesiastical lordship over Ramla, if it ever existed, must have been short lived. Ramla's strategic importance was evidently too great for its defence to remain outside the king's direct control for long. Situated in the centre of the coastal plain, it commanded both the principal north-south route, known as the *via maris*, and the lifeline between Jerusalem and the port of Jaffa. Within the first decade of the kingdom's existence, three significant battles were fought with the Egyptians in its close proximity, in September 1101, May 1102 and August 1105 (Runciman 1951: II, 71-9, 89-90). The garrison established at Ramla, mentioned in a letter of Patriarch Daimbert in May-June 1100 (RRH Ad, 2, no. 30a) and again on Baldwin I's accession at the end of the same year (Fulcher of Chartres, II, 6, 9 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 389; trans. Ryan, 150)), consisted in May 1102 of fifteen knights, whom Fulcher of Chartres states had been stationed there by the king himself (ch. II, 15, 2 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 425-6; trans. Ryan, 163)). By this time it would therefore appear that the city and territory of Ramla had been incorporated into the royal domain (Mayer 1985: 537-44; Tibble 1989: 40-2).

In time a lordship of Ramla did nevertheless develop. The commander of the eight knights stationed at Ramla in October 1106 was a man named Baldwin, whom we may take to have been the royal castellan (Albert of Aachen, x, 10-14 (RHC Occ, IV, 635-8); cf. Mayer 1985: 543-4). This same Baldwin of Ramla, who appears in charters from 1109-10 onwards, would have become a vassal of Hugh of Le Puiset when the latter was granted the county of Jaffa, of which Ramla formed part, in c.1108-10. In 1134, however, Hugh II of Jaffa revolted against the king and was deprived of his fief, which King Fulk proceeded to divide up amongst those of Hugh's former vassals who had changed sides. In this redistribution, Baldwin, the former castellan, received Ramla, of which he was formally styled 'lord' in a charter of 1138. When the county of Jaffa was once more separated from the royal domain in 1151, the lordship of Ramla would have become a rear-fief dependent on it (Mayer 1985: 540-6; Tibble 1989: 42-5). A charter of September 1152 attests the granting of the castle of Ramla (*castellum Rame*) to the commune of

Marseilles by Baldwin III in return for naval and financial assistance (RRH, 70, no. 276); but it appears that this document is a thirteenth-century forgery (Mayer 1972). Indeed, the lordship of Ramla remained in the hands of the Ibelin family, who had inherited it through the marriage of Balian I to Baldwin of Ramla's daughter Helvis around 1137-8 (Mayer 1982). The lordship of the bishop of Lydda, or St George, on the other hand, appears to have developed separately, and to have been restricted to Lydda alone, though until c.1160 successive bishops' pretensions regarding Ramla were often advertised by their continuing to style themselves 'bishop of Ramla' (Mayer 1985: 546-52).

When it came into Christian hands in 1099, Ramla had been 'surrounded by a wall with towers . . . But it had neither outer defences nor a moat.' Seeing that it would be difficult to occupy and defend the entire site, the Franks 'merely fortified a stronghold with walls and a moat in one part of it' (William of Tyre, x, 16 (17) (CCCM, LXIII, 472; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 438-9)). This fortification seems to have been completed rapidly, and was no doubt that in which the garrison was stationed in 1100-1 (cf. Deschamps 1939a: 8). Its principal element seems to have been a tower, in which King Baldwin I took refuge after his defeat in the second battle of Ramla on 17 May 1102, and from which he barely escaped before it was attacked and undermined by the Muslims the following day (Albert of Aachen, IX, 2-6 (RHC Occ, IV, 591-4); Fulcher of Chartres, II, 15, 1-5; 19, 1-5 (ed. Hagenmeyer 424-8, 441-4; trans. Ryan, 163-4, 169-70); William of Tyre, x, 20 (21) (CCCM, LXIII, 478-9; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 445-6); Hagenmeyer 1908: 162-71; Runciman 1951: II, 76-8).

In 1102, the area in front of the castle (*arx*) was occupied by Syrian Christians, living in a kind of suburb (*quasi suburbani*) (Fulcher of Chartres, II, 15, 2 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 426; trans. Ryan, 163)). In May of that year, the homes and crops of these townsfolk were burnt during the Egyptian raid; and the city suffered similarly in October 1106 (Albert of Aachen, x, 10-14 (RHC Occ, IV, 635-8)). None the less, certain villeins in Ramla, together with their lands and houses, were granted to the Hospital by Roman of Le Puy, Baldwin (the castellan) and another person called Bovus before September 1110 (RRH, 12-13, no. 57). As in the early Islamic period, it seems therefore that Crusader Ramla also contained a significant population of indigenous Christians.

Direct evidence for Latin settlers other than those forming part of the military establishment is more elusive. It also seems doubtful whether their affairs would have been regulated by any special 'custom' other

than those required by feudal law and the law of the kingdom; the 'custom of Ramla-Lyddā' mentioned at Bait Jibrin in 1168 was quite possibly no more than a convention regarding the division of the spoils of war, the result perhaps of one of the many battles that had been fought around Lydda and Ramla by that date. Nevertheless, John of Ibelin lists Ramla as having a burghess court, and if we may assume that its military service was the same as *Mirabel* (Majdal Yaba) and *Ibelin* (Yibna), the lordship would have owed twenty knights and fifty sergeants (*Livre*, CCLXX–CCLXXII (*RHC Lois*, I, 419, 422, 427)). A viscount named Peter, who is mentioned in 1138–9 (*RRH*, 46, no. 190), seems more likely to have been viscount of Lydda than of Ramla (Mayer 1985: 547; *pace* Tibble 1989: 45); but a castellan, Hugh of Flanders, is mentioned in 1180 (*RRH*, 159, no. 597; cf. 160, no. 603; 162, no. 611).

A number of other properties in Ramla that were in ecclesiastical hands may be noted, in addition to those mentioned above. The Hospitallers received a confirmation of properties in 1126 (*RRH*, 27–8, no. 113) and received another two carrucates in front of the town in 1180 (*RRH*, 159, no. 597). The Teutonic Order possessed some houses by 1196 (Strehlke, 27, no. 33; 264–6, no. 296; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 360–1, no. 177; *RRH*, 195, no. 732; cf. Strehlke, 266–9, no. 298 (1209); 272–4, no. 272 (1216)); and the Orthodox abbey of St Theodosius (no. 221), near Bethlehem, had some lands at Ramla that were confirmed to the abbot by Pope Honorius III in 1216 and 1218 (*Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 1–17, no. 1; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, 13, no. 72; 175–6, no. 1037); *RRH*, 243, no. 909).

In 1177, the Muslims again attacked and burnt Ramla, which, being without proper defences, had already been deserted by its inhabitants (William of Tyre, XXI, 20 (21) (*CCCM*, LXIII, 988–9; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 428)). In July or August 1187, the city was taken by Saladin (Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (*PPTS*, XIII, 117); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 99–100); *Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIX.ii, 23)); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 84). According to the late fifteenth-century historian Mujir al-Dīn, Saladin restored the White Mosque in 586 H/AD 1190 (1494–5: 207; Marmardji 1951: 86). Mujir al-Dīn's source for this was probably an inscription of that year that was rediscovered in the 1950s, built into the north wall of the mosque. This records the repair of a Friday mosque by 'Iyās Ibn 'Abdallah, of the regiment of the amir 'Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar; however, the rather clumsy script, 'Iyās's lowly status, the fact that the text mentions repair rather than new building, and the very location of the inscription led L.A. Mayer to conclude

that it was not *in situ* and did not therefore relate to the White Mosque but to another building (1959). A possible location will be suggested below (see no. 188).

The following year, between 23 and 30 September 1191, Saladin destroyed the cathedral in Lydda and the castle of Ramla to prevent them being used by the Crusaders under Richard I (*Itin. Ric.*, IV, 23 (RS, xxxviii.i, 280); Bahā' al-Dīn, CXXII (*PPTS*, XIII, 300–2); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 347); al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 94). In the treaty of Jaffa which concluded the Third Crusade in September 1192, it was agreed that Ramla and Lydda should be divided equally between the Christians and the Muslims (Bahā' al-Dīn, CLXX–CLXXI (*PPTS*, XIII, 380–7); cf. al-Maqrizī c.1400a: 146; Prawer 1975a: II, 99).

In 1211–12, Wilbrand of Oldenburg found the city destroyed and inhabited by Saracens (ch. II, 3, 1–3 (ed. Laurent, 184; *IHC*, III, 234)). The state of desolation is confirmed by Yāqūt, writing around 1225, who records in his geography that after being destroyed by Saladin, the town 'has remained in a state of ruin down to the present day' (Le Strange 1890: 308; Marmardji 1951: 84). In his *al-Mushtarik*, however, he adds that Ramla was at the time of writing in the hands of the Franks, and that there were a certain number of them living there (Marmardji 1951: 84). Ramla was formally ceded to Frederick II in 1229 (Prawer 1975a: II, 198–200).

After the loss of Jerusalem in July 1244 and the disastrous battle of *la Forbie* (Harbiya) in October of the same year, the Franks' precarious hold on Ramla would have been extinguished (cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 312–14). Some of its walls were still standing in 1252–3, when one of Louis IX's soldiers hid behind them while trying to steal a pair of horses after a skirmish between the Christians and Muslims; his fate was to fall into an old cistern, which collapsed beneath him and his prizes, burying both man and beasts (Joinville, CIV, 540–2 (ed. de Wailly, 227–8; trans. Shaw, 100–1)).

Baybars took possession of Ramla in August 1266 (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 98; Prawer 1975a: II, 475–6, map XII), and restored the White Mosque to Muslim use. According to Mujir al-Dīn, he constructed a dome over the *miḥrāb* and the door facing it after taking Jaffa in 666 H/AD 1268, and also rebuilt the old minaret which was still to be seen (1494–5: 207; Marmardji 1951: 86). Mujir al-Dīn's source again appears to have been an inscription, which has survived in a mutilated condition (*RCEA*, XII, 123–5, no. 4588; Guérin 1868: I, 41; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 271–2; Honigman 1936: 1116–17). The return of the mosque to Muslim use is also confirmed by a French pilgrimage text of 1268, which records,

Ramla used to be of great renown. The Saracens have greatly honoured it, and still do, for there they have their great mosque (*grant malhoumerie*), where they still perform their acts of prostration. (*Chemins et pelerinages* B, I, 3 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 192))

As a Mamluk town, Ramla seems to have recovered some of its former prosperity. A Western pilgrim after 1296 calls it 'a good and large city' (Anon. III, 3-4 (IHC, III, 18)); and Nicolas of Poggibonsi describes it as 'beautiful' and praises its markets and merchandise (1346-50: 8). A fine new minaret was added to the White Mosque by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718 H/AD 1318 (Mujir al-Dīn 1494-5: 206; Marmardji 1951: 86; RCEA, XIV, 127-8, no. 5401; Honigman 1936: 1116-17).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, Mujir al-Dīn writes:

Of the town there remains not even a third, nor even a quarter. Some new mosques and new minarets have been constructed there since the time of 'Abd al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Qalāwūn [1293-1341] and after. The buildings that exist at present in the town are for the most part destroyed or in ruin. The community mosque is at present outside the town and surrounded by cemeteries . . . Of former constructions around the mosque there only remains a quarter adjoining it on the north side which is reduced to the state of a village. As for the town, it is completely separated from it. (Marmardji 1951: 86; cf. Mujir al-Dīn 1494-5: 206)

At this time the town had walls of a sort, but not sufficient to resist attack (Casola 1494a: 60). Francesco Suriano also observed, 'Their houses are in great part constructed of mud kneaded with straw. The house-tops are of earth, apt to ruin when it rains' (1485b: 39).

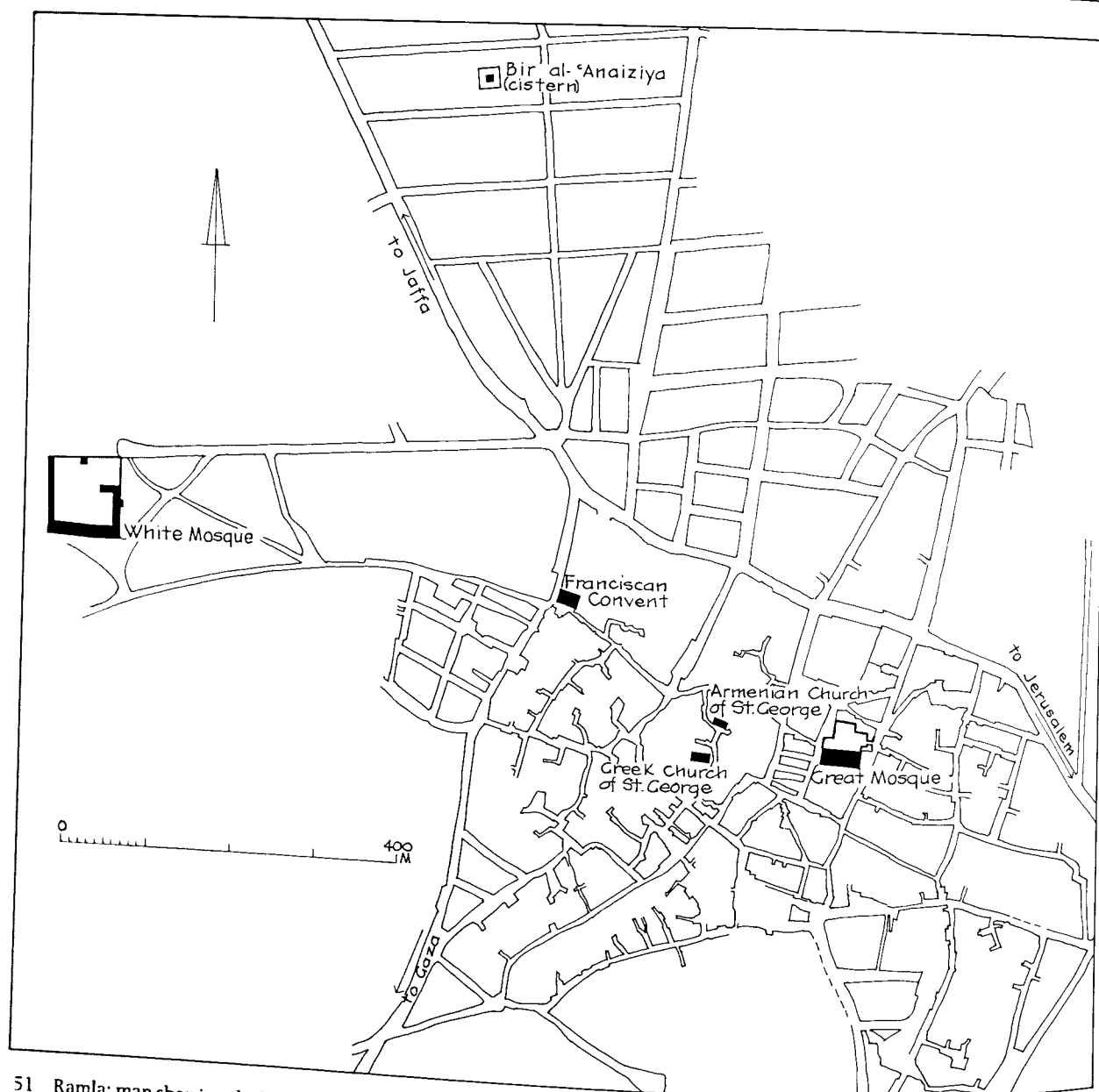
From the late sixteenth century, the White Mosque was erroneously believed by Western travellers to have been a former church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia, who were supposedly buried in it (Boniface of Ragusa 1577; cf. Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104-6). This belief, which persisted to the late nineteenth century, was probably derived from a Muslim tradition, repeated for example by Shāhin al-Dhahiri in 1467, that the mosque contained the bodies of forty companions of the Prophet (Marmardji 1951: 85; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭā 1325-54a: I, 165-6; Guérin 1868: I, 42-3).

Another spurious Christian association for Ramla stemmed from its confusion, from early in the twelfth century, with Arimathea (e.g. Fulcher of Chartres, I, 25, 12 (ed. Hagenmeyer, 277; trans. Ryan, 115)). Some early twelfth-century texts, following Eusebius and Jerome, equated Arimathea with Ramathaim (*Ramatha Sophim*), the birthplace of Samuel, and placed it correctly

at Rantis (*Descriptio locorum* (1131-43), XIV (IHC, II, 106-8); Eugesippus (c.1148); cf. Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 32, lines 21-3; cf. 144, lines 27-9); Abel 1967: II, 428-9). Theodoric (1169-72), however, displaces Arimathea from Rantis to Ramla, or 'Ramatha', a large city, which is now called *Rames*, from which were Helcana, the father of Samuel the prophet and Anne his mother' (ch. xxxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 184)). This identification was accepted by Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), despite the fact that it entailed transforming Mount Effraim into a plain (ch. ix, 7 (ed. Laurent, 78; IHC, IV, 194)); and it was also followed by later writers (e.g. Faber 1480-3: I, 265; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104-6; Guérin 1868: I, 48-55).

Our understanding of the topography of medieval Ramla is severely hampered by the relative paucity both of upstanding structural remains and of published archaeological excavations (see fig. 51).

Apart from the churches, the principal surviving medieval monuments are the vaulted Abbasid cistern complex (Bir al-'Anaiziya), lying north of the town and dated by an inscription to 172 H/AD 789 (Creswell 1940: 161-4, figs. 151-2, pl. 33; 1958: 228-30, fig. 45, pl. 43; RCEA, I, no. 53), and the White Mosque, whose fragmentary remains lie to the west. Excavations at the latter by the late J. Kaplan in 1949 succeeded in clarifying the plan but failed to resolve the question of dating (Kaplan 1959; Kaplan and Rosen-Ayalon 1978: 1010-13). Leaving aside the minaret, whose date of 1318 is not in doubt, Kaplan identified two main structural phases (fig. 52). Phase 1 was represented by the five eastern bays of the prayer hall and the adjoining east and north precinct walls, while phase 2 consisted of the remaining eight bays of the prayer hall, including the *mihrāb*, together with the west precinct wall. Kaplan proposed dating 'phase 1' to the Umayyad period, and 'phase 2' to 1190. Neither date seems tenable. In the first place, L.A. Mayer's discussion of the 1190 inscription concluded that it came from another building (1959), though it was probably in the White Mosque by the time of Mujir al-Dīn; it seems improbable in any case that Saladin would have contributed much, if anything, to the White Mosque before he dismantled and abandoned Ramla in 1191. Secondly, neither of the proposed phases of the prayer hall, which was vaulted uniformly throughout with two rows of groin-vaults carried on rectangular piers and pilasters, can be Umayyad. Not only is such a dating contradicted by the description that al-Muqaddasī made of the building in c.985 and by the historical evidence for earthquake damage in 1033-4 and 1068-70, but the architectural style is

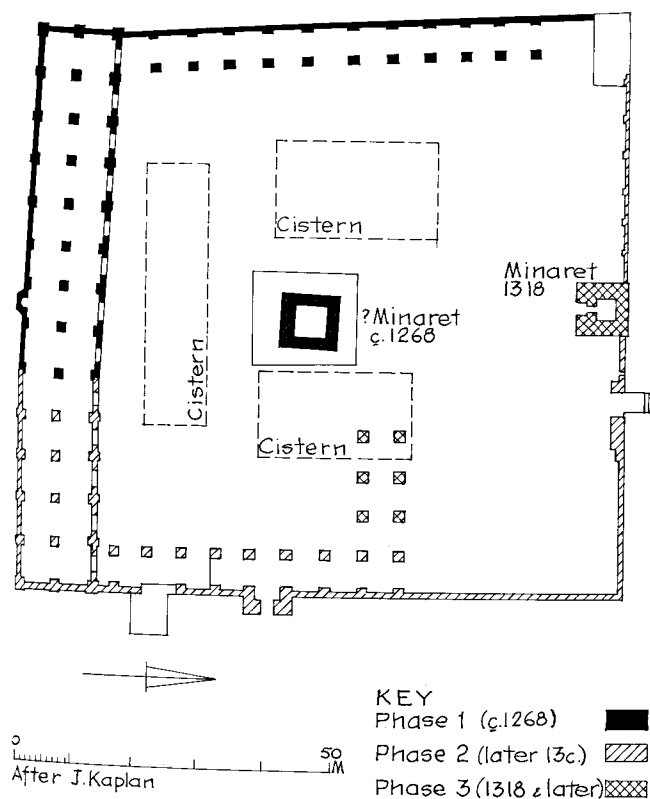


51 Ramla: map showing the location of the Great Mosque, formerly the Latin church (no. 188), the Greek church (no. 189), and the White Mosque.

clearly of a much later period. Since we know from Mujir al-Dīn and an inscription that Baybars was responsible for rebuilding the vaulting over the *mihrāb* and the door in front of it, and since the style of what remains of that part of the prayer hall is consistent with a mid-thirteenth-century date, it would seem more reasonable to date Kaplan's 'phase 2' to c.1268. The principal feature that distinguishes this part of the prayer hall from the five eastern bays (Kaplan's phase 1), however, is the slightly different alignment of the *qibla*; there is little else to differentiate the two parts in terms of their architecture, though the workmanship of

'phase 1' is of slightly inferior quality to that of 'phase 2'. As Kaplan's plan itself demonstrates, however, the pier and pilasters at the junction between the two phases are structurally part of his 'phase 2'; indeed it is clear from examination of the junction that his 'phase 1' is in fact secondary to his 'phase 2'. It follows therefore that Kaplan's 'phase 1' is also Mamluk and represents simply the completion of his 'phase 2' to a more regular ground plan.

Within the area of the late medieval and Ottoman town there still survive a number of Mamluk and Ottoman mosques, mausolea and khans. Some of these



52 Ramla, the White Mosque: plan (with the phasing revised).

graphy of Ramla in the twelfth century. It appears that what by the time of Mujir al-Din (1484–5) had become the town centre occupied only the eastern quarter of the early Islamic city. The White Mosque, which the writings of the early Arab geographers and more recent archaeological excavations have shown had been in the centre of the city, was by then isolated, some distance away to the west. As the occupied eastern area contained the former Crusader church (no. 188) and the Greek church of St George (no. 189), we may assume that this was also the part of the walled city that was occupied in the Frankish period. It might also have been the Christian quarter at an earlier date, if (as has yet to be proved) the Orthodox church stands on the site of an earlier church. Be that as it may, it seems clear that by siting their castle and church where they did, the Franks also effectively determined where the nucleus of Mamluk and Ottoman Ramla was to be. The White Mosque, isolated from the main area of settlement in the twelfth century, was probably only restored as a mosque by Baybars in 1268; but after it was again damaged by an earthquake in January 1546 (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 229, 240, 242; Amiran, Arie and Turcotte 1994: 271), it seems to have been finally abandoned and replaced as the principal Friday mosque by the former Crusader parish church (no. 188) located near the new town centre.

No. 188 Parish Church (of St John ?) 1382.1480

History

The principal church of the Crusader period in Ramla, which survives today as the great mosque, is often referred to as a former cathedral (e.g. Enlart 1925: 11, 329, 331). However, although Ramla appears to have been held briefly by Bishop Robert of Rouen from June 1099, possibly until the accession of Baldwin I in late 1100, and although Robert and succeeding bishops of Lydda (or St George) often styled themselves 'bishop of Ramla' until as late as c.1160 (see above), the cathedral church would always have been St George's in Lydda (no. 137). The status of the church in Ramla would therefore more probably have been that of a parish church.

A chaplain of Ramla (*capellanus Ramarum/Ramaten-sis*), named Ralph, appears as a witness to charters of Hugh of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, in 1158 and 1159–60 (Bresc-Bautier, 136–8, no. 51; 140–2, no. 53; RRH, 87, no. 333; 94, no. 360); and in another of 1169 his name

were recorded by the Department of Antiquities during the period of the British Mandate (PAM: Ramla file; cf. Waddington 1935); since then many have been lost, but those that remain are currently the subject of a project of the BSAJ (Petersen 1992; 1995).

Excavations in 1965 in the western part of Ramla, around the White Mosque, revealed four phases of occupation of the eighth to ninth centuries (including evidence of pottery working), the earliest overlying virgin sand; they confirm that at that period the mosque would have been well inside the built-up area of the city. The area was subsequently abandoned, though the incidence of stray finds of medieval pottery increases towards the north (Rosen-Ayalon and Eitan 1966; 1967; 1968; 1969; Kaplan and Rosen-Ayalon 1978: 1013–15). In 1973, a large eighth-century mosaic with a Kufic inscription was found in the courtyard of a private house south-east of the White Mosque (Rosen-Ayalon 1976; Kaplan and Rosen-Ayalon 1978: 1014–15). Some Umayyad and Mamluk structures were also investigated on the north side of the White Mosque in the early 1980s (Ben-Dov 1984).

Despite the relative lack of material evidence, some tentative conclusions may be drawn about the topo-

comes immediately after the bishop of Lydda and before the canons of St George (de Marsy, 142–3, no. 25; *RRH*, 124, no. 472). Whether or not he was the same Ralph who had been archdeacon of Lydda in 1136 (Bresc-Bautier, 153–5, no. 61; *RRH*, 41, no. 165), this would seem to imply that, by 1169 at least, the chaplain of Ramla was not a member of St George's cathedral chapter.

When Saladin dismantled the cathedral church in Lydda and the castle of Ramla in 1191, he appears to have left the Latin church intact. His motives for doing so may perhaps be found in the inscription that is built into the north wall of the White Mosque, which records the repair of a Friday mosque in 586 H/AD 1190 by ʿIyās Ibn ʿAbdallah, of the regiment of the amir ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar. As explained above, it is probable that this stone was moved to the White Mosque from another building sometime before c.1494, when Mujir al-Dīn would have seen it there. The building for which it was originally intended may well have been the Latin church, which, converted into a mosque in 1190, would thus have escaped destruction the following year. The only specific reference to the church of Ramla in this period, however, is on 29 October 1191 when Saladin camped to the south of it (Bahā' al-Dīn, cxxix (*PPTS*, XIII, 313); ʿImād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 352)).

If the 1190 inscription had not already been removed from the Latin church when Ramla returned to Frankish hands in 1192 or when Baybars restored the White Mosque in 1268, it was evidently no longer there in 696 H/AD 1297, when another inscription was placed above the north door, claiming that the building had been constructed by Sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā (*RCEA*, XIII, 161, no. 5029; Guérin 1868: I, 38; Honigman 1936: 1116). The claim was exaggerated, not least in view of the fact that Kitbughā had already been deposed by al-Manṣūr Lājin in November 1296; at most it suggests that significant repairs were undertaken at that time to adapt the building more suitably for use as a mosque.

Another inscription dates the construction of the minaret that until c.1881–1909 stood over the north-west bay of the church to the year 714 H/AD 1314–15 in the third reign of Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (*RCEA*, XIV, 90–1, no. 5342; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 122; Honigman 1936: 1116).

When James of Verona arrived in Ramla from Jaffa a few years later, he heard the evening call to prayer being shouted from a tower; 'and that tower has been the bell-tower of the principal church, and that principal church is now a mosque or church of the Saracens' (1335: 181). It seems likely, however, that he was speaking here of the White Mosque, whose minaret, built in

1318, has often been mistaken for a bell-tower. In any case, James mentions another mosque in Ramla that had formerly been a church and was said to contain the tomb of the prophet Samuel (1335: 182).

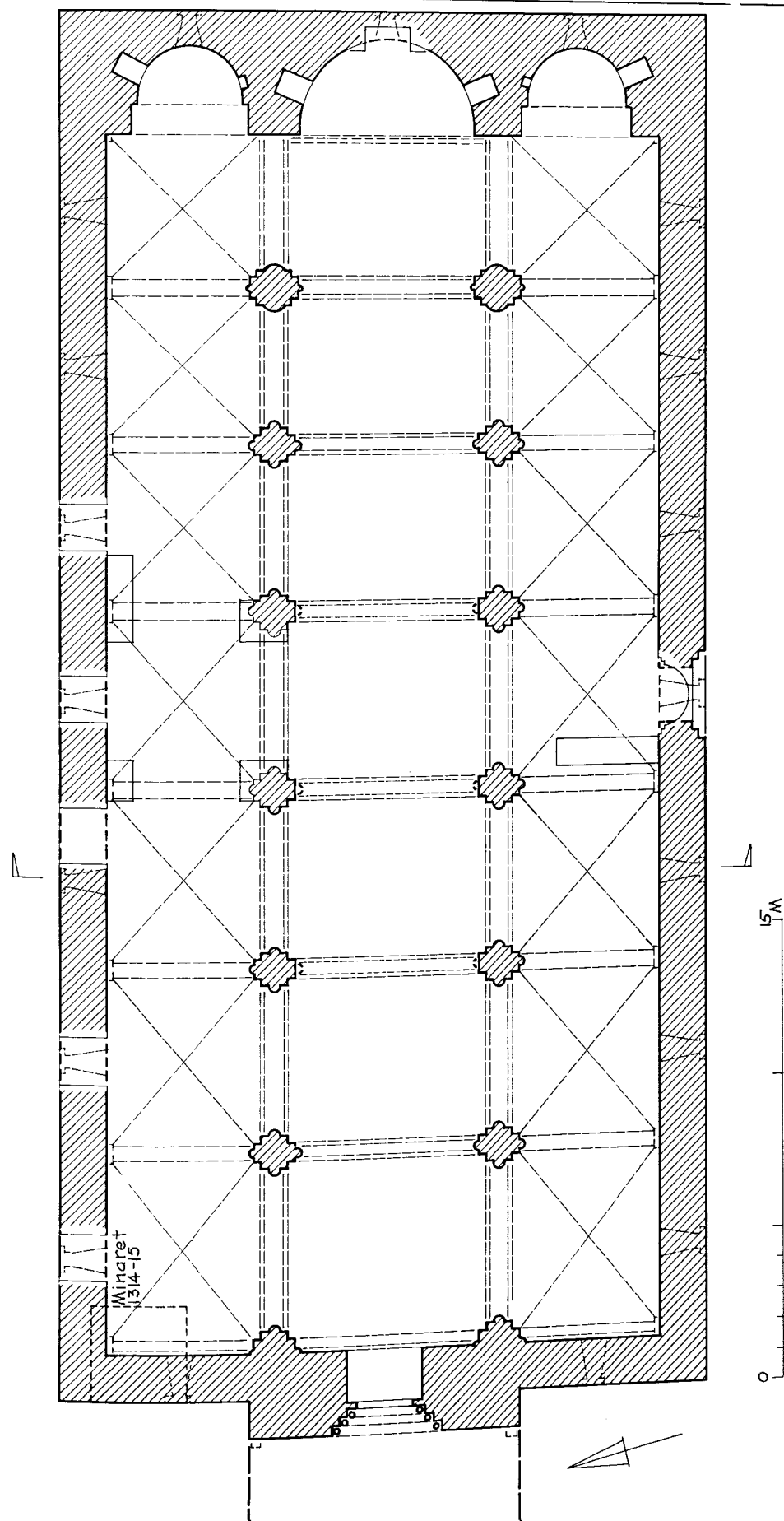
Two centuries later, Boniface of Ragusa also mentions two churches that had been made into mosques. One was the White Mosque, which he erroneously believed had been a church dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia. The other building was evidently the Crusader parish church, which was said by the Muslims to have been the church of St John (1577; cf. Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104–6). The tradition that the church had been dedicated to St John was also known to G. Brémont in 1660 (1679: 303) and E. Roger (1664: 97), but like the Chevalier d'Arvieux in 1659 they were apparently unable to enter it (1735: II, 27–8). P. Mariano da Maleo implies that it was in the hands of the Greeks (Morone 1669: I, 60), though it seems that he was mistaken (*pace* Bagatti 1979: 158).

The church-mosque was visited by V. Guérin in the 1860s (1868: I, 37–9), by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau together with his architect, M. Lecomte de Noüy, in 1873 (1896: II, 119–22), and by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine in January 1874 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 253, 269–75). At this time the rectangular minaret was still standing; but by the time of C. Enlart's visit in 1922 it had been replaced by the present cylindrical one (1925: II, 329–35). The latter probably dates from some time between 1881 and 1909, which is the date assigned to a monogram of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamid II on the restored west portal beneath it.

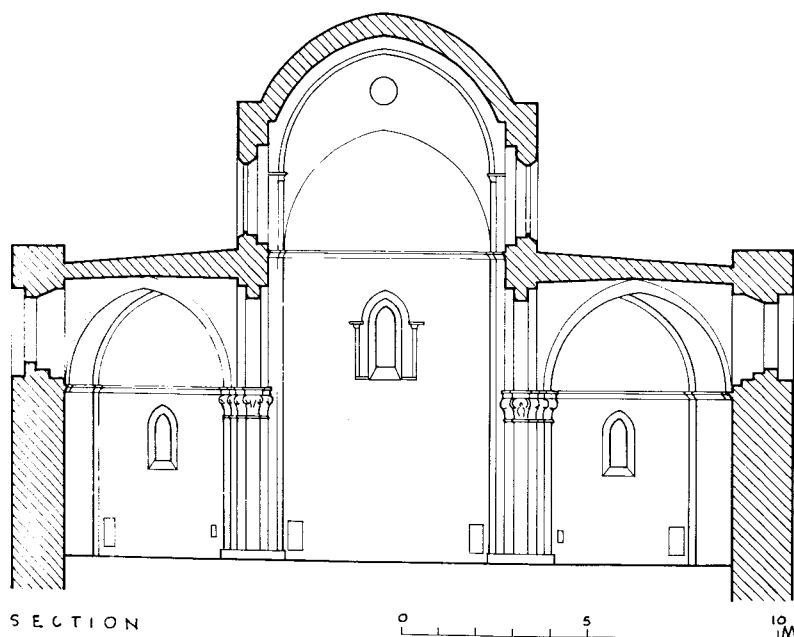
Description

The church stands in what would have been the north-eastern part of the early Islamic city. This was evidently the quarter within the earlier walls that was resettled in the twelfth century, though it is not known at present whether the church would have been inside or outside the Crusader castle. There is no evidence, however, to support Enlart's assertion (1925: II, 334), that it occupied the site of a Byzantine church.

The church's form is that of a three-aisled basilica seven bays long and with three semi-circular apses, all contained within a plain rectangular plan measuring 45 by 21.5 m overall (pls. CII–CIV; figs. 53–4). The nave is covered by a slightly pointed barrel-vault, and the aisles are groin-vaulted. The building appears to have been constructed throughout in finely dressed light brown marine sandstone, with finer harder limestone used for the moulded string courses and imposts, and re-



53 Ramla, Latin church (no. 188): plan.



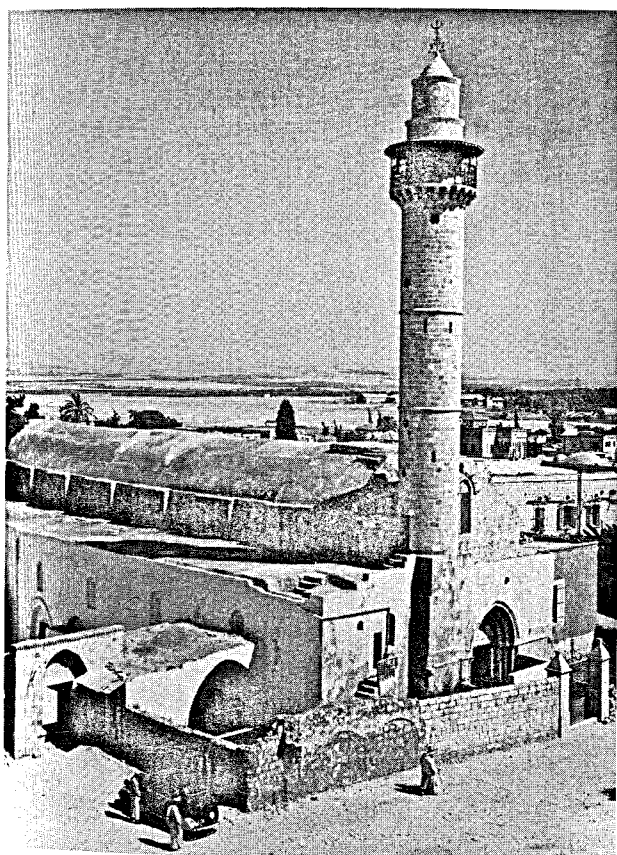
54 Ramla, Latin church (no. 188): section.

employed antique marble for the capitals, most of which are in any case *spolia*. In a phase of restoration around the turn of the century (sometime between 1881 and 1909), the nave vault seems to have been partially rebuilt, with reinforced concrete used in some of the transverse arches. A more recent 'restoration', undertaken between 1979 and 1981, has resulted in most of the exterior being coated with a thick render; the clearstorey had been tastelessly refaced in alternating pink and white stone, and the surrounds to the doors and windows faced with stone to give the appearance of 'crazy paving'. The inside has fared somewhat better; old plaster and limewash have been stripped, but the piers have unfortunately been partly encased in concrete faced with marble. The new pavement is some 1.5–2 m above the level of that of the twelfth century.

The church is 39.38 m long internally, the central nave being 5.8 m wide and the aisles 4.55 m. The arcades consist of seven pointed arches carried on cross-shaped piers with an engaged column on each face. In most cases the piers measure some 1.1 m east–west by 1.47 m north–south (excluding the columns); in the case of the two easternmost ones, however, the measurements are 1.3 m east–west by 1.62 m north–south, and the columns on their east and west sides are broader with shallower projections. On each pier, the three engaged columns that support the springing of the arcades and face into the aisles are surmounted by reused marble Byzantine capitals half-embedded into the pier (pl. cva–h); except on the easternmost piers, these

are linked together by a thick-leafed Romanesque marble frieze, reminiscent of that surrounding the apse in St George's, Lydda (no. 137). The imposts are cyma-recta, with a quirk above the lower roll. The pier bases are now well below floor level.

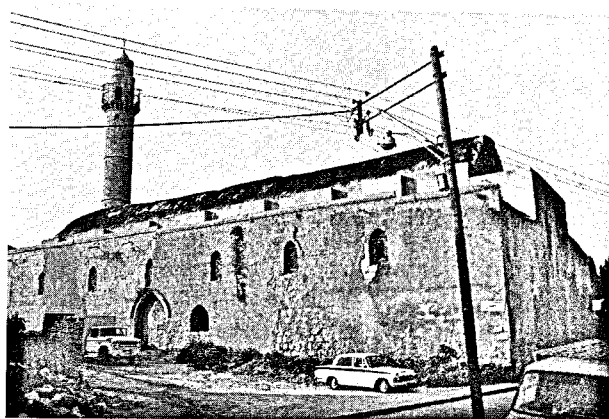
The articulation of the nave elevation has been slightly modified as a result of later restorations, which have had the effect of removing the semi-circular columns from the face of the middle four pairs of piers. The original design, however, survives at the two extremities. Here it may be seen that on the side of each pier that faces into the nave, the rectangular projection with its engaged column rises vertically as a pilaster up to the springing of the nave vault, and then continues as a transverse arch with a central roll spanning the nave (pl. cvi). The vertical progress of the pilasters is interrupted by two horizontal string courses. The lower one separates the arcades from the clearstorey, and consists of a heavy quirked cavetto-moulding. Above this, the engaged column seems in most cases to have been replaced by a slender colonnette, just touching the wall and capped by a thick-leafed capital of twelfth-century type. The impost for this, which forms part of the upper string course, appears to be cyma-recta in profile but is more delicate than the lower one. It defines the spring of the nave's barrel-vault and is also interrupted where it forms the imposts for the springing of the heads of the clearstorey windows. These are pointed-arched, with an internal rebate and a very slight splay.



cii Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): from the north-west.

The aisles are vaulted with a series of groin-vaults, separated by transverse arches springing from the nave piers and from plain quarter-round corbels on the walls (pls. cvii-cviii). A moulded string course also runs around the aisle walls at the level of the springing; it also appears to have continued around all three apses and across the west wall. The aisle windows are rebated inside and outside, and have an internal splay.

The central apse has the same width as the nave (5.8 m) and is stilted on plan. Its semi-dome is only slightly pointed and springs from a continuation of the string course that divides the nave arcade from the clearstorey (pl. civ). The junction of nave and *chevet*, however, is otherwise somewhat clumsy. Unlike the west end, where the nave arcades terminate on responding pilasters, at the east end they simply come to rest on a pair of consoles. As at the west end, the meeting of the nave vault with the wall above the apse is defined by a transverse arch and a half-roll; but here the half-roll springs from a pair of elbow-columns wedged into the spandrels to either side of the apse's semi-dome (pl. cix), rather than being carried down to the ground. The wall above the apse contains an oculus. The east



ciii Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): from the south-east.



civ Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): nave, looking east.

wall of the apse itself has a pointed-arched window with a moulded head, at one time flanked by colonnettes. In the north and south walls of the apse, to either side of the site of the altar, is an aumbry; these are 80 cm wide, 110 cm deep, 80 cm high (though vaulted inside), and are now only about 20 cm above floor level.

The apses terminating the aisles are 3.22 m wide and preceded by short barrel-vaults. Each has a small rectangular recess on the side nearest the central apse, and a larger aumbry, once fitted with a door, on the opposite side. The recesses are 26 cm (south) and 36 cm (north) wide, 25 cm high, 23 cm deep, and 52 and 45 cm respectively above floor level. The aumbries are 65 cm wide, 82 cm high, 112 cm deep, vaulted inside and 13-20 cm above floor level.

The west gable of the church has a large pointed-arched window, flanked internally by a pair of colonnettes and enclosed externally by a hood-mould with label stops. The west door was three-quarters blocked in the 1860s (Guérin 1868: i, 37-8) and completely so by

cv Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): nave capitals.



a. south arcade, fifth pier, east face.



b. south arcade, first pier, east face.



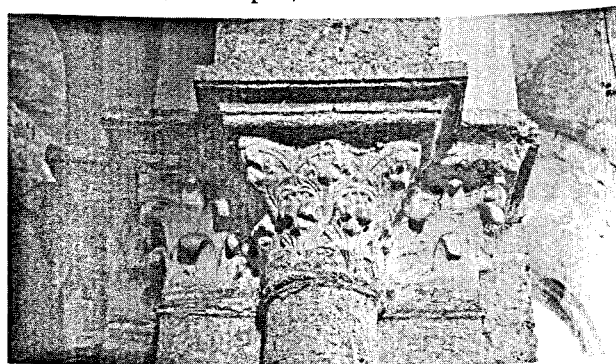
c. north arcade, second pier, west face.



d. south arcade, second pier, west face.



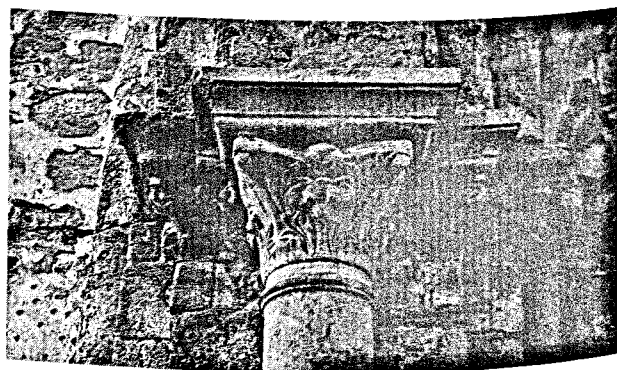
e. north arcade, fifth pier, west face.



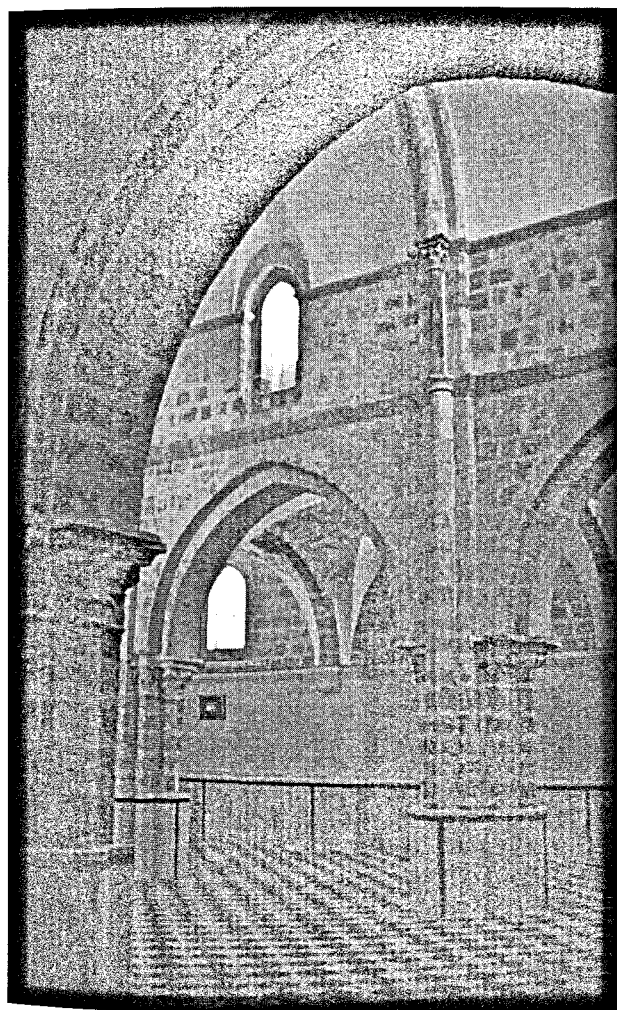
f. north arcade, fourth pier, west face.



g. south arcade, eastern respond.



h. north arcade, eastern respond.

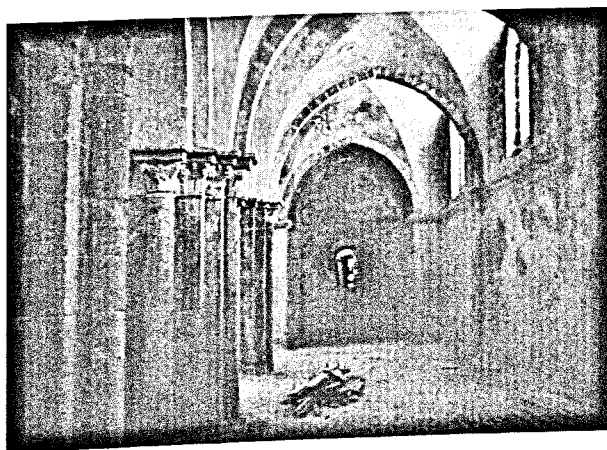


CVI Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): view from the third bay of the north aisle to the second bay of the south nave arcade, after the recent restoration.



CVII Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): view from the sixth bay of the north aisle to the fourth bay of the south nave arcade.

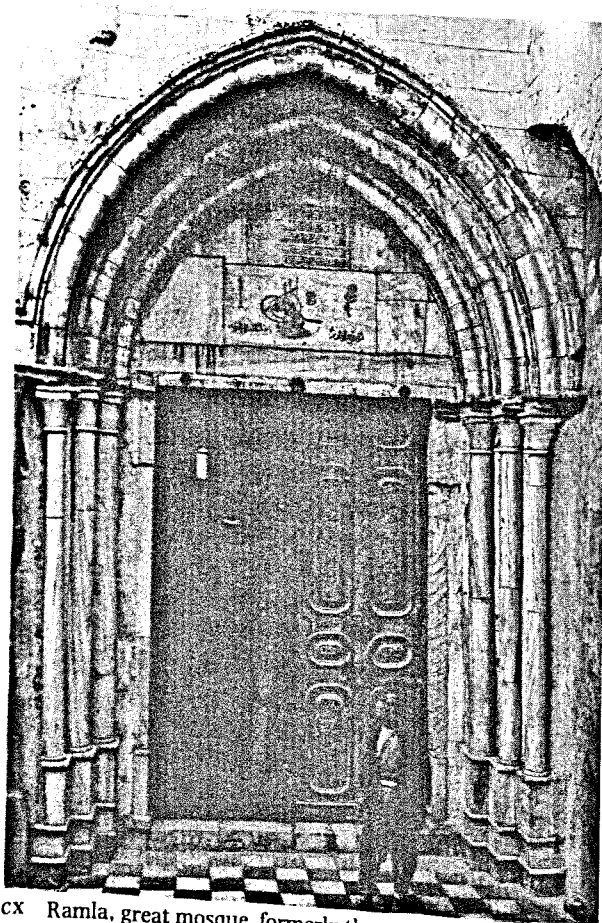
1874 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 270). It was unblocked and restored by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II (1876-1909), whose monogram, in a style dating from 1882 onwards, may be seen in the tympanum in the photograph taken by K.A.C. Creswell around 1919 (pl. cx); it has since disappeared. The arch is enclosed by a hood-mould with label stops and has three orders, each with a heavy roll, supported on six columns. The latter, together with their capitals and bases, are restorations; but a photograph by Max Van Berchem taken beforehand shows an original foliate capital (Enlart 1925: II, 334-5, fig., 452, pl. 142). In the restoration, the inscription of Kitbughā (1297), which Guérin had seen over the north door, was moved to the tympanum, where it still remains. Internally the door is 2.5 m wide, with a low pointed rear-arch.



CVIII Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church (no. 188): north aisle, looking east.



cix Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church
(no. 188): elbow-column to the left of the main apse.



cx Ramla, great mosque, formerly the parish church
(no. 188): west door, as photographed by K.A.C.
Creswell c.1919.

The central part of the west front, corresponding to the width of the nave and containing the west portal, projects some 1.2 m forward from the rest of the wall. Evidently this thickening was not necessary simply in order to accommodate the portal. The reason for it may have been partly to buttress the end of the nave; but it also allowed free passage around the wall-head in front of the west gable at the level of the aisle roofs. The intention may possibly have been defensive, though no trace of any crenellation remains. The existence of a pair of corbels at either end of the projecting wall indicates that at some period the portal was enclosed within a porch, as at Gaza (Vol. I, no. 92).

The northern part of the western wall thickening now forms the solid base for a slender cylindrical minaret, which also probably forms part of the works carried out by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. Enlart suggests a possible explanation of the wall thickening here as being to contain the spiral staircase for a belfry, which he indicates would have been entered from the west bay of the north aisle (1925: II, 333–4, fig. 16, pl. 9); however, there is no trace of any such opening, and the stair appears wholly imaginary. Access to the present minaret is gained from the roof. There does exist, however, a straight stair inside the west wall of the north aisle, which is now entered half way up on the outside; originally it may perhaps have started in the north reveal of the west door. It rises northwards, turns the corner and emerges on the terrace roof of the aisle. Even if this were to be an original feature, however, it cannot necessarily be taken to indicate the existence of a twelfth-century bell-tower in this position. It may simply have been intended to give access to the roof. In the late nineteenth century it gave access to the rectangular minaret, dated by an inscription to 1314–15, that was still standing above the north-western bay (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 270; cf. Roberts 1842b: II, pl. 70). This seemed to Guérin 'to be constructed with material a little smaller than that of the church itself, but equally very regular'. He noted that if it had originally been a bell-tower, in its existing state it was not possible to see where the openings for the bells might have been (1868: I, 38). Other sources record two-light openings (Enlart 1925: II, 334). But neither these openings nor the design of the door on to the roof, which was drawn by M. Lecomte de Noüy (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 119–22) give any reason for disbelieving that the tower was indeed built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, just before the building of the larger but comparable minaret to the White Mosque.

In addition to the west door, the church had doors in the central bay on the north and south. These are both

relatively plain, with a hood moulding. The southern one has been blocked for the insertion of the *mihrāb*, while the north one has been cruelly mutilated in the recent restoration. The other doors in the north wall are all post-twelfth-century insertions.

A vaulted gallery inserted into the central bay of the north aisle in front of the *mihrāb* probably dates from the Mamluk works of 1297.

Epigraphy

An Arabic inscription now in the White Mosque, but possibly originally from the Latin church, records the repair of a Friday mosque by 'Iyās Ibn 'Abdallah of the regiment of the amir 'Alam al-Dīn Qayṣar, in the year 586 H/AD 1190 (Mayer 1959). Another, seen above the north door by Guérin but moved to the west door apparently between 1881 and 1909, records the construction of a mosque in 696 H/AD 1297 at the time of Sultan al-'Adil Kitbughā, who had in fact by then already been deposed (RCEA, XIII, 161, no. 5029; Ory 1975: 225; Guérin 1868: I, 38; Honigman 1936: 1116). Another inscription dates the building of the rectangular minaret to 1314-15 in the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (RCEA, XIV, 90-1, no. 5342; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 122; Honigman 1936: 1116). A monogram recorded above the restored west door in c.1919 appears to be that of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II and of the type used between 1881 and 1909.

A number of Frankish masonry marks were recorded by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (1896: I, 25; II, 119; de Sandoli 1974: 264, no. 355a).

Visited 11.3.79, 3.8.79, 19.5.81, 13.7.81, 3.1.82, 20.1.82, 29.7.83, 23.5.84, 12.3.92, 16.9.94.

Sources

Bahā' al-Dīn, CXXIX (PPTS, XIII, 313) (1191); Bresc-Bautier, 136-8, no. 51 (1158); 140-2, no. 53 (1159-60); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 352) (1191); de Marsy, 142-3, no. 25 (1169); RRH, 87, no. 333 (1158); 94, no. 360 (1159-60); 124, no. 472 (1169).

Ali Bey 1816: II, 211; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 27-8; Baedeker 1876b; Bagatti 1979: 156-8, pl. 57.1; 6; Benvenisti 1970: 167-72, 345, figs.; Boase 1967: 87, fig.; 1971: 47, figs. 29-30; 1977: 100, pl. xvib; Boniface of Ragusa 1577; Brémond 1679: 303; van Bruyn 1725: pl. 109; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 25; II, 119-22, figs.; Conder 1874: 56-7; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 253, 269-75, figs.; Dagan 1993: 6; Dapper 1677; Doubdan 1657: 94; Enlart 1925: II, 329-35, pls. 9, 13-15, 25, 141-3; Guérin 1868: I, 37-9; Guide Bleu 1932: 557; Hamilton 1980: 11-12, 137, 246;

Hoade 1978: 607; Honigman 1936: 1116; 1994: 424; James of Verona 1335: 181; Johns 1937: 36 (H3); Kaplan and Rosen-Ayalon 1993: 1270-1; Langé 1965: 140, 143-8, 186; figs. 76, 85-9; Meistermann 1936: 79; Morone 1669: I, 60; Palestine Exploration Fund 1927: 171; Pococke 1743: II, 4; Porter 1887: xvi; Pringle 1993: 34, fig. p. 33; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104-6; RCEA, XIII, 161, no. 5029; XIV, 90-1, no. 5342; Roberts 1842b: III, 52-3, pl. 70; Röhricht 1887a: 29 n.22; Roger 1664: 97; de Sandoli 1974: 264, no. 355a; Vilnay 1961; 1978: 209, fig. p. 211; Vincent, Mackay and Abel: 87 n.3, figs. 53, 57-8; de Vogüé 1860: 367-8.

No. 189 Church (of St George) 1379.1481

History

Since the first inhabitants of Ramla in the eighth century included Christians from nearby Lydda it may be assumed that there would have been a church for them. The only specific allusion to one in the foundation accounts, however, appears to be in the *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* of Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umari who died in 1341 (Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923: 58). None the less, according to Benjamin Johannides a church was built in Ramla by the empress Irene in 784 (*Itinerarium*, XXII-XXVI, p. 25).

A church of St Cyriacus (or Cyricus) is also mentioned in Ramla in an Arabic account of the *Martyrdom of the monk 'Abd al-Masiḥ al-Ghassānī*, written in the late ninth century but relating to events in the early to mid 850s. Seeking martyrdom after his reconversion from Islam to Christianity, the monk threw a message declaring his new-found faith into the community mosque in Ramla. He then withdrew with two companion monks into the lower church of Mar Cyriacus to await his fate. However, although the Muslims came looking for him and searched both the lower and the upper church, they were unable to see him 'because God had blinded them to him'. The martyrdom was finally achieved seven years later, when 'Abd al-Masiḥ, by then superior of the abbey of Mount Sinai (no. 150), was recognized and executed while leading a delegation to Ramla, the provincial capital, to complain about the level of taxation imposed on his monastery. His body was thrown into a well and burnt. Nine months later some monks arrived from Sinai to salvage the relics. The head and arm were taken subsequently to Sinai, while the remainder of the body was buried in the *diaconicon* of Mar Cyriacus, the forearm and thigh-bone being retained to be shown to people wanting a blessing (trans. Griffith, 372-4). Two churches are mentioned in this account, a lower one dedicated to St Cyriacus, and an upper one whose dedication is not stated; although

they were evidently quite close together, however, it is not at all certain whether these were separate buildings, or merely different parts of the same building or complex of buildings (cf. Griffith 1985b: 357–8).

The existence of two churches of the Melkites, or Greek Orthodox, in Ramla is also confirmed by Eutychius of Alexandria, who records that in October–November 923, two churches, dedicated respectively to St Cyriacus and St Cosmas, were destroyed by the Muslims. The Christians complained to Caliph al-Muqtadir, who allowed them to rebuild what had been destroyed (*Annales* (CSCO, LI, 82; PG, cxi, 1151; trans. Pirone, 431)). M. Gil has argued that these buildings were not in Ramla at all and that Eutychius was speaking of the province of Ramla, that is to say *Filastin*, rather than the city (1992: 475–6 n.50). However, it seems clear from the martyrology referred to above that they were indeed in the city.

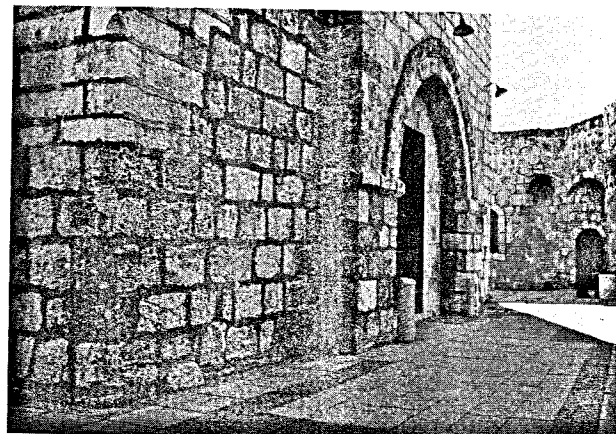
It is known from Fulcher of Chartres and other sources that the inhabitants of Ramla in the twelfth century still included indigenous Christians (see introduction above); at that time there was also an Orthodox archbishop of Lydda (see no. 137). Unfortunately there is no mention of a church in Ramla at that time.

In 1466, a Russian visitor mentions a church of St Nicolas in Ramla, which we may assume to have been Orthodox (Basil 1466: 249). Francesco Suriano also writes, in the 1514 edition of his treatise, 'In this city are many Christian churches, but in ruins, except one officiated by the Christians of the country' (1485b: 39–40). The list of churches dedicated to St George that appears in the 1518 edition of Nicolas of Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltramare* mentions 'one in Ramla (*Rama*), and one outside Ramla' (1346–50: 159 n.4); this appears to be a correction to the earlier editions, which only mention the church of St George outside Ramla, that is, in Lydda (no. 137). According to Pietro della Valle, the church of the Greeks was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (1616a: 491; Bagatti 1979: 158).

The Greek convent was later visited by R. Pococke (1743: II, 4) and by V. Guérin (1868: I, 36–7).

Description

The Greek church and convent of St George lies immediately west of the Latin church, now the great mosque (no. 188) (see fig. 51). The church was almost completely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, and now consists of an aisled hall-church with a low-pitched roof, a western gallery and an eastern projecting semi-circular apse. Overall it measures 22 m east–west (excluding the apse) by 11.35–11.6 m north–south (see fig. 55).

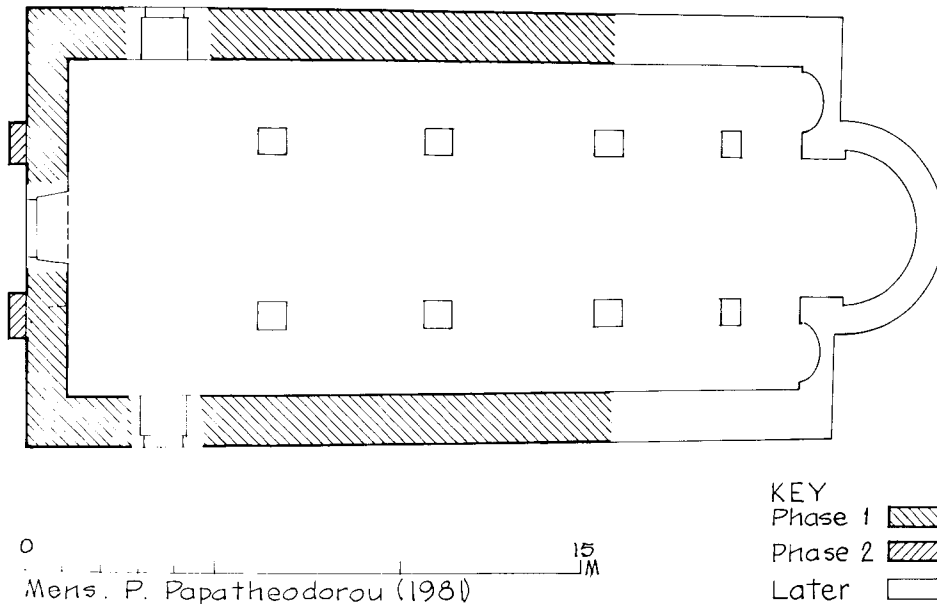


CXI Ramla, Greek church of St George (no. 189): west front, from the north-west.

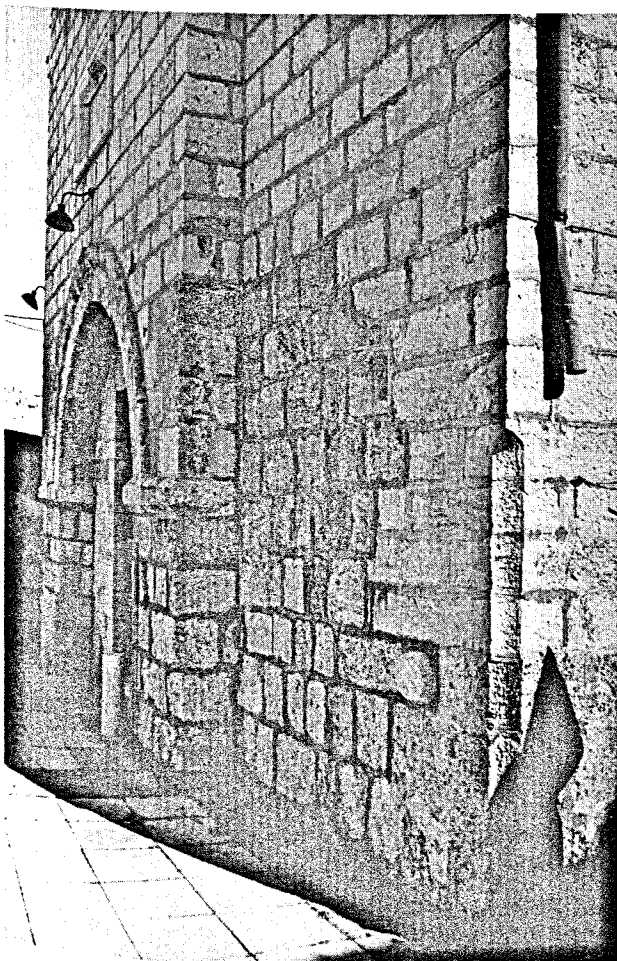
The interior is plastered, but at least three phases of construction are visible in the external masonry. The first phase is represented by the lower courses of the west wall and of the western parts of the north and south walls (pls. cxi–cxii); in both latter cases, these extend 15.75 m east from the corner. The north and south walls are 1.4 m thick, the west wall 1.1 m. They are built with regular blocks of marine sandstone with varying course heights; up to ten courses are visible in the west wall, but only six on the north and five on the south. Both surviving quoins have hollow chamfers, which may or may not be original. The surviving walling contains no architectural features. A constructional feature that finds a parallel in the two twelfth-century churches in Gaza, however, is the use of small marble through-columns, two of which may be seen in the west wall. The ashlar in the south wall also include one bearing a crudely incised equal-arm cross and another with the remains of a sundial.

The second phase consisted of the addition of a projecting portal to the west front. The masonry appears to be similar to that of the first, though it clearly abuts it. The portal consists of a pointed arch with a thick, flatly moulded hood, which sits rather awkwardly on a horizontal impost cornice; it may well have been re-assembled from antique voussoirs at some period. The character of the assembly suggests late or post-medieval work. The door itself was remade in the third phase.

The third phase entailed the almost complete rebuilding of the church in the nineteenth century. The masonry is hard white limestone, laid in narrow courses; the faces of the ashlar are roughly tooled with a point, the edges drafted with a flat chisel. As a result of the rebuilding, the nave was extended by 6.25 m to the east and the projection containing the portal was continued up to the gable (which it is unlikely to have



55 Ramla, church of St George (no. 189): plan.



CXII Ramla, Greek church of St George (no. 189): west front, from the south-west.

done before). All the existing doors and windows also belong to this phase.

The internal arrangement of the building appears to have been completely reorganized in the third phase. The fact that the length of the church in its first two phases, as represented by the masonry of the external walls, would have been almost identical to that of the three western bays of the phase-three church, however, suggests that the vaulting of phase two, and possibly of phase one, might possibly have consisted of a centrally domed basilica.

Epigraphy

The date of the nineteenth-century rebuilding appears to be given in an inscription on the west wall; however, somewhat inconsiderately, this is placed too high up to be read from ground level.

Visited 19.1.82.

Sources

Bagatti 1979: 156-8; Basil 1466: 249; Dagan 1993: 6; Guérin 1868: I, 36-7; Mamalades 1961: 87; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 159 n.4; Pococke 1743: II, 4; de Rochechouart 1461: 240; Suriano 1485b: 39-40; della Valle 1616a: 491.

Franciscan Hospice 1379.1481

History

It has been claimed that the Franciscans had a convent

in Ramla from 1296 (Hoade 1946: 115; 1978: 607; Bagatti 1979: 157), but documentary evidence to support so early a Franciscan presence there is elusive.

The first indications of the establishment of a Franciscan house in Ramla come in 1395 and in 1402, when certain properties were purchased from local Christians for the purpose of establishing a hostel for pilgrims travelling between Jaffa and Jerusalem (Castellani 1922: 166; Bagatti 1979: 157). Permission to establish such a hostel was granted by Sultan Barqūq in a *firmān* sent to the governor of Jerusalem on 15 January 1397 (Risciani 1931: 54–7, no. 7). Tradition records that the house that became the hostel was bought with the assistance of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. According to Felix Faber, the Franciscans of Mount Sion let it to an Eastern Christian, who lived in it, presumably as caretaker. Before this, pilgrims had to stay in the public inn in the town centre (Faber 1480–3: I, 246).

In 1403, soon after the Franciscans had established their hostel, the Hospitallers of Rhodes were negotiating with the Mamluks to control it and to be allowed to establish a consul in Ramla (Luttrell 1987: 195–6, 203). As things turned out, the Mamluks eventually refused to ratify the treaty that had provisionally been agreed, and in 1413 the hospice was still in the hands of the Franciscans (Luttrell 1987: 198–9 n.38). The Franciscans received a *firmān* in 1432 protecting their property rights in Ramla (Risciani 1931: 166–71, no. 16), and others in 1427, 1464 and 1472 granting them freedom from molestation (Risciani 1931: 126–65, no. 15; 290–317, no. 25; 328–47, no. 27).

Felix Faber and his companions stayed in the Franciscan hospice in 1480–3. He describes it as having a large court, entered through a small door, with vaulted rooms and chambers round about, and a fountain of drinking water (1480–3: I, 246–7). Francesco Suriano relates that it could accommodate 500 persons, but that the friars only resided there at the time of the galleys. The 1514 edition of his treatise states that it had two cloisters (1485b: 39).

Firmāns protecting the rights of Latin pilgrims to occupy houses in Ramla were issued by Sultan Sulaymān II in 1547 and 1549 at the request of the Venetians and French respectively (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 21, no. 16; 30, no. 23).

Gradually the Franciscan house began to acquire Biblical associations of its own. Boniface of Ragusa (1577), for example, claims that it had formerly been the house of Nicodemus, which was then turned into a monastery; by his time it also contained a chapel, in which Nicodemus was supposed to have made the

Crucifix that later went to Lucca (1577; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104). In the twelfth century, however, this tradition was associated with nearby Yazur (q.v.). Pietro della Valle was also told that the chapel in which visiting priests were accustomed to say Mass was the house of Nicodemus; he was uncertain, however, whether it might not also have been that of Joseph of Arimathea (1616a: 491; Bagatti 1979: 158). By the nineteenth century, however, that tradition was well established (Guérin 1868: I, 35).

Permission to carry out repairs was granted by *firmāns* in 1583 and 1737 (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 102, no. 73 (1583); III, 600–1, no. 350), and permission to extend the Latin cemetery was given in 1659, at the request of the English ambassador in Constantinople (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: II, 320–1, nos. 204–5). In the 1860s, Guérin was shown the room in which Napoleon Bonaparte was said to have spent a night in 1799 (1868: I, 36).

The chapel of St Joseph of Arimathea stands on the west side of the new church built in 1901–2 (Bagatti 1979: 158). It is much restored and rectangular in plan with a dome carried on four columns; its orientation is to the north-north-east (Bagatti 1979: 158, fig. 63). However, a Franciscan writer of 1894 noted that this chapel was itself relatively recent, though it was built next to a still older one identified as the house of Nicodemus (Bagatti 1979: 158). No doubt the latter was the chapel dating from the fifteenth century; but though formerly a house, it seems unlikely to have been very much older.

Epigraphy

While he and his companions were staying in the Franciscan hospice in 1480–3, Felix Faber recorded:

A pilgrim nobleman, by way of pastime, drew his own coat-of-arms and that of his companions, on the wall, very finely and beautifully.

His efforts, however, were then daubed with mud by a Muslim (1480–3: I, 259). A collection of late medieval *graffiti* left in Ramla by Western pilgrims was recorded by the Department of Antiquities in the 1940s (PAM: Ramla file).

Sources

Bagatti 1979: 157–8, fig. 63; Baldi 1973: 203; Boniface of Ragusa 1577; van Bruyn 1725: II, 151; Castellani 1922: 166; Dagan 1993: 5; Enlart 1925: II, 335; Faber 1480–3: I, 146–7, 259; Guérin 1868: I, 34–6; Guide Bleu 1932: 557; Hoade 1946: 115; 1978: 607; Honigman 1994: 424; Hussein,

Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 21, no. 16 (1547); 30, no. 23 (1549); 102, no. 73 (1583); II, 320-1, nos. 204-5 (1659); 336-7, no. 215 (1663); 401-2, no. 250 (1679); 444-6, no. 274 (1698); 600-1, no. 350 (1737); Luttrell 1987: 195-6, 198-9, 203; Meistermann 1936: 79; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 7; 1626b: 104-6; Risciani 1931: 54-7, no. 7 (1397); 126-71, nos. 15-16 (1427, 1432); 290-317, no. 25 (1464); 328-47, no. 27 (1472); Suriano 1485b: 34, 39; Vilnay 1978: 207; de Vogüé 1860: 368.

RANTIS

Cr. *Arimathia*, *Arimatie*, *Abarimatie*, *Rantis*

No. 190 Abbey church of St Joseph of Arimathea (?) 1519.1594

History

According to Eusebius, the Arimathea that was the home town of Joseph who buried Jesus was identical with *Remphthis* (Rantis) in the territory of *Diospolis* (Lydda) (*Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 144, line 29); cf. Jerome, *Epist.*, CVIII, 8, 2 (CSEL, LV, 313-14; trans. Wilkinson, 47)). Modern scholarship endorses this identification (cf. Abel 1967: II, 429; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 31; Wilkinson 1977: 150; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 67), though the number of other place-names in the Bible and in the countryside of Palestine derived from the same root has at times given rise to other theories, or simply to confusion. Abbot Daniel (1106-8), for instance, locates Joseph's Arimathea somewhere in the hills west of Nablus, quite possibly at Ramain (no. 187).

The identification of Arimathea with Rantis, however, was also known and accepted in the twelfth century. Around 1131-43, the author of the *Descriptio locorum* writes:

Four miles from *Diospolis* [Lydda] is *Arimathia*, or *Ramatha Sophim*, the city of Elkanah and Samuel, from which, according to the Evangelist [Matthew 27.57; Mark 15.43; Luke 23.50; John 19.38] Joseph came and in which he was buried. Indeed, recently his body has been translated to Bethlehem by the bishop of Bethlehem, along with the pliers found with him, with which Joseph took Jesus from the Cross, and one of the nails of the Lord; two others have been placed in the chapel of the King of Jerusalem. (ch. XLV (IHC, II, 106-8))

The pilgrim Theodoric saw Joseph's tomb in Bethlehem in 1169 or 1172 (ch. XXXIII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 180); see also Vol. I, p. 155); however, by this time Arimathea

and Ramatha-Zophim were often confused with Ramla (q.v.) (cf. Theodoric, XXXVI, XXXVIII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 182; 184)). When Rantis was no longer accessible to Western pilgrims, from 1187 onwards, this false identification gained general acceptance (e.g. Burchard of Mount Sion, IX, 7 (ed. Laurent, 78; IHC, IV, 194)).

By around 1150, a house of Premonstratensian canons had been established at Rantis, forming one part of the combined abbey of St Habakkuk and St Joseph (for the history of this foundation, see Vol. I, no. 127). The combined house evidently existed in 1153, when its abbot, Amalric, succeeded to the see of Sidon (William of Tyre, XVII, 26 (CCCM, LXIII, 797)). The church of St Joseph is also mentioned in 1159-60, when Abbot Herbert issued a charter in it witnessed by twenty-three canons (Bresc-Bautier, 139-40, no. 52; cf. 140-2, no. 53). By the end of the century, however, the two houses had separate abbots, both suffragans of the bishop of Lydda. John of Ibelin, who gives us this information, also confirms that the abbey of St Joseph of Arimathea was located at Rantis (*Livre*, CCLXVII (RHC Lois, I, 417)).

Rantis would have been lost to Saladin in 1187 and was never again in Crusader possession. The fact that the abbey is not mentioned in a letter of 1217, in which the abbot of Prémontré asked for the patriarch of Jerusalem's assistance in restoring to the Premonstratensian abbeys of St Samuel and St Habakkuk their lands, then occupied by the Muslims (Hugo, I, 38-9, no. 39), would seem to imply that the community's independent existence had by then come to an end; it seems likely that in exile the surviving canons would simply have rejoined those of St Habakkuk.

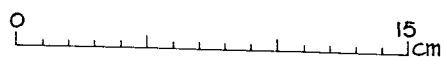
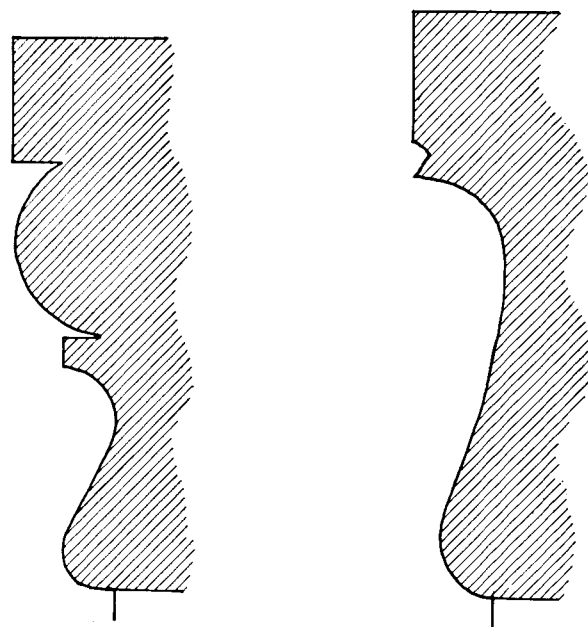
Description

Apart from its association with St Joseph of Arimathea whose relics had been found there, it seems likely that the Premonstratensian canons would have been drawn to Rantis by the prior existence there of a Byzantine church. A note in the records of the Palestine Department of Antiquities for 19 March 1932 reports:

In the common courtyard of the Wahdan family are the remains of an apse. The rest of the church is either under buildings or destroyed. . . . Tesserae existed in the church in the village, but these have been entirely destroyed.

Fr B. Bagatti recalls seeing similar remains in 1936 (1979: 122). The only remains of Crusader buildings noted on a more recent visit (1981) were three pieces of cornice with a cyma-recta moulding built into a house wall (fig. 56), and some other blocks of reused masonry.

Visited 1.6.81.



56 Rantis, church (no. 190): cornice mouldings.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 139–42, nos. 52–3 (1159–60); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), LXV (IHC, II, 106–8; PPTS, v, 46); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXVII (RHC Lois, I, 417); RRH, 94–5, nos. 358, 360 (1159–60); William of Tyre, xvii, 26 (CCCM, LXIII, 797; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 225) (1153).

Abel 1967: II, 429; Bagatti 1979: 122; Benvenisti 1970: 19, 344; Beyer 1951: 168, 266, 268; du Cange 1869: 821; Enlart 1925: II, 329; Hamilton 1980: 101; Hoade 1978: 541, 599–600; Johns 1937: 22 (n4); Meistermann 1936: 78, 466; Palestine 1929: 222; 1944: 1303; 1948: 100; Pringle 1993: 36; Rey 1883: 414; Schneider 1933: 156; Wilkinson 1977: 150, 168.

RUJM AL-MUGHAI FIR

Tall al-Kursi

No. 191 Monastery Church of St John Chrysostom 1951.1387

History

The two sites that comprise Rujm al-Mughhaifir (Ruins of

the Pardoned), Khirbat Mughhaifir to the south and Tall Mughhaifir some 300 m to the north of it, lie some 2 km south-east of Jericho (Hirschfeld 1990: 22–3, nos. 10–11). They were identified by Fr Féderlin as representing the remains of the two Byzantine monasteries founded around 475 by Elias, later to become patriarch of Jerusalem (1903: 198–9). In 528, the archimandrite Alexander granted one of these to the eunuchs of Juliana, niece of Valentinian, and it became known as the monastery of the Eunuchs (Vailhé 1899b: 529–30, 532–3; Augustinović 1951: 106–7). The other is mentioned in the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* (c.808) as ‘The monastery of St Stephen near Jericho, (which) E[lias] built’; but although it seems that it was still occupied the compiler of the text did not know the number of monks serving there (ch. xxxix (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 303; trans. Wilkinson, 138)). This also appears to be the monastery which a version of Epiphanius’s description of the Holy Places, dated between 715/17 and 1000, refers to as that of St Zosima the Great, lying 2 miles east of Jericho on the way to the monastery of St Gerasimus (ch. XI (trans. Wilkinson, 121); Augustinović 1951: 108).

In the twelfth century the monastery was known as that of St John Chrysostom (Augustinović 1951: 107–8). In 1106–8, Abbot Daniel places this monastery between Kalamonia (Dair Hajla: Vol. I, no. 85) and Jericho, and notes, ‘it is also surrounded by a wall and is very rich (*var.*: and strong)’ (ch. xxxiv (trans. Ryan, 138)).

In 1185 the Greek John Phocas also approached the monastery of Chrysostom from Dair Hajla (*Kalamon*). Which of the two sites was then being occupied he does not say. However, about a bow-shot from the monastery, quite possibly on the site of the other, he found a Georgian stylite, living on a column. This man he recognized from many years before, when, on campaign with the emperor Manuel I Comnenus, he had met him carrying out his ascetic exercises on a rock situated near the Attalian Sea (ch. xxiv (PG, CXXXIII, 953; trans. Wilkinson, 331)).

The monastery of Chrysostom is again mentioned by a Slav pilgrim in the fourteenth century, though this does not necessarily mean that it was still functioning at that date (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393).

When Clermont-Ganneau visited the site in 1874, the Russians were busily removing material for the construction of their hospice in Jericho; some of the blocks bore traces of frescos (1896: II, 40; Augustinović 1951: 184–5).

Description

The visible remains of the northern site are now virtually unintelligible. However, they included a central courtyard, paved with river boulders and containing a cistern fed by an aqueduct. Building remains included bricks, fragments of marble and mosaic tesserae, in addition to stone (Augustinović 1951: 186; Hirschfeld 1990: 23).

The southern site was separated from the first by a stream bed. It seems to have comprised a rectangular complex. Building debris included tesserae from both floor and wall mosaics, and bricks and marble fragments. Cisterns and tanks are also recorded (Augustinović 1951: 186–7; Hirschfeld 1990: 23).

Decoration and Furnishings

Remains of frescos, some including Greek letters, were seen on the blocks of masonry at the site by the Survey of Western Palestine in 1873 (Drake 1874: 73; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 221) and by Clermont-Ganneau the following year (1896: II, 40).

Discussion

Féderlin favoured identifying the northern site as the monastery of the Eunuchs and the southern one as the monastery variously known as St Stephen, St Zosima and St John Chrysostom (1903: 199, 215; Augustinović 1951: 188). Without excavation of the sites, however, this interpretation is impossible to verify.

Not visited.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), xxxiv (trans. Ryan, 138; de Khitrowo, 31); Phocas (1185), xxii; xxiv (PG, cxxxiii, 952; 953; PPTS, v, 27; 29; trans. Wilkinson, 329, 331).

Augustinović 1950b; 1951: 106–8, 167, 184–9, fig. 59; Bagatti 1971d: 107; Benvenisti 1970: 366; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 40; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 221; Drake 1874: 73; Féderlin 1903: 149, 198–9; Hamilton 1980: 166–7; Hirschfeld 1990: 22–3 (nos. 10–11), fig. 20; Hoade 1978: 493; Kochavi 1972: 115–16; Moore 1961: 44; Palestine 1929: 226; 1948: 191; Peradze 1937: 209, 228–3; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Vailhé 1899b: 529–30, 532–3; 1900b: 22.

RUMAIDA, Tall ar-

Tel Hebron; Cr. Mamre, Mambre

No. 192 Church of the Holy Trinity (?)1596.1036

History and Identification

A venerable oak, held to have been that beneath which Abraham received three mysterious visitors at the door of his tent (Genesis 18), was shown from early times, six stades (about 1.2 km) from Hebron (Josephus, *Antiq.*, I, 10, 4 (186) (Loeb, IV, 92); *War*, IV, 9, 7 (533) (Loeb, II, 158; trans. Williamson, 265)). In AD 135, after the suppression of the second Jewish revolt, its market was used for the sale of captives from Judaea (Jerome, *Comm. in Jeremiam*, VI (31.15) (PL, xxiv, 877); *Comm. in Zachariam*, III (11.4) (PL, xxv, 1500–1); *Chron. Paschale*, ann. 119 (CSHB, xiv.i, 474; PG, xcii, 613)). Two centuries later, the religious associations of this annual fair had acquired so overtly pagan a character that Constantine, at the request of his mother-in-law, Eutropia, ordered Patriarch Macarius to cleanse the site of its idols and to build a church there in their place (Sozomen, II, 4 (PG, lxxvii, 941–5); Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, 51–3 (PG, XX, 1112–17; PPTS, I, 14–16); Avi-Yonah 1976a: 99–100; Appelbaum 1977: 776; Hunt 1982: 15–16, 20, 105, 136–7; Wilkinson 1977: 173–4).

Constantine's church at the *Terebinthus*, two miles from Hebron, was seen around 333 by the pilgrim of Bordeaux (CCSL, CLXXV, 20; trans. Wilkinson, 162–3) and around 384 by Egeria (Peter the Deacon, section N1 (CCSL, CLXXV, 97; trans. Wilkinson, 188)); both sources also mention a well which Abraham had dug beneath the tree. A full description of the site was given around 685 by Adomnán of Iona:

This small hill . . . is flat on top, and on the northern part of it has been built a large stone church. On the right hand side, between the two walls of this church . . . stands the Oak of Mamre, rooted in the earth.

Adomnán goes on to say that although St Jerome claimed that the tree had continued to grow up to the time of Constantine (cf. *Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 7, lines 18–22), all that Bishop Arculf saw was

a lopped tree . . . with its roots in the ground. It was protected by the roof of the church, and was about twice the height of a man. This trunk is scarred and hacked about with axes, because small splinters of it are taken to many parts of the

world as venerable mementoes of this Oak . . . Around this church . . . one sees a few dwellings for nuns. (ch. II, 12, 1–6 (CCSL, CLXXV, 210–11; trans. Wilkinson, 105–6); cf. Bede, VIII, 2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 266))

The site of Constantine's church has been identified convincingly at Ramat al-Khalil (Grid ref. 1600.1071), on the southern flank of Jabal ar-Rama some 3 km north of Hebron (Abel 1967: II, 375–6; cf. 1910a). The remains were surveyed by the Survey of Western Palestine in 1874 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 316, 322–3; cf. Wilson 1880b: III, 123–4, fig. p. 125; Mader 1918: 99–101; Palestine 1929: 16; 1948: 188) and excavated by A.E. Mader for the *Orientalisches Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft* in 1926–8 (Mader 1929; 1930; 1957; cf. Vincent 1929; Dupont-Sommer 1930; de Vaux 1957; 1958; Ovadiah 1970: 131–3, fig. 55 (no. 135); Appelbaum 1977; Bagatti 1983: 71–3, fig. 9; Magen 1993b: 940–2).

The excavations revealed evidence of a long history of religious activity at the site, with the earliest structural phase dating apparently from the ninth to seventh centuries BC (Iron Age II). At the time of Herod the Great (37–4 BC), the earlier enclosure was replaced by a rectangular stone-built precinct, measuring some 49 m north–south by 65 m east–west, with entrances on the north and west. It is uncertain, however, if this was ever finished, for the whole enclosure was subsequently rebuilt, probably around AD 130 in the reign of Hadrian, with a shrine abutting the east wall and an altar in front of it.

The three walls of this shrine were subsequently incorporated into Constantine's church. This was a three-aisled columned basilica, measuring some 20.1 m north–south by 16.45 m east–west, with rectangular sacristies built in the angles between the precinct wall and the side aisles. The foundation for a narthex or peristyle ran in front of the building from one side of the precinct to the other. In the south-west corner of the precinct, a circular well containing large quantities of coins from the reign of Constantine onwards may be identified as that venerated as Abraham's well. It may be assumed that the tree would have stood near it, possibly to the north-east where a gap in the paving was noted.

Mader's excavations revealed that in a secondary phase the foundations of the apse had been covered by paving, on which a quadrangular altar had been erected. As thus remodelled, the church had the precinct wall for its *chevet*. On the basis of architectural remains, including mosaic fragments, and of *graffiti* found on the walls, Mader attributed this restoration to the period of Patriarch Modestus, after the Persian invasion of 614

(1930: 117, fig. 2, pl. VII; cf. Appelbaum 1977: 778; Ovadiah 1970: 132).

In the time of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and later, Christian pilgrims continued to mention the site of Abraham's oak at Mamre. However, although the finding of Crusader coins at Ramat al-Khalil and the testimony of al-Harawi in the 1170s (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 70) both demonstrate that the site was still being visited, at any rate by Muslims who saw there the *maqām* of Abraham, there is no evidence to suggest that the church was either still standing or in use in that period. Furthermore, the descriptions of Mamre given by twelfth-century Christian writers, though often coloured by earlier accounts such as those of Jerome and Bede, do not seem to be of Ramat al-Khalil at all (*pace* Wilkinson 1984: 223; Magen 1993b: 939).

The pilgrim Saewulf (1101–3) did not actually visit the tree, but heard from people in Hebron that it was still growing not far from the 'castle', or Haram al-Khalil (*non longe remota a castello*) (ch. XXVI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 73)). Shortly afterwards, in 1106–8, Abbot Daniel arrived at Mamre, two versts before reaching Hebron from Bethlehem:

This holy oak is close by the road on your right hand as you proceed, and it stands splendidly on a high hill, and around its roots God has paved the ground with white marble . . . like a church . . . On top of the hill near this oak is a place like the foundation of a house, level and clear without stones, and here stood the tent of Abraham near the oak and to the east of it. The oak is not very tall but very gnarled and with dense branches and there is much fruit on it . . . And under this oak came the Holy Trinity to the patriarch Abraham and dined with him and here the Holy Trinity blessed Abraham and Sarah his wife and granted them a son, Isaac, in their old age; here too the Holy Trinity showed Abraham a spring and there is a well there to this day at the foot of the hill near the road. (ch. LII (trans. Ryan, 145–6))

Belard of Ascoli (1112–60) is less specific as to the location of Mamre, though his description is also evidently not of Ramat al-Khalil:

Mamre is a town where on a hill there is the house of Abraham (*domus Hobde*); this house is a crypt cut in the rock, bordering (*conius*, for *confinis*) almost in front of its entrance a tree, planted in the ground (*arborem illatam*). (Belard of Ascoli, VI (IHC, II, 48))

The account written by Fretellus in 1137 was drawn from various sources, including Augustine, Ambrose and Jerome (Boeren 1980: xxvi–xxvii, 10n.). His topographical information, however, is more recent and places the hill of Mamre beside Hebron (*iuxta Hebron*), with the terebinth, also referred to as an oak (*quercus, dyrps*) or holm oak (*ylex*), at its foot. Fretellus explains, on the authority of Jerome, that the original tree

had continued to grow only up to the time of Theodosius I (379–95) and that the existing one was said to have sprouted from it. Although dried up, its wood retained a medicinal property that would prevent a horse suffering from the digestive disorder known as *infunditus* (ch. ix (ed. Boeren, 10; cf. Boeren 1980: 10 n.16)). This information is repeated by a number of other pilgrimage texts which drew on the same sources as Fretellus (e.g. Anon. vi (1148), 1 (IHC, III, 46); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 991); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 99–100); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxiv (CCCM, cxxxix, 181; PPTS, v, 53); Oliver of Paderborn (ed. Hoogeweg, 4)). The *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), however, specifies that Hebron and Mamre were two names for the same place (cf. Genesis 23.19; 35.27) and that the hill of Mamre overlooked the town; further, that beside the oak at the foot of the hill, 'there is celebrated with much grandeur yearly a feast of the Holy Trinity, amid the general exultation of the Christians' (ch. viii (IHC, II, 78; PPTS, v, 9)). By c.1170 the focus for this annual celebration would have been a church, for another text compiled about then states:

On the way to St Abraham in Hebron, the foot of the hill of Mamre is reached first of all; and there is now a church there in honour of the Holy Trinity. (Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (IHC, III, 14))

This appears to be the only specific reference to the existence of a church at Mamre in the period of the Latin Kingdom. Most other medieval Western sources simply refer in general terms to the tree at the foot of the hill, near Hebron (Anon. ix (1175), 5 (IHC, III, 96); Thietmar (1217), x, 21 (ed. Laurent, 29); Oderic of Friuli 1330: 154; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 368; Mandeville c.1356–66: 162); but the location of medieval Mamre, while evidently not at Ramat al-Khalil (*pace* Prawer and Benvenisti 1970; Wilkinson 1977: 174; 1984; Magen 1993b: 939), is difficult to determine precisely. Some further topographical clues, however, are provided by accounts written after the twelfth century, some of which also mention the church.

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), for example, locates Mamre 'more than a league from Rama [Ramat al-Khalil], on the right, near the royal road leading to Hebron'. Although he mentions no church, he relates that the 'oak is shown today before the door of Abraham's tent (*tabernaculum*). In truth, the old one has dried up, but another has grown from its root.' Another half-league from there lay the ruins of ancient Kiriath-arba (*Cariatharbe*), on a hill, and a bow-shot to the east of that was new Hebron, built around the precinct containing

the former cathedral church (no. 100) (ch. ix, 21–3 (ed. Laurent, 81; IHC, IV, 200)).

James of Verona also locates Mamre overlooking the Jerusalem to Hebron road, one mile from the latter. He too saw 'that house and tent [of Abraham], which is broken to pieces and the tree is cut short; it was a large house, as is shown by the ruins' (1335: 254). The *tabernaculum* or house described by Burchard and James was evidently something more solid than a tent. What they saw might well have been the remains of the twelfth-century church. Indeed, Nicolas of Poggibonsi describes how he saw 'a beautiful church' at the foot of Mamre to the left of the road as he came through the valley from Hebron (1346–50: 69). A chapel built above a spring was also seen to the left of the road by the Italian pilgrims of 1384, though the distances given by Giorgio Gucci imply, perhaps mistakenly, that this was closer to Bethlehem than to Hebron (1384: 124).

Abraham's oak in the valley of Mamre is mentioned by Felix Faber (1480–3: II, 414) and Francesco Suriano (1485b: 149), though they are vague as to its precise location. In the sixteenth century, however, the Spanish Franciscan, Juan Perera, provides certain details which allow the site to be identified with greater certainty. Proceeding from Bethlehem towards Hebron through the valley of Hebron, or Mamre, he writes:

To the right of the Valley, near the hill, is to be seen the spot, situated beneath an ilex tree, where Abraham saw the three angels . . . The ilex is a mighty stump, from which have sprung three shoots. From these trees, too, the pilgrims take relics as objects of devotion. Somewhat higher up, in the direction of the hill, there is a church which is called the Church of the Forty Martyrs and is now a mosque. (1553b: 37; cf. 71)

The mosque may be identified as the Mash'had al-Arba'in (Mosque of the Forty), which is mentioned by Mujir al-Din as built on top of the hill above the 'Ain Khibra, known latterly as the 'Ain al-Judaida (Marmardji 1951: 68); it seems to be the mosque on a hill that is associated by Gucci (1384: 124), Faber (1480–3: II, 413) and Suriano (1485b: 149) with Cain's murder of Abel. The whole site is described by Francesco Quaresmi:

Opposite Hebron on the top of a hill is a small church, which I believe, from the indications that are discernible beside it, was formerly larger; perhaps this is the chancel of the pre-existing church. Now it is converted into a mosque of the Turks, and held in honour not by Christians but by the self-same Turks, who forbid them entry, allowing them merely to look inside through a certain window that is in it.

It is known by two names: the Christians call it 'the Church of the Forty Martyrs', the Turks and many other Orientals 'the Tomb of Isai' [Jesse] . . .

Leaving the church of the Forty Holy Martyrs, and directing one's step towards Hebron as far as a stone's throw, to the right of the church is shown a beautiful terebinth tree, the size of which indicates its age; and round about in a great rectangle are arranged and raised stones excellently bound together with lime; the tree is planted in the middle, and is greatly prized by the locals and others . . .

The terebinth is on the top of the hill, next to the place where old Hebron was built . . . Where that tree is, pilgrims are not allowed to go . . .

Descending from the place of the terebinth, not far from it in the direction of Hebron, there is shown in a cavern a certain spring, whose water many of the indigenous people drink out of devotion and because they believe that drinking it can lead to improvements in health. (1626a: II, 583; 1626b: 376)

It may be noted that, like Suriano (1485b: 149), Quaresmi elsewhere describes an alternative site for Mamre at Ramat al-Khalil, which he correctly identifies as the site of Constantine's church (1626a: II, 577; 1626b: 372).

The remains of the Mash'had al-Arba'in, known today as the Dair al-Arba'in, occupy the summit of Tall ar-Rumaida (or Tel Hebron), a spur of Jabal ar-Rumaida, some 900 m west of the Haram al-Khalil on the south side of the valley (Grid ref. 1596.1036). Downhill, some 200–300 m to the east, there have been excavated the remains of a settlement dating from around the eighteenth century BC (Middle Bronze Age II), with ramparts built around 130 BC in the Hasmonian period (Abel 1967: II, 346; Hammond 1965; 1966; 1968; Ofer 1993). This was evidently the old city of Kariath-arba (*uetus ciuitas, quondam Cariatharbe dicta*) whose remains were noted by Burchard of Mount Sion in 1283 (ch. IX, 22 (ed. Laurent, 81; IHC, IV, 200)), and the 'old Hebron' (*Hebron uetus*) referred to by Quaresmi. Near by, and fed from an ancient underground water channel, is the 'Ain al-Judaida, also recorded by Quaresmi.

The ruins of the Dair al-Arba'in were surveyed by the SWP in 1874 and by A.E. Mader in 1911–14. They consisted of a small single-celled chapel with a semi-circular apse, converted into a mosque; it measured overall some 10 by 5.5 m, and was surrounded by vaulted rooms enclosed by a roughly quadrangular wall, extending some 25 m east–west by 30 m north–south. A built tomb had an inscription dated 652 H/AD 1254 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 327; RCEA, XI, no. 4386; cf. Guérin 1868: III, 242; Mader 1918: 144–52; Palestine 1929; 1944: 1306; 1948: 187; Ovadia 1970: 69 (no. 58); Hoade 1978: 444; Bagatti 1983: 77, fig. 9.3; Sharon 1978: 955). There appears to be no evidence, however, for Christian use of this site in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it

would be difficult to identify it with the twelfth-century church of the Trinity, for all of the sources that mention that building locate it at the foot of the hill, near the road.

The precise site of the medieval church of the Holy Trinity may never be known. The likeliest location, however, would be somewhere around the northern and north-eastern sides of Tall ar-Rumaida, near the main road. If 'Ain al-Judaida was the spring or well of Abraham seen by Daniel, the church might perhaps have been in the area now covered by the Muslim cemetery surrounding it (Mader 1957: 340–2). It is unlikely to have been at as-Sibta (Grid ref. 1581.1051), where the Russian Orthodox Church built a chapel to the Holy Trinity in 1925 (Mader 1957: 342–5; Hoade 1978: 448; Bagatti 1983: 78; Hepper and Gibson 1994); and, as has been shown, it was not at Ramat al-Khalil, where the remains of Constantine's church lay undisturbed until 1926.

Sources

Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (Tobler, 126; IHC, III, 14; PPTS, VI, 11; trans. Wilkinson, 242); Anon. VI (1148), 1 (IHC, III, 46; PPTS, VI, 38); Anon. IX (1175), 5 (IHC, III, 96); Belard of Ascoli (1112–60), VI (IHC, II, 48; trans. Wilkinson, 232); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), IX, 21–2 (ed. Laurent, 81; IHC, IV, 200); Daniel (1106–8), LI–LII (trans. Ryan, 145–6; de Khitrowo, 43); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), VIII (IHC, II, 78; PPTS, V, 9); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, CXXXIII, 991); Fretellus (1137), IX (ed. Boeren, 10); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 99–100); Saewulf (1101–3), XXVI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 73; IHC, II, 24; PPTS, IV, 24; 47; trans. Wilkinson, 110); Theodoric (1169–72), XXXIV (CCCM, CXXXIX, 181; PPTS, V, 53); Thietmar (1217), X, 21 (ed. Laurent, 29).

Affagart 1533–4: 141; Antony of Cremona 1330: 172; Bagatti 1983: 77, fig. 9.3; Boeren 1980: xxvi–xxvii; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 327; Faber 1480–3: II, 413–14; Gucci 1384: 124; Guide Bleu 1932: 616, fig.; Hepper and Gibson 1994: 102–4; James of Verona 1335: 254; Kochavi 1972: 61–2 (no. 147); Mader 1957: 339–45; Mandeville c.1356–66: 162; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 69; Oderic of Friuli 1330: 154; Ofer 1993: 608; Palestine 1929; 1944: 1306; 1948: 187; Perera 1553b: 37, 71; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 368; Poloner 1422b: 28; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 583; 1626b: 376; Suriano 1485: 149; Wilkinson 1977: 174; 1984: Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 56, 58.

Khirbat RUSHMIYA

Cr. *Francheville* (?); Med. Ar. *Rūshmīya*;
Hebr. *H. Rosh Maya/Mayim, Haifa-Romena*

Khirbat Rushmiya occupies the summit of a hill between two valleys commanding the Wadi Rushmiya (Nahal Remey), the principal entry to Mount Carmel from the north. The site is dominated by the remains of a Crusader tower, measuring some 20.8 m east-west by 13.2 m north-south, with walls 2.5 m thick and a rectangular turret or forebuilding (11.2 m east-west by 8.7 m north-south) at the north-east corner (Pringle 1991: 89 (no. 8); 1994b: 340, fig. 5a). There is archaeological evidence for occupation of the site from Hellenistic times (fourth or third century BC) to the Ottoman period (Guérin 1874: II, 260; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 329–40, fig.; von Mülinen 1908a: 32–5, figs. 14–15; Rothschild 1938: 45; Palestine 1948: 24; Israel 1964: 1375; Prausnitz 1972; 1974; 1975; Pringle 1997: no. 190; Friedman 1979: 110–11; Ronen and Olami 1983: xiii, 22–4 (site 34), figs.; Wilson 1980a: III, 102–3; 1980b: 150–1).

Rūshmiyā would have been held by the Franks from 1099 to 1187, and again from 1192 until 1291. In the treaty of June 1283 between Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Franks of Acre, it was included in the Frankish portion (Barag 1979: 209–10 (no. c11)). Although no archaeological evidence for any church there has yet come to light, various attempts have been made to identify it with one or other of the medieval monasteries known to have existed on Mount Carmel. C. Tönnemann, for instance, located the Byzantine laura of St Elisha (? = St Mary of Carmel, no. 213), the abbey of St Margaret (no. 211), and the cave of St Elias of Carmel (no. 203) in this area (1961; 1963); but, as Fr Friedman has shown (1979: 111–17), his topography seems to be back to front. A more plausible identification is with Crusader *Francheville*, where there was a chapel of St Denys (see below). If correct, this could suggest that *Francheville* represented a phonetic approximation to the Arabic name, rather than, as Jean Richard has proposed (1953: 115–16), an example of a *ville franche* on the European model.

No. 193 Chapel of St Denys (?)150.243

History and Identification

The chapel of St Denys at *Francheville* is known to us only from French pilgrim texts of the thirteenth century.

One such, written around 1231, first records the journey from Acre to Haifa:

Near this place [Haifa] is the mountain of Carmel, where (the place of) my lord St Denys is, where he was born at a town that is called *Francheville*, at which place is a chapel. Under the altar in a little cavern [is the place] where he was born, and one can still see the place. Near the chapel in a little valley, a stone's throw away, is a fountain of my lord St Denys, who found it and made it with his own hands; and it is a most beautiful place, and is the healthiest place of all the mountain for the body of man. (*Pelerinages*, I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 89); cf. *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VI (xxi) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 1042–3); *Chemins et pelerinages A* (–1265), I, 1 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 179–80).

Another slightly different account relates that as one went from Acre towards Haifa one came to Mount Carmel, lying on the left side of the road (see fig. 44).

In a prominent position on the mountain is *Francheville*, where St Denys was born, in a small church, in a small rock facing the valley. In this rock is seen the place, with a crib cut into the rock; and behind this church to the right is the fountain which Denys found and made with his hands . . . and then one goes to a small lodging house (*un caselet host*) near by, on a gentle slope (*à une petite descendue*). (*Chemins et pelerinages B* (c.1268), I, 1 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 189))

As the next place to be mentioned in this text is St Margaret's abbey (no. 211), it would seem that the route lay over Mount Carmel, rather than round its base.

Francheville, with its rock-cut chapel and its spring of St Denys, was therefore located in a high position on the edge of Carmel, south of the road from Acre just as one came to Haifa. It is unlikely to have been Old Haifa (*pace* Richard 1953: 116) or *Palmarea* (*pace* Prawer 1972: 205–6), for these were evidently in the coastal plain (see no. 174). As C. Kopp (1929: 107–9) and Fr E. Friedman (1979: 106–8) have argued, the most natural place to look for it would be in or around the gorge of the Wadi Rushmiya, which cuts deep into the Carmel range from this point. Although the exact location cannot be identified with absolute certainty, the likeliest site for the *caselet* mentioned in the text of c.1268 is Khirbat Rushmiya; it may even perhaps be identifiable with the tower (see above), whose remains have still to be fully excavated and interpreted. If so, the chapel, partly rock-cut, would have been below this, down the valley to the north (*pace* Friedman 1979: 109–10).

The identity of the saint is likewise still unresolved. Clearly it was not St Denys of France (*pace* Prawer 1972: 205–6). More likely, as Friedman suggests (1979: 93–4; cf. Dichter 1979: 105), the Denys in question was a Byzantine hermit. The popularity of his cult with Westerners in the thirteenth century, however, may not

be entirely unconnected with the legend that Pope Denys, or Dionysius (AD 259–68), had once been a hermit on Mount Carmel (cf. Friedman 1979: 93–4).

Sources

Chemins et pèlerinages A (–1265), I, 1; B (1268), I, 1 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 179–80; 189); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 89); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VI (21) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104^{2–3}).

Dichter 1979: 105; Friedman 1979: 86, 92–5, 106–10, 112; Kopp 1929: 107–9, 144 n.1; Prawer 1972: 205–6.

SAFAD

Cr. *Saphet*, *Sapheth*; Hebr. *Zefat*

The foundation date of the Crusader castle of Safad is uncertain. According to Muslim sources of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was built by the Franks in 494 H/AD 1102 (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 88; al-Qalqashandī, in Marmardji 1951: 117; cf. Van Berchem 1902: 413–15). James of Vitry (*Hist. Or.*, XLIX (IHC, III, 318)) and Marino Sanudo (III, 6, 18 (ed. Bongars, 166)) also imply that the castle existed by the end of the reign of King Fulk, who died in 1143. The first certain reference to it, however, is in an act of April 1168, which states that King Amalric (1163–74) had by then acquired it from its previous owner, Fulk, constable of Tiberias, and granted it to the Templars; the fact that the Templars continued to pay to the king what they had paid annually to the constable in respect of building work that he had undertaken suggests first that the castle's construction was recent, and secondly that the Templars had already been holding it from Fulk before the king took possession (Strehlke, 5–7, nos. 4–5; RRH, 116, no. 447; 122, no. 465).

The castle was taken by Saladin at the end of November or early in December 1188 (*Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIX.ii, 23); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 104, 149–50); Bahā' al-Dīn, VI, XLVII (PPTS, XIII, 31, 138–9); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, IV, 385); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 88). It was dismantled by al-Muazzam 'Isā in 1220–1 (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 88), but was returned to the Franks in 1240–1 and was rebuilt by the Templars between then and 1260 (*de Constructione Castri Saphet* (ed. Huygens); al-Makin (ed. Cahen, 153;

trans. Eddé and Micheau, 73); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 120); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 88–9). In July 1266, the castle was captured by Sultan Baybars (Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 151); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 89–96; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: I.ii, 29–30), who proceeded to refortify it, the works being completed by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (1279–90) (RCEA, XII, 125–6, no. 4589 (666 H/AD 1268); al-Ṣafadī (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, VI (x), 341); Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 101–2, 105, 107; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: I.ii, 48; Le Strange 1890: 524–5; Marmardji 1951: 115–17). The castle was refortified in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but was ruined by earthquakes in 1759 and 1837 (Huygens 1981: 17; Kallner-Amiran 1951: 230–1). (On the history of the castle, see Deschamps 1939a: 8, 17, 119 n.8, 141–3, 178, 186 n.2; Favreau-Lilie 1980; Huygens 1981: 12–28; Pringle 1985c; Amitai-Preiss 1994.)

The castle occupies the summit of an oval-shaped hill, with steep slopes to the north, east and west, and a plateau on which the town stands extending to the south. Little of the structure remains standing above ground, and since 1917 the site has been planted with pine trees. Analysis of the medieval descriptions of the castle, however, especially that recording the Templars' reconstruction of it between 1240 and 1260, combined with survey of what remains allows its general layout to be reconstructed. At the time that it fell to Baybars (1266) the castle was concentric. Its elongated inner ward was enclosed by a wall with a *talus*, containing a *chemin de ronde*, and defended by seven projecting rectangular towers rising from the bottom of a surrounding ditch. In front of this was an outer enceinte, strengthened by at least six rounded towers and fronted by a ditch and counterscarp. The latter followed the natural contours, giving the castle an overall extent of some 170 by 300 m. From the principal gate, on the south-east, the entrance passage appears to have run the length of the western lists between the inner and outer walls to cross the inner ditch into the inner ward at the north end. The highest point of the castle, at the southern end of the inner ward, was surmounted in Mamluk times by a vast cylindrical keep, some 35 m in diameter, which appears to encapsulate an earlier Crusader structure. (For description and analysis of the castle, see Guérin 1880: II, 419–26; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 248–50, 255–6, plan. opp. p. 249; Masterman 1914: 175–8; Huygens 1965; 1981; Benvenisti 1970: 199–204; Pringle 1985c; Kennedy 1994: 128–9; for a detailed bibliography, see Huygens 1981; Pringle 1997: no. 191.)

Although the castle is known to have had a *faubourg*, or *rabad*, at the time of its capture by Baybars and a

burgess court is recorded by John of Ibelin (*Livre*, cclxx (RHC *Lois*, I, 419)), there is no archaeological evidence for any significant extra-mural Frankish settlement. A tradition that the Red Mosque (Jami' al-Ahmar) in Safad, built by Sultan Baybars in 1275-6, had formerly been a Crusader church dedicated to St James is without any foundation (Masterman 1914: 176; Meistermann 1936: 600; cf. Bagatti 1971a: 227-8; Mayer and Pinkerfeld 1950: 41-8, figs. 36-55; Palestine 1948: 17).

No. 194 Castle Chapel (of St George ?) 1965.2638

History

After taking the castle in July 1266, Baybars built a mosque in the citadel and another in the *rabād* (Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 96; al-Maqrīzī c.1400b: I.ii, 30-31). Further details of the conversion of the castle chapel into a mosque are given by Ibn al-Furāt:

At this time [April 1267], the Sultan went up to the citadel to pray in the tower in which he used to sit. There he saw a large idol of which the Franks had been used to say that the citadel was under its protection – they had called it Abū Jurj (George). He ordered that it should be torn out and smashed, and the place was purified of it, its site being turned into a *mihrāb*. (c.1375: II, 105)

Other circumstantial evidence suggests that the Templar tower that contained the chapel may have been that which formed the core of the massive cylindrical keep begun by Baybars and completed by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn on the summit of the castle hill (see Pringle 1985c: 145-8). Al-Dimashqī describes this, around 1300, as 70 ells (35 m) wide and 120 ells (60 m) high. Two passages in the form of a double helix and capable of accommodating five horses abreast led up to the terrace roof; the tower was three storeys high, and below it was a water cistern (Le Strange 1890: 524; Marmardji 1951: 115; Pringle 1985c: 145).

The remains of this tower, by then entirely below ground level, were described by V. Guérin (1880: II, 420-1) and the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 249). Further investigations were carried out in the 1940s by the municipal engineer, Z. Haururtz, and N. Makhoul of the Department of Antiquities, when the Crusader cistern at the centre of the structure was connected up to the town water system (PAM: Safed file; cf. Huygens 1981: 31-2 n.62, pls. v-vii; Pringle 1985c: 147). Part of the entrance vestibule and passage were cleared by Adam Druks of the Israel Department of Antiquities in

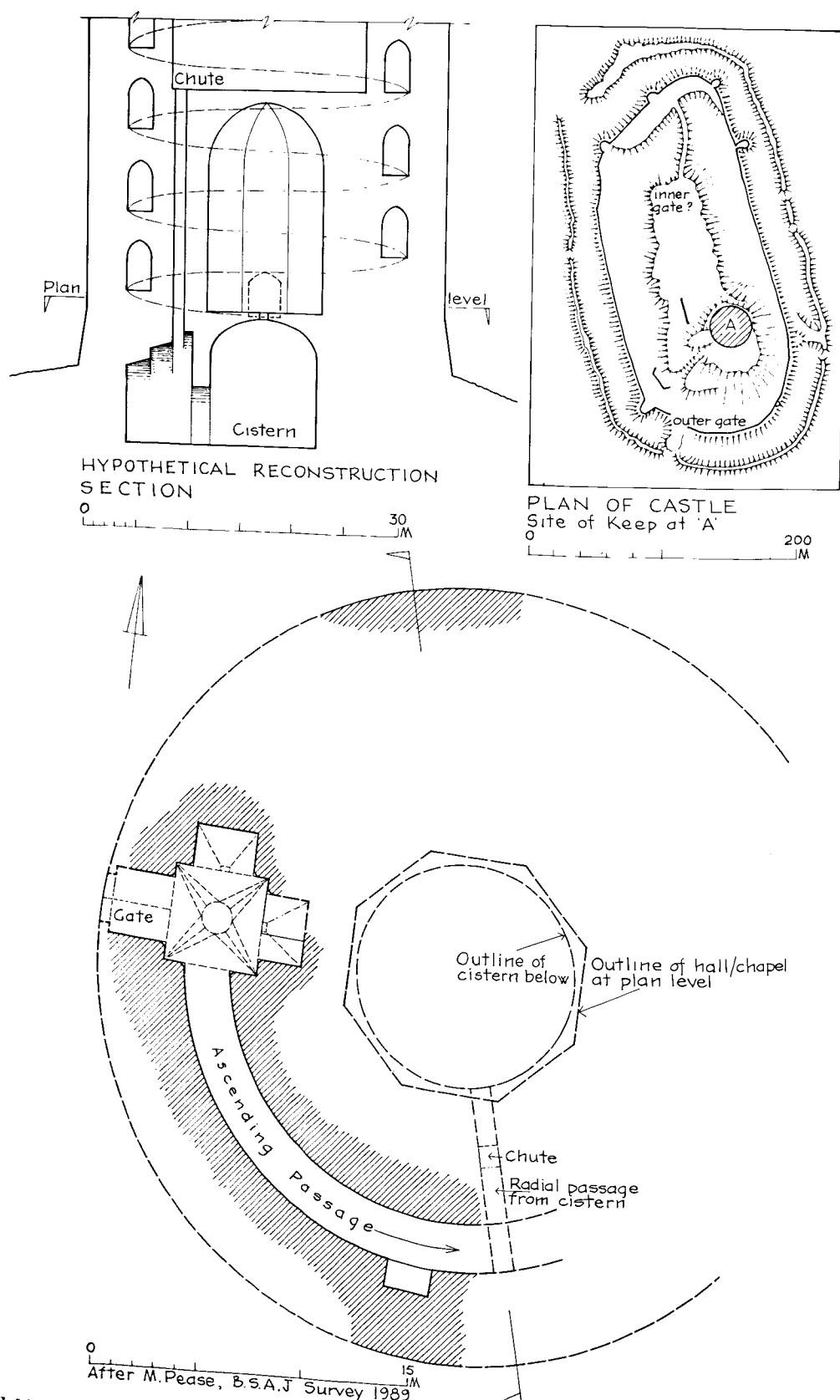
1961-2 (cf. Benvenisti 1970: 200-1, fig.; Bagatti 1971a: figs. 183-4), and further clearance was done in 1984-5 (Damati 1985; 1986). The visible remains were surveyed by the BSAJ in 1989 (Pringle 1991a: 90 (no. 11)); this survey is incorporated with the 1940s findings in fig. 57.

The Mamluk tower had an overall diameter of about 35 m and a battered outer wall-face. It was built with massive smoothly dressed blocks of stone. An entrance on the north-west, some 3 m wide, led into a square vestibule, covered apparently by a folded vault with rectangular cloister-vaulted recesses to the left and straight ahead. To the right it opened into a gently ascending helicoidal passage, 2.2 m wide; the floor, however, has long since been cut through and the passage itself blocked by Ottoman masonry after about 20 m. Below ground at the centre of the tower is a circular cistern, 10 m in diameter and 10.5-11 m high, covered by a masonry dome. Its sides are of masonry, faced with pink hydraulic plaster. A high arched opening in its south-west side, possibly inserted (cf. Huygens 1981: pls. v-vi), led into a passage or shaft, some 1 m wide, 8 m long and in places the same height as the cistern; its sides were similarly built and plastered. N. Makhoul, who examined this in 1947, diagnosed it as Crusader like the cistern (PAM: report 29 July 1947; Huygens 1981: 31-2 n.62, pls. v-vii). Some doubt is cast on this view, however, by the fact that it terminated directly below the helicoidal passage, suggesting that it may in fact have been Mamluk; its purpose was evidently to provide a position at which water could be fed into or drawn from the cistern. In certain areas, corresponding apparently to the positions of structures above, the shaft was arched over in masonry. On this evidence it appears that the thickness of the outer Mamluk wall, including the helicoidal passage, was about 8.5 m and the thickness of the cistern's walls about 2 m (PAM: reports by Z. Haururtz and N. Makhoul, 1941-7).

Nothing now remains to be seen of the area immediately above the cistern. In the late seventeenth century, however, O. Dapper, following an unknown source, recorded at the southern end of the castle

a large octagonal room, which receives its light only through a dome or a cupola; this is round, quite open and without any roof. This room could formerly have been the church or chapel of the castle. (1677: 131-2; cf. Huygens 1981: 18-19)

The same structure appears to be described twice in the combined collection of letters by J. Heyman (1700-09) and J. van Egmond (1720-23). The first account, by whom it is not stated, describes the tower on top of the



57 Safad: Mamluk keep, possibly encapsulating the castle chapel of St George (no. 194).

hill as having walls twenty paces thick, containing a passage like a cork-screw. 'At that time, the interior of this castle was still more or less intact; it was a hexagonal room with six arches, which received its light from the flat roof above, in which there was an opening' (van Egmond and Heyman 1757: II, 43-5; Huygens 1981: 19-20). The second description refers to

a large building in ashlar, constructed in the form of a cupola ... which seems formerly to have served as a Temple [i.e. church] ... Inside, one can see all over the walls niches in which to place idols as well as some small chambers leading off. All around there is a vaulted gallery of very solid and strong construction. (van Egmond and Heyman 1757: II, 43-5; Huygens 1981: 20)

If the wall thickness of twenty paces equates roughly with 12-14 m, the inner room would have corresponded in size with that of the cistern, above which it doubtless stood, with an internal diameter of about 10 m. Without excavation of the area above the cistern it is impossible either to tell for certain whether the structure was Frankish or Mamluk, or to confirm that it was indeed a chapel, as the Dutch writers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century seem to have thought. Until then the idea that the tower containing the chapel of St George, which Baybars converted into a mosque, was originally an *église-donjon*, around which Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn subsequently constructed their huge cylindrical tower-keep (cf. Pringle 1985c: 147-8), remains a hypothesis to be tested by further excavation.

Visited 16.12.79, 23.4.80, 22.10.83, 29.5.84, 29.8.89, 21.9.94.

Sources

Dapper 1677: 131-2; van Egmond and Heyman 1757: II, 43-5; Hamilton 1980: 109; Huygens 1981: 18-20; Ibn al-Furāt c.1375: II, 96, 105; Pringle 1984b; 1985c: 145-8, figs. 3, 5; 1993: 38; Riley-Smith 1971: II, 220.

No. 195 Cave Church of Tobias (Unlocated)

History

The Cave of Tobias (*Cave Thobie*), 'where they used to bury the dead', is referred to in Safad by two pilgrim texts of around 1230 (*Pelerinaiges*, xx; *Sains Pelerinages*, v, 20 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 102, 1042)). In the mid sixteenth century the same site, identified as the 'place and church of Tobias', is located by Juan Perera a

mile from Safad in the direction of al-Jish and Meiron (1553b: 48).

Sources

Pelerinaiges (c.1231), xx (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 102); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), v, 20 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104²).

Perera 1553b: 48.

SAFFURIYA

Sepphoris; Cr. *le Saforie*, *Sephor*, *Sephoris*, *Sephorum*;
Hebr. *Zippori*

In the late Roman period, Sepphoris, also known as Diocaesarea, was a significant city of Galilee, having served before the foundation of Tiberias in AD 23 as administrative capital of the area. Its population continued to be predominantly Jewish until well into the fifth century (Guérin 1880: I, 371-6; Abel 1967: II, 305-6; Wilkinson 1977: 155; Avi-Yonah 1978: 1051-2). By the twelfth century, however, Saffuriya seems to have been reduced to little more than a village. Jewish pilgrims continued to visit its graves (cf. Avi-Yonah 1978: 1054-5); but they mention no Jews living there (Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Adler, 44; trans., 28); Prawer 1988: 130 n.3, 185, 196, 205, 214, 232, 236, 244).

The strategic importance of Saffuriya was recognized from the early years of the Latin Kingdom. Baldwin II used it in 1126 as a muster point for his army (Fulcher of Chartres, III, 50, 2 (trans. Ryan, 288)); and the plentiful springs lying south-east of the town on the road towards Nazareth drew the admiration of visitors (James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 59 (IHC, III, 330; PPTS, XI, 37); Anon. Saec. XIII, II (IHC, IV, 342; *Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), IV, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 198)). They were used by the royal host in 1168 (RRH, 104, no. 396), 1171 (William of Tyre, XX, 25 (CCCM, LXIII, 946)), 1182 (William of Tyre, XXII, 16(15)-17(16) (CCCM, LXIII, 1030-2); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 97-8, 102; ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 71-2)), 1183 (William of Tyre, XXII, 25(24)-28(27) (CCCM, LXIII, 1048-55)), and fatefully before the battle of Hattin in July 1187 (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 153); *de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 218); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*,

xxviii–xxxv, xl–xli (ed. Morgan, 42–7, 52–3); cf. Rheinheimer 1990: 77, 79–82).

Despite its military significance and the fact that it occupied a position on a major pilgrimage route between Acre and Nazareth, we know relatively little of Saffuriya in the twelfth century. Although Theodoric (1169–72) describes it as a 'fortified town' (*ciuitas munita*: ch. xlviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; PPTS, v, 69)), the only trace of fortifications to remain is the basement and part of the first floor of a fine tower-keep, dominating the hilltop site. This stands 15 m square with walls 3.75 m thick, built from antique *spolia*, including sarcophagi (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 335–8, figs. pl; Pringle 1994b: 340, 346, fig. 4c; 1997: no. 192). According to a thirteenth-century source, the castle (*castrum Saphorie*) belonged to the king (Deschamps, 'Étude', 88 (no. 13); *IHC*, III, 480); but its small size counts against Rheinheimer's view that the forty knights from Nazareth who died at the Springs of Cresson in July 1187 were stationed here, rather than in Nazareth itself (1990: 77 n.62, 195–6). John Phocas describes the place in 1185 as 'a city of Galilee which has almost no houses, and displays no trace of its original prosperity' (ch. x, 1 (PG, cxxxiii, 933; trans. Wilkinson, 319; PPTS, v, 12)). When it was occupied by the Muslims after the battle of Hattin, it had already been abandoned (Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 34, 99, 100); Abū'l-Fidā' (*RHC Or*, I, 56); Ibn al-Athīr (*RHC Or*, I, 690)).

The road between Acre and Nazareth was nominally returned to Christian control in January 1229 (Sanudo, III, 11, 12 (ed. Bongars, 213)), but Saffuriya is described as still in Muslim hands around 1239 (Deschamps, 'Étude', 88 (no. 13); *IHC*, III, 480). It would have been returned to the Frankish kingdom under the terms of the treaty made by Richard of Cornwall with the Ayyubids in 1241 (Prawer 1975a: II, 283–7, map VIII; Rheinheimer 1990: 242–4). Louis IX and his queen spent a night there in March 1251 while on pilgrimage to Nazareth (Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita S. Ludovici*, I (*IHC*, IV, 105); Prawer 1975a: II, 343–4).

A charter dated October 1255 reveals that the village (*casale*) belonged to the archbishop of Nazareth, who at that time granted some land and two vaults in it to a Genoese citizen of Acre, Madio de Marino, on the same terms of burgage tenure as Ralph the Englishman (Radulphus Anglicus) had earlier held them from the church of Nazareth (Rey, *Recherches*, 36–8; *RRH*, 326–7, no. 1242). Whatever the status of the castle, it seems likely that the village had formed part of the archbishop's lordship since the twelfth century. It is also clear that its inhabitants included Latins, the lack of any mention of a burgess court being no doubt explained by

its close proximity to Nazareth. The population, however, also included indigenous Christians, one of whom, the archbishop's bailiff, or possibly *ra'is* (*nostre bais de Saphorie*), John Semes, witnessed the granting of four villages in the Battauf to the Hospital in July 1255, accompanied by his son, the scribe Butrus (Boteros) (Delaville le Roulx, *Archives*, 187–9, no. 84; *RRH*, 326, no. 1239; cf. Rheinheimer 1990: 255 n.96). There may also have been Muslims (cf. *RRH*, 335, no. 1280).

It has often been claimed that Saffuriya belonged to the Templars, to whom Rey even attributed the tower (1883: 446; cf. Johns 1937: 39; Hoade 1946: 466; Abel 1967: II, 305–6; Baldi 1973: 235). However, the reference in Joinville (ch. LXXX, 414 (ed. de Wailly, 173)) that is sometimes cited in support of this view (e.g. Benvenisti 1970: 207; Folda 1991: 88), quite clearly refers to Shafa 'Amr (*le Saffran*) (q.v.), despite one translator's rendering of the name as 'Sephouri' (Shaw, 267).

By 1259, the archbishop was experiencing difficulty in managing his estates in the Battauf, on account of enemy raiding and unrest amongst the Muslim peasantry (*RRH*, 335, no. 1280; Rheinheimer 1990: 258). Saffuriya would seem to have been taken by Baybars sometime between 1263 and 1266 (cf. Prawer 1975a: II, 451–85). It would therefore have been in Muslim hands when Burchard of Mount Sion saw it in 1283 and described it as 'a town with a very fine castle above it' (*opidum et castrum desuper ualde pulchrum*: ch. VI, 6 (ed. Laurent, 46; *IHC*, IV, 156); cf. Sanudo, III, 14, 7 (ed. Bongars, 253)).

No. 196 Parish Church (of St Anne ?) 1762.2398

History

Despite the fact that its population was predominantly Jewish, Count Joseph of Tiberias is recorded attempting to build a church in Sepphoris at the time of Emperor Constantine (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Adv. Haer.*, xxx, 11 (PG, xli, 424–5; ed. Holl, I, 346–7; *ELS*, 248–9, no. 337); Wilkinson 1977: 155). A bishop, Marcellinus, is mentioned in 518, and his name also appears on an inscription recording the renovation of a church building (Avi-Yonah 1961; Bagatti 1971a: 113–14, fig. 79; cf. Guérin 1880: I, 375). It has been postulated that this structure should be identified with a building excavated north-west of the theatre in 1931 (Waterman 1937: 4–6, 32; Bagatti 1971a: 113, fig. 80; Ovadia 1970: 182–3 (no. 181), pl. 72), though it appears much more likely that the structure in question was simply the

atrium of a private house (cf. Avi-Yonah 1978: 1053-4).

Towards the end of the sixth century the Piacenza Pilgrim saw in Diocaesarea, presumably in its main church, certain objects associated with the Virgin Mary, including a flagon, a bread basket and the chair on which she was sitting at the time of the Annunciation (ch. IV (CCSL, CLXXV, 130; trans. Wilkinson, 79); cf. Wilkinson 1977: 155). This appears to be the earliest suggestion of the existence of a tradition that was to become well established in the later Middle Ages, that Sepphoris was the home town of Mary's parents, Anne and Joachim.

In the twelfth century, it seems to have been generally believed that St Anne had come from Saffuriya (*Descriptio locorum* (1131-43), xxix (IHC, II, 94; PPTS, v, 30); Fretellus (1137), xxxvii (ed. Boeren, 25); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 995); Theodoric (1169-72), XLVIII (CCCM, cxxxix, 193; PPTS, v, 69); Anon. v (1180s), 12 (IHC, III, 32); Anon. vi (1148), 6 (IHC, III, 62); cf. Thietmar (1217), I, 6 (ed. Laurent, 3); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104); Anon. Saec. XIII, II (IHC, IV, 342); Philip of Savona (1283), IV (IHC, IV, 222)). John of Würzburg records that it was also said that the Virgin Mary had been born there, though he knew from the testimony of Jerome that she had been born in Nazareth, where he himself had visited the actual place (CCCM, cxxxix, 80-1). This tradition, however, was later accepted by James of Vitry (*Hist. Or.*, I, 59 (IHC, III, 330; PPTS, XI, 38); cf. Anon. x (1250-) (IHC, III, 106)).

It is perhaps surprising, in view of the persistence of the tradition associating Saffuriya with St Anne, that no medieval Western pilgrim mentions the existence of any church there. The explanation may possibly be that on the one hand the tradition was propagated largely by the indigenous Christians, and on the other that the church of Nazareth, to which Saffuriya belonged, had its own Marian interests to protect, as John of Würzburg implies.

In the fourteenth century, James of Verona acknowledged Saffuriya as the home town of St Joachim, but argued that St Anne was from Jerusalem, where the church built in her honour marked the birthplace of the Virgin Mary (1335: 281). Nicolas of Poggibonsi, on the other hand, found Saffuriya destroyed, but noted that there had been a church there in the place where St Anne had been born (1346-50: 75).

By the seventeenth century, the association of the remains of the Crusader church in Saffuriya with Joachim and Anne was well established. Francesco Quaresmi recounts:

And in the place where the house of Joachim used to be, a distinguished church was afterwards built of squared stones; it had two orders of columns supporting the vaulting of the three naves; its *chevet* had three chapels, which at present accommodate the little houses of Moors. (1626a: II, 640; 1626b: 398-400)

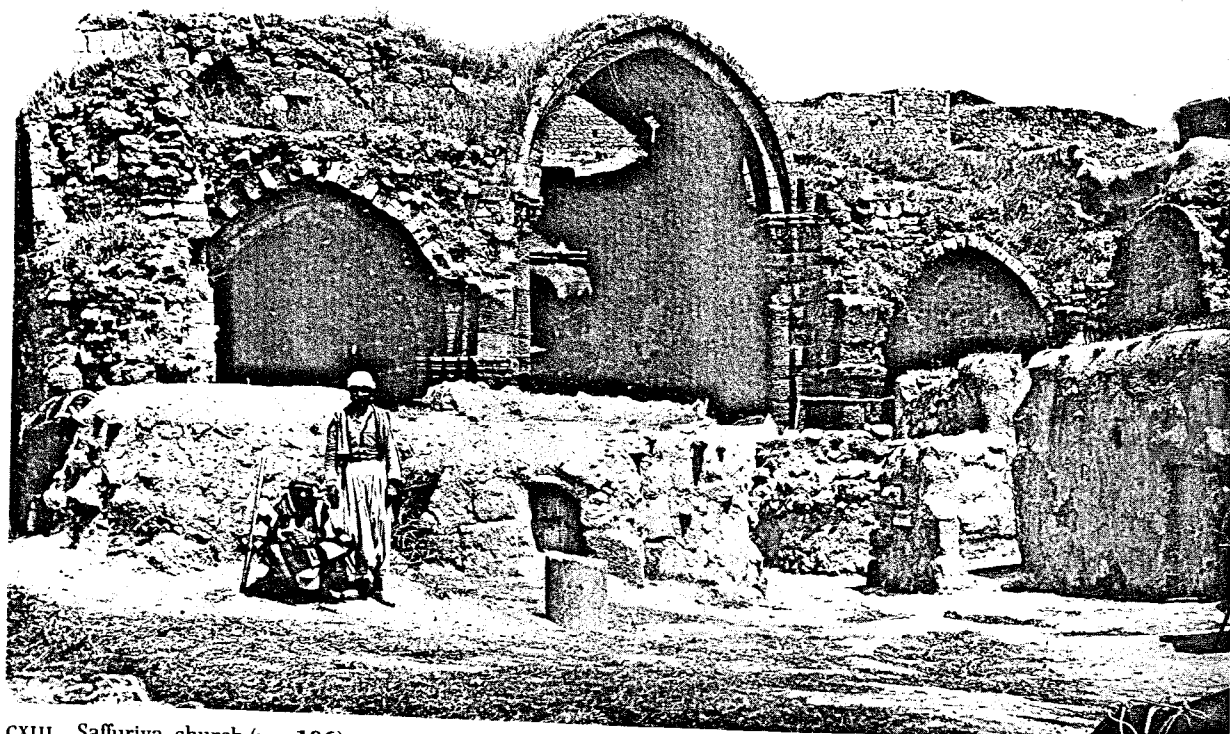
The site was still occupied by Muslims in the time of E. Roger (1664: 55), and Henry Maundrell describes it as 50 paces long and broad (1697a: 481; 1697b: 157). According to Fr H. Donner, a mandate had been granted by Fakhr al-Din allowing an annual pilgrimage. By the time that he was writing, a century later, two of the chapels had been cleared of dwellings and were used annually for this purpose, the place being served at other times by a Greek Catholic priest, partly supported by the Franciscans of Nazareth (Donner 1766: 31; cf. Pococke 1743: II, 62; Bagatti 1971a: 118). Ottoman *firman*s upholding the right of the Latins to visit the site were issued from 1641 onwards (Hussein, Sciad and Gosserlin 1934: I, 261-4, no. 171-2; 285-6, no. 184 (1644); II, 308-9, no. 197 (1653); 409-10, no. 254 (1685); 431-2, no. 267 (1692); 478-9, no. 288 (1710)).

One aisle of the church was still standing in 1801 (Clarke 1812: 408). In the nineteenth century, the Franciscans continued to visit the church annually on the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin. In 1841, they succeeded in purchasing the site, but continuing local opposition prevented them from taking possession until 1870 (Cassini da Perinaldo 1864: 481-5; Bagatti 1971a: 118-20). When it was visited by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine, in November 1872 and July 1875 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 335), the nave was still occupied by houses (see pl. cxiii). In 1879, however, the Franciscans removed thirty-nine dwellings in order to clear the site and undertake excavations. Among the discoveries was an antique cistern, 12 m wide and 4 m deep, which was put back into use. A wall was also built around the site, and a hospice room on top of the *chevet* (Bagatti 1971a: 120).

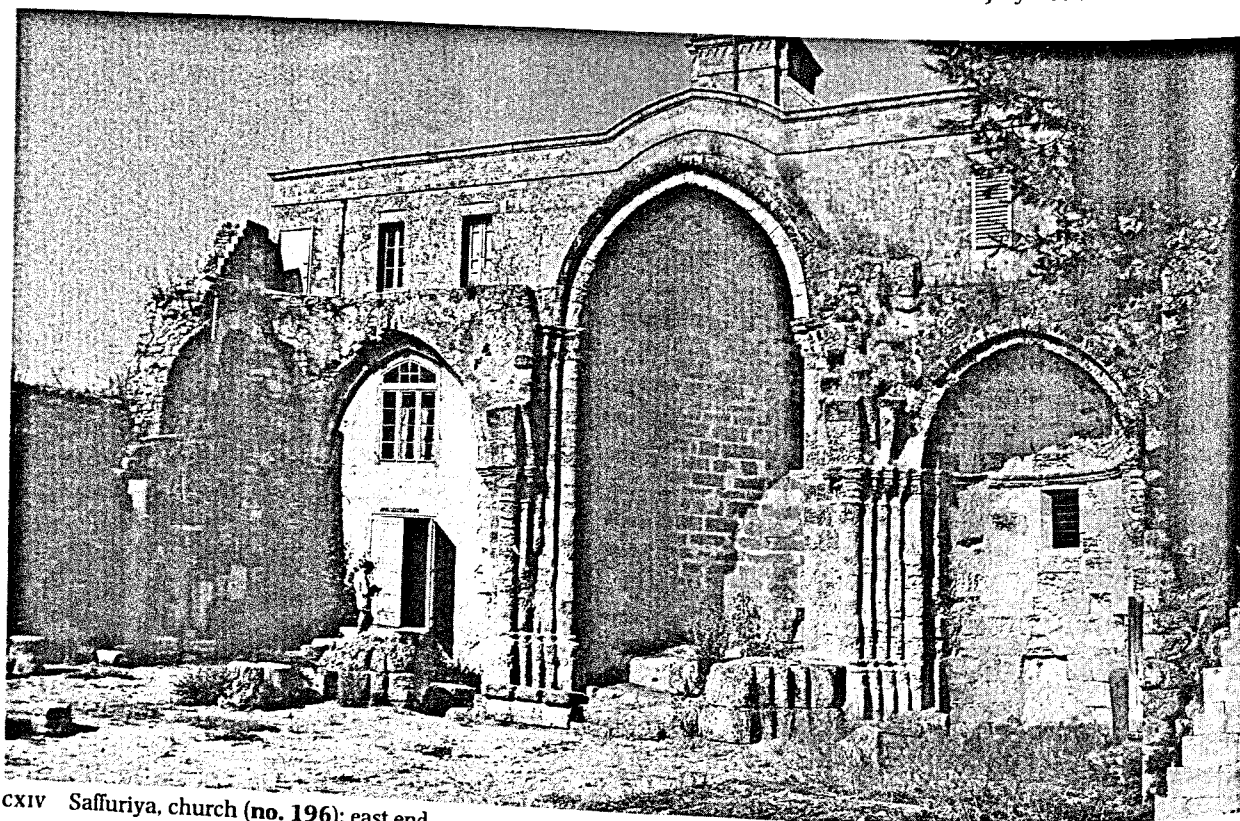
The building has been described by M. de Vogüé (1860: 355), Fr Viaud (1910: 179-84, figs. 91-2), C. Enlart, who does not appear to have seen it (1925: II, 349-51), C.N. Johns (PEF: Field Notebook 1946-7, 2 March 1947), and J. Folda (1991). The church now belongs to the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land; the keys are held by the nearby orphanage, run by the Sisters of St Anne.

Description

Excavations by Fr Viaud in 1909 demonstrated that the church was built over the remains of a synagogue, dated



cxiii Saffuriya, church (no. 196): east end, as photographed by H.H. Kitchener for the SWP on 3 July 1875.



cxiv Saffuriya, church (no. 196): east end.

by the style of its mosaic pavement to the third to early fourth century AD. This incorporated an inscription in Hebrew reading: 'Honoured be the memory of Rabbi Yudan, the son of Tanhum, the son of [Botah, who has given this mosaic. May it be a blessing for him!]' (Viaud 1910: 182-4, fig. 92; Clermont-Ganneau 1910; Avi-Yonah 1934: 39-40, nos. 295-6; Saller 1969: 57). The fact that the mosaic extended beneath the north wall of the church and some way beyond it suggests that the church builders were not influenced by the layout of the earlier building, of which they were quite possibly unaware. However, the existence of a flight of steps at the west end of the church and of a capital bearing a cross and the Greek inscription, *touto nika* (this conquers), among the *spolia* used in it (Bagatti 1971a: 120, fig. 83) raises the possibility that the medieval church may have replaced an earlier one built on the site of the synagogue in or after the fourth century. This question can now only be resolved by further excavation.

Of the medieval church only the flat *chevet* and the outer walls and foundations of the first bay of the nave now remain standing (figs. 58-9; pl. cxiv). Overall it measured 21.9 m north-south over walls 2.2 m thick. If it is accepted that the boundary wall of 1879 follows more or less the outline of the nave walls, the overall length would have been some 36.6 m. The church would therefore have been a three-aisled basilica, probably of five bays. It also appears that the nave narrowed very slightly towards the west end.

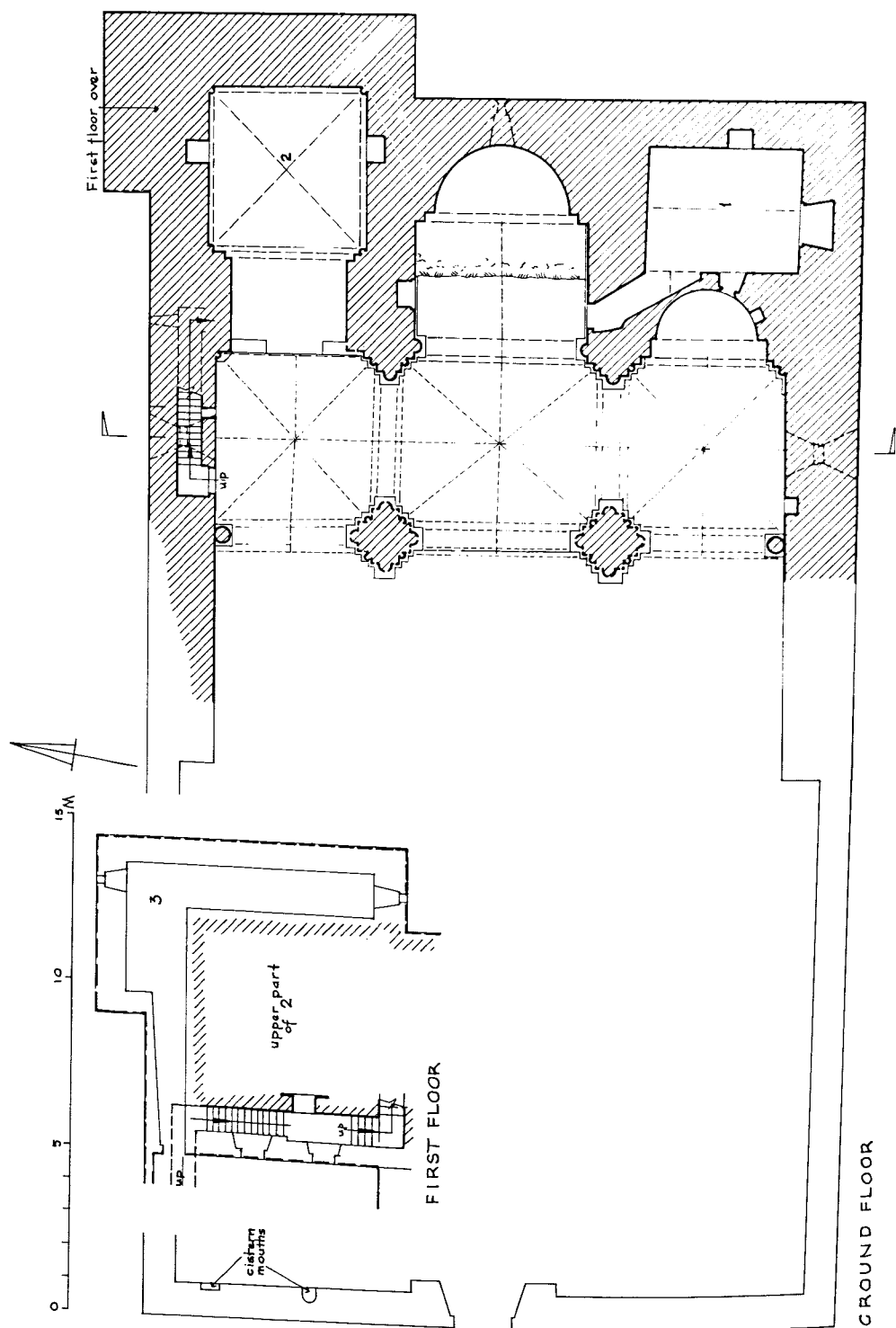
The church is built in soft yellow local limestone. The same stone was also used for much of the mouldings and capitals, with the result that little carved detail remains. Late Roman and Byzantine *spolia* include granite columns and some limestone capitals. The wall facing appears to have been ashlar throughout, the course heights varying from 31 to 48 cm on the exterior, and from 19 to 24 cm on the interior; diagonal tooling is common, but no masonry marks have been found. Where it exists, the vaulting is also ashlar.

Internally the nave and aisles together measured some 17.3 m across, the span of the central nave being 4.4 m and those of the north and south aisles being 3.6 m and 3.4 m respectively. The nave piers were cruciform, with an engaged column on each leading face and an additional rounded shaft in each re-entrant angle. The former would have carried the nave arcades and the transverse arches spanning the nave and aisles, while the latter supported the groins of the groin-vaults that covered both the nave and the aisles. Where the springing of these still survives, it is plain that they had no ribs (pls. cxv-cxvi). At the east end, the aisle capitals appear to have been austere broad-leaf derivatives of

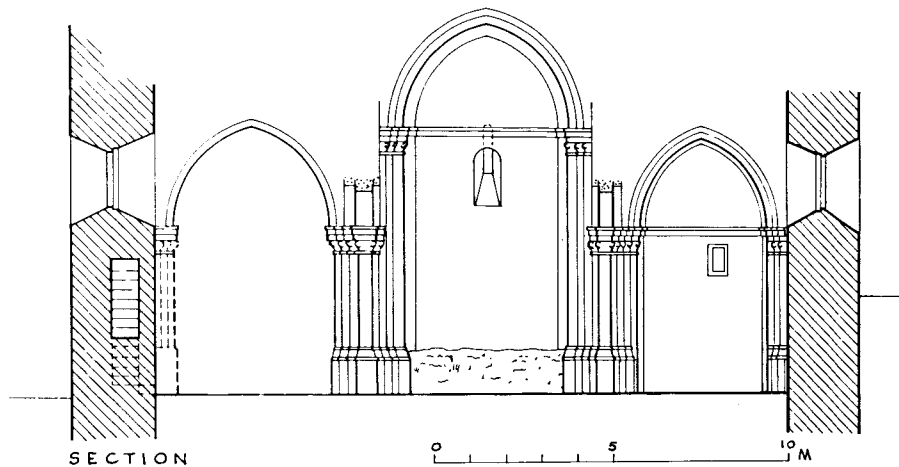
waterleaf types (pls. cxvii, cxix), while those in the central nave were derivatives of Corinthian capitals. The responds for the aisle vaulting consisted, in the first bay at least, of reused antique granite columns (diameters 45-51 cm) on matching bases (pl. cxv), built partly into the wall. The SWP noted a second one against the north wall, 4.95 m west of the first; but this is no longer *in situ* (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 1, 335, fig.). Judging by the heights of the apses, the central nave would have been at least 10.1 m high, and the aisles 6.75 m. It may be assumed that the nave would have been lit by clearstorey windows; but whether or not there might have been a dome over the second bay cannot be verified. In the first bay both aisle windows survive; they have rounded heads and a generous double splay (the daylight opening being 1.5 by 0.47 m).

The east end of the church survives virtually complete, though it is now capped by the Franciscan hospice built in 1879. Its survival was probably due not only to its massive construction, but also to the fact that it was built partly into the hillside. The central apse is semi-circular, and preceded by a rectangular sanctuary covered by a pointed barrel-vault. Part of the apse's hemicycle is cut into the natural rock, which also extends forward in the form of an artificially scarped platform, some 1.15 m above the excavated ground level of the nave. When consideration is given to where the twelfth-century floor level would have been in the sanctuary, however, it is apparent that the step represented by the rock feature either would not have registered at all, or would have been of minimal height when covered by the pavement. Indeed remains of a step some 40 cm high surviving between the two nave piers show that the entire first bay of the nave would also have been raised well above the present excavated ground level; and a further step up may also be envisaged between this and the sanctuary itself. The fact that the rock scarp is precisely aligned with the edge of the building containing a mosaic that Viaud excavated north of the church in 1909 suggests that it belongs to the southward continuation of the same third- or fourth-century building and has little or no relevance for interpreting the layout of the Crusader church (cf. Viaud 1910: fig. 91).

The apse is lit on the east by a much restored round-headed window with internal splay; because of the external rise in ground level, the head is higher on the outside than on the inside. In the north wall of the sanctuary is a rectangular aumbry with rebates for a door, and facing it in the south wall a rectangular door, covered by a low triangular relieving arch, leading into a barrel-vaulted passage into a sacristy (1) behind the



58 Safuriya, church (no. 196): plan.



59 Saffuriya, church (no. 196): section.

south apse (pl. cxx). This is covered by a barrel-vault, and has aumbries, rebated for doors, in the east and south walls. In the west wall, a rectangular barred window gave a modicum of borrowed light from the south apse. The south apse itself is semi-circular, with a pointed semi-dome and a small rectangular aumbry in its south side.

Instead of having an apse, the north aisle terminates in a rectangular chapel or sacristy (2), 4.6 m east-west by 5 m north-south, preceded by a deep arch mirroring the elevation of the south apse (pls. cxxi-cxxii). That this area had a liturgical function is suggested by the rectangular aumbries that it has in its north and south walls. It is covered by a groin-vault the same height as the central apse, springing from rounded angle shafts with foliated capitals of twelfth-century type. A cornice moulding which now runs between the imposts appears to be a modern plaster insertion. The height of its vault and the fact that the north-east corner of the church is buttressed out to accommodate it suggest that it formed the base for a tower. On the east side, a straight joint between the buttress and the east wall of the *chevet* at a lower level might imply that such a tower was not envisaged when the *chevet* was first laid out. If there was a change of plan, however, it must have occurred soon after building started, for there is no such straight joint on the north side, and at a higher level the buttress and *chevet* are securely bonded on both sides. Part of the buttress, however, has been hollowed out in recent times on the north (cf. Viaud 1910: fig. 91; Benvenisti 1970: fig. p. 206).

The upper floors of the tower were reached by means of a staircase inside the north wall of the north aisle. This rises towards the east, then turns to the right to

pass over the arch separating the chapel from the north aisle. At this point the right-hand wall, containing two windows, is modern, though it seems likely that there would originally have been a door here giving access to the aisle roof. The left-hand wall, on the other hand, is mostly original, and contains a small rectangular window looking down into the chapel. After turning again to the left, it seems likely that the passage would originally have then turned left again to reach the floor above the chapel vault; as rebuilt in 1879, however, it now turns right to lead around the back of the central apse's vault to reach the modern hospice room built above the southern sacristy. Two rectangular openings, one either side of the sanctuary vault at this level, might possibly have allowed access from the tower passage to the top of a chancel screen.

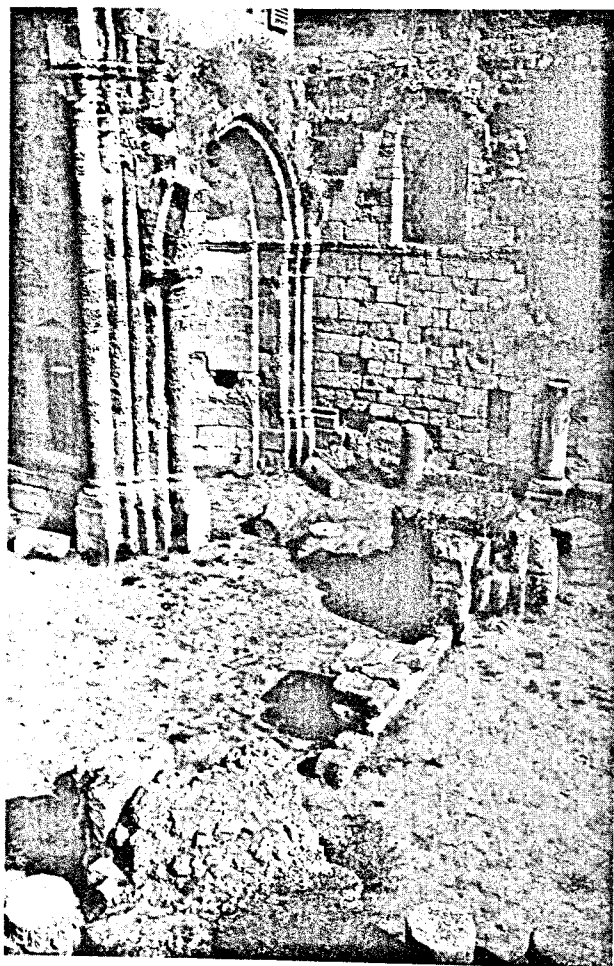
As rebuilt in 1879, the buttress around the tower on the north and east contains a narrow passage (3), accessible from a door from the aisle roof. It seems probable, however, that this space would originally have been solid masonry.

Associated Features

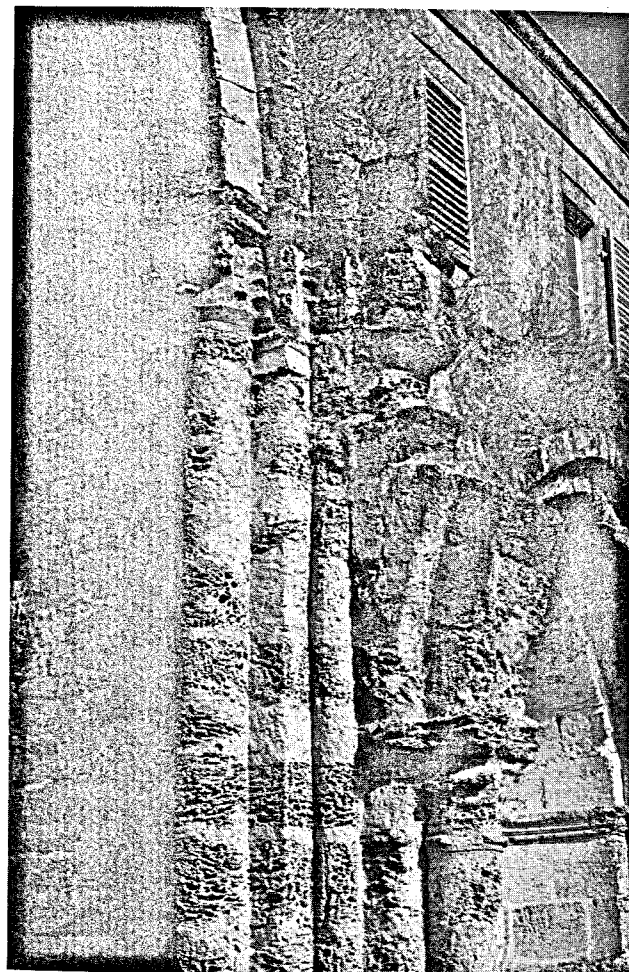
Viaud excavated some graves which he considered to belong to the Crusader period on the north side of the church in 1909 (1910: 183, fig. 91).

Decoration and Furnishing

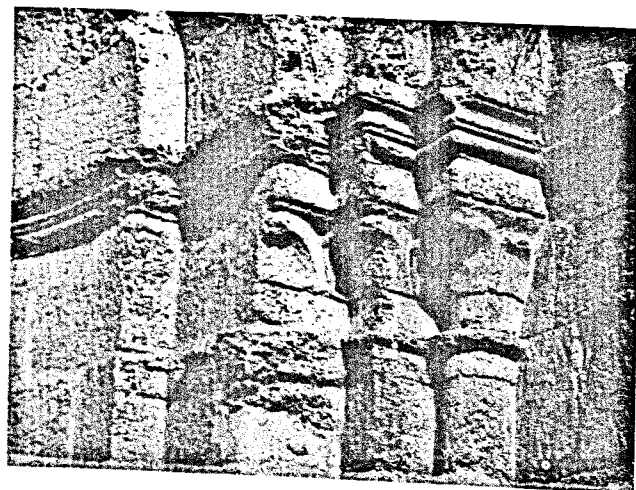
Viaud's excavations revealed traces of mosaic in the nave bay immediately in front of the central apse. However, it seems probable that these were a continuation of the third- or fourth-century synagogue mosaic that was found further north (1910: 182).



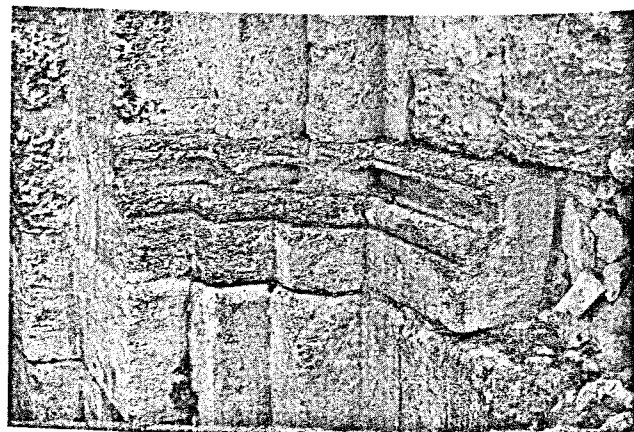
cxv Saffuriya, church (no. 196): first bay of the nave, looking south.



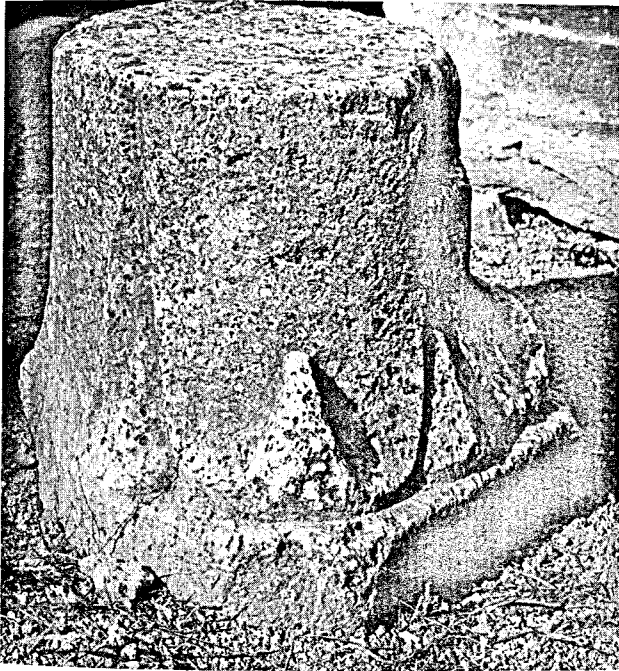
cxvi Saffuriya, church (no. 196): junction of the south nave arcade with the apse.



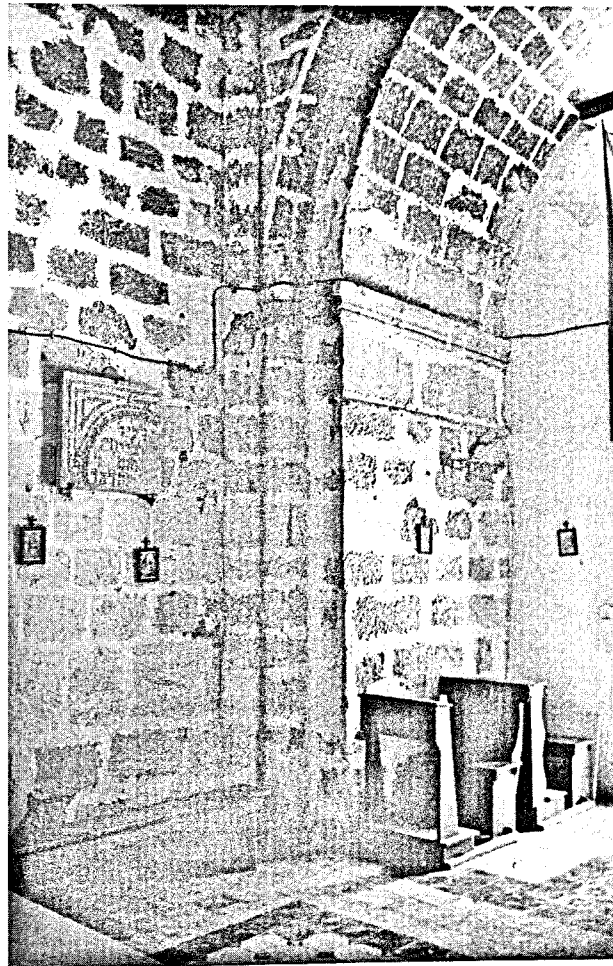
cxvii Saffuriya, church (no. 196): capitals on the right-hand side of the southern apse.



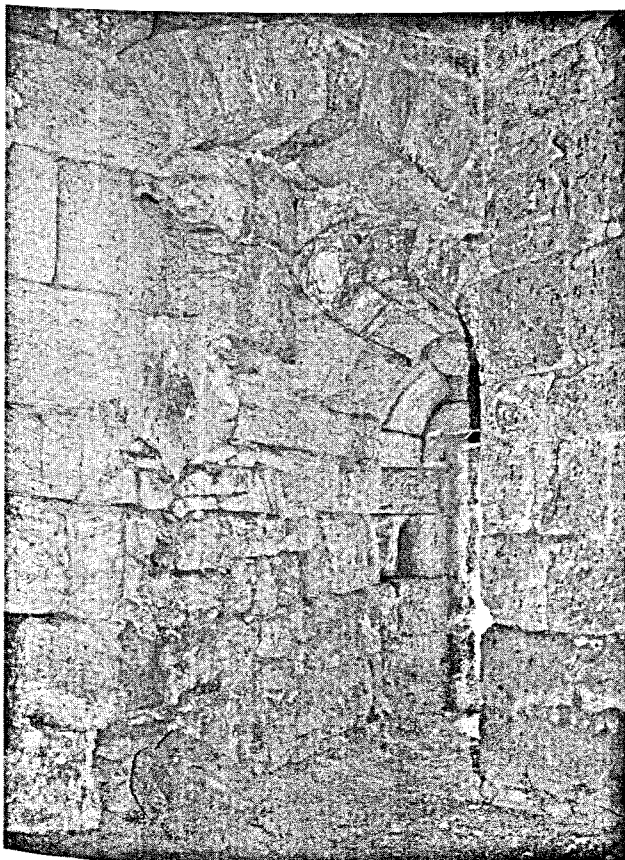
cxviii Saffuriya, church (no. 196): base moulding below the capitals shown in pl. cxvii.



CXIX Saffuriya, church (no. 196): capital, probably from one of the aisles.



CXXI Saffuriya, church (no. 196): chapel or sacristy 2, interior looking south-west.



CXX Saffuriya, church (no. 196): entrance to room 1, seen from inside.

Movable Objects

Sometime after 1801, Dr Edward Clarke acquired three medieval icons with Arabic inscriptions that were found in 'an old vaulted lumber-room' (possibly sacristy 1) in the church at Saffuriya (1812: 408–15, pl. opp. p. 410). These were apparently taken to Cambridge, but have not been traced (cf. Robinson 1841: III, 203–4; Mislin 1876: III, 596; Boase 1967: 31; Bagatti 1971a: 118; Folda 1991: 94–5 n.1).

Around 1920, a censer and some candlesticks were found in a cistern on the south flank of the church; they were immediately sold by the finders, and it is uncertain to what period they belonged (Bagatti 1971a: 120).

Discussion

Enlart, who never saw the church, was under the impression that the tower vault had been ribbed; on this



CXXII Saffuriya, church (no. 196): chapel or sacristy 2, the vaulting, looking north-west.

basis he argued for the tower having been added at the time of Louis IX's visit in the 1250s (1925: II, 350–1). In fact, Viaud was entirely correct in describing it as a groin-vault (1910: 181). As explained above, it appears that the tower was an original feature of the building. The architecture points to a date sometime in the second half of the twelfth century (cf. Folda 1991). Apart from the likelihood that valuable objects, including possibly relics, would have been kept in the secure vaulted sacristy (1), there is nothing particular about the building's design to indicate that it was constructed to mark a holy place. Although, given Saffuriya's position, pilgrims and military personnel may often have outnumbered local residents in the congregation, the main function of the building seems to have been that of a parish church. Only from the fourteenth century onwards is there unequivocal evidence associating it with the site of the house of Joachim and Anne.

Visited 7.7.79, 27.6.81.

Sources

Abel 1967: II, 306; Avi-Yonah 1978: 1054–5, fig.; Baedeker 1876a: 357; Bagatti 1971a: 116–20, figs. 84–6; Baldi 1973: 235; Benvenisti 1970: 206–7, fig.; Boase 1967: 31, 110; 1971: 120; 1977: 112; Cassini da Perinaldo 1864: 481–5; Clarke 1812: 407–19; Clermont-Ganneau 1910; Conder and Kitchenner 1881: I, 279–80, 334–5, fig.; Donner 1766: 31; Enlart 1925: I, 49, fig. 18; II, 349–51, pl. 147; d'Estourmel 1848: I, pl. LXXIV; Folda 1991; Guérin 1880: I, 371; Guide Bleu 1932: 517; Heyck 1900: figs. 86–7; Hoade 1946: 465–6; 1978: 714; Israel 1964: 1383; Johns 1937: 39 (p5); Ladoire 1920: 195–6; Langé 1965: 140, 151, 186, figs. 76, 93–5; Lucas 1724: I, 379; Mariti 1769: II, 232–3; Maundrell 1697a: 481; 1697b: 157; Mislin 1876: III, 596; Netzer and Weiss 1994: fig. p. 27; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 75; Ory 1975: 229; Palestine 1929: 229; 1948: 29; Parmensi 1893: I, pl. 134; Pococke 1743: II, 62; Prawer 1975a: I, pl. XIII.1; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 640–1; 1626b: 398–400; Rey 1883: 446; Robinson 1841: III, 203–4; Roger 1664: 55; Saller 1969: 57, fig. 20; de Sandoli 1978: IV, 108, fig.; van der Vliet 1938: 112, figs. 62–3; Viaud 1910: 179–84, figs. 91–2; Vilnay 1978: 470; de Vogüé 1860: 355; Weiss 1993: 1325, 1328.

as-SAFIRIYA

Cr. *Saphiria*, *Saphyria*, *Saphoria*, *Sephoria*, *Caphyria*, *Cephrie*, *casellum de Josaphat*; Hebr. *Tohelet*

No. 197 Chapel (?) 135.155

History

In 1115, Bishop Roger of Lydda granted the abandoned village (*casale*) of *Sephoria* with its appurtenances to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Kohler, *Chartes*, 10–11, no. 7). The grant was confirmed by King Baldwin I the same year (Delaborde, 29–32, no. 6; RRH, 18, no. 80), by Baldwin II in 1120 and 1130 (Delaborde, 33–5, no. 8; 45–7, no. 18), and by Baldwin III in 1152 (Delaborde, 67–70, no. 29; Kohler, *Chartes*, 32, no. 28). It was contested, however, by the heirs of Ralph de Septem Molis, and in October 1138 Bishop Roger took the case to the patriarch's court. The result was that the grant was reaffirmed, with the bishop retaining half the tithes and the obedience of the

chaplain (Delaborde, 49–50, no. 20; RRH, 46, no. 190).

A confirmation of privileges granted to the abbey by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154, however, included not only the village of *Saphiria* and half of its tithes, but also the chapel (Delaborde, 63–7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70; RRH, 73, no. 290). This was reconfirmed in the same terms by Hadrian IV in March 1155 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 209–12, no. 72), and by Alexander IV in 1255 (Delaborde, 100–5, no. 49).

Sephoria, which is spelled variously in medieval Latin documents (and should not be confused with Saffuriya (no. 196): cf. Hamilton 1980: 98), may be identified with [Sa]pharea, a place shown on the sixth-century Madaba mosaic map between *Lod* (Lydda) and [Be]odegana (Bait Dajan) (Avi-Yonah 1954: 62, no. 63; 1976a: 92; Abel 1967: II, 448). By the early twelfth century it was evidently deserted, but the presence of a chaplain implies that there were Latin settlers by 1138. The village is mentioned during the Third Crusade, when in November 1191 Stephen of Turnham entertained al-ʿĀdil to lunch ‘in the plain between the village of the Temple [Yazur] and the village of Jehoshaphat (*casellum de Josaphat*)’ (*Itin. Ric.*, IV, 31 (RS, xxxviii.1, 296); cf. Archer 1912: 183).

In the 1870s, as-Safiriya was a village of mud houses (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 254). Foundations, stone blocks, columns and capitals have been recorded (Palestine 1933: 21; 1948: 81; Israel 1964: 1429). The village was abandoned and destroyed in 1948; its site is now occupied by Tohelet, a suburb of Tel Aviv (Khalidi 1992: 253–4).

Sources

Delaborde, 49–50, no. 20 (1138); 63–7, no. 28 (1154); 100–5, no. 49 (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70 (1154); 209–12, no. 72 (1155); RRH, 46, no. 190 (1138); 73, no. 290 (1154).

Abel 1927a: 86; Bagatti 1979: 176; Beyer 1951: 186; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: IV, 275; Hamilton 1980: 98; Israel 1964: 1429; Palestine 1933: 21; 1948: 81.

SAIDNAIYA

Saïd Nāya, Sardenay; Cr. Sardanai, Sardanaia, Sardenay, Sardinalli, Saydaneia

No. 198 Monastery Church of Our Lady of Sardenay 1209.195

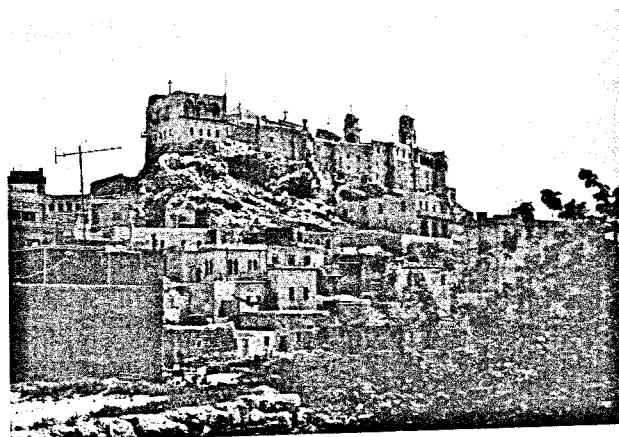
History

Although it lay outside the borders of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, the monastery church of Our Lady of Sardenay, or *Nostre Dame Sainte Marie de la Roche* (*Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 173)), was an important goal for Western pilgrims travelling from Acre in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Supposedly founded in 547 during the reign of the emperor Justinian (Saydnaya n.d.; Guide Bleu 1932: 309–10), the fortress-monastery occupies an elongated outcrop of rock on the south-eastern flank of the Anti-Lebanon, 22 km north-north-east of Damascus (pl. CXXIII). One principal reason for visiting this monastery was to see its legendary icon of the Virgin Mary, said to have been painted by the Apostle Luke (see Peeters 1906; Devos 1947).

Burchard of Strasbourg provides a description of the monastery in 1175:

Three miles from Damascus is a certain place located in the mountains, which is called *Saydaneia* and is inhabited by Christians; and there is there a church sited in the country and dedicated in honour of the glorious Virgin, in which twelve virgin nuns and eight monks assiduously serve God and the Blessed Virgin.

In that church I saw a wooden panel measuring half an ell, placed in a window in the wall of the sanctuary behind the altar, and secured by iron, fretted in the form of a grille. On



CXXIII Monastery and church of Our Lady of Saidnaiya (no. 198): from the south-west.

this panel the likeness of the Blessed Virgin was at one time painted, but now, what is miraculous to relate, the picture on the wood is made flesh, and oil more fragrant than the smell of balsam trickles from it unceasingly. By this oil many Christians, Saracens and Jews are often freed from various languors.

Burchard goes on to say that the oil could also cure all manner of ailments if taken by the faithful attending Mass, and that Muslims as well as Christians assembled at the church for the feasts of the Nativity and Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Note that this panel was originally made and painted in honour of the Blessed Virgin in Constantinople, and was taken from there to Jerusalem by a certain patriarch. At that time a certain abbess of the above-mentioned place went down to Jerusalem to pray and having obtained the panel from the patriarch of Jerusalem transported it to the church entrusted to her. This was in the year of the Incarnation 870. But for a long time afterwards the holy oil began to issue from it. (ch. vi (IHC, II, 406); cf. *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin, 1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 173–4))

A slightly different and more detailed account of the history of the convent and its icon is given by another German pilgrim, Thietmar, in 1217. According to this, the monastery had been founded in Byzantine times by a venerable matron from Damascus. It happened that a certain monk who was travelling on pilgrimage from Constantinople to Jerusalem was lodged in the nuns' hospice, and when the abbess heard where he was going she asked him to bring back an icon of the Virgin to place in the church. After various excursions, in which the monk at first neglected his promise and then, having obtained the icon, tried to take it home with him, by a series of miraculous occurrences he finally did deliver it to Saidnaiya, where it was eventually installed in the church (ch. v, 1–33 (ed. Laurent, 14–16); Rey 1883: 292–5). Subsequently the icon became incarnate and began to issue oil, which the nuns collected in a jar. In Thietmar's time, the oil was taken to various houses of the Templars, one of whose number, Brother Thomas, claimed to have touched the icon itself (ch. v, 34–46 (ed. Laurent, 16); Rey 1883: 295).

Although the head of the monastery was the abbess, Thietmar records that there were also Greek monks there serving as priests, as well as a bishop (ch. v, 52–3; vi, 2–3 (ed. Laurent, 17; 18); Rey 1883: 295). Until the time of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā (*usque ad tempus Coradini*: 1218–27), the church had received an annual payment of 60 *metretae* of oil from the Muslim rulers of Damascus, the original grant having been made by an unnamed ruler whose sight had been restored by the icon (ch. v, 47–51 (ed. Laurent, 16–17); Rey 1883: 295).

The pilgrimage to St Mary of Sardenay continued to be popular throughout the thirteenth century (Michelant and Raynaud, 103 (c.1231); 131–2 (c.1244); 188 (–1265); 235 (c.1280); Philip of Savona (1283), LXIII (IHC, IV, 250); *Hec sunt peregrinationes* (thirteenth century), XI (IHC, IV, 338); cf. Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 156). One notable pilgrim in 1240 was Benedict of Alignan, archbishop of Marseilles, who took the opportunity of his visit to report back to the Templars on the state of the Frankish and Ayyubid fortifications between Acre and Damascus (*de Constructione Castri Saphet* (c.1264) (ed. Huygens, 35, lines 29–32)).

In 1335, the monastery was visited by Brother James of Verona:

I ascended that most beautiful hill, and entered the church of the Blessed Virgin; and the monastery is walled like a castle, and it has a small gate at the entrance to the monastery; and in front of the church is a portico, and in the blessed church there are twelve marble columns, six on one side and six on the other, supporting the vaults inside the church; and in the chevet of the church (*in capite ecclesie*) there is a small chapel, behind the main altar of the church, and in that chapel is a window in the wall, in which is the image of the Blessed Virgin painted on a panel, from which image by day and night flows the sweetest oil and liquid; . . . it is said that if the oil or liquid is devoutly kept in phials for seven years it will become like flesh. (1335: 294–5)

Brother James also touched the icon and received some of the oil (1335: 395). His description of the church and monastery is consistent with those given by Nicolas of Poggibonsi (1346–50: 91–2) and Ludolph of Sudheim, the latter of whom also provides an account, differing slightly from those given above, of how the icon originally came to Saidnaiya (1336–41a: 349, 361–2; 1336–41b: 131–4). Niccolò Frescobaldi, who visited the monastery in 1384 and tells yet another version of the legend of the icon, describes the church as 'covered with tiles after our fashion', and with 'a cloister and piazza in front of the doors' (1384: 84–5; cf. Gucci 1384: 141–2).

In 1403 the Hospitallers of Rhodes concluded a treaty with the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Faraj, one of the terms of which was to allow the Hospitallers to repair the church of St Mary of Sardenay (*Sainte Marie de Sardenaya*). As it turned out, the treaty was never ratified (Luttrell 1987: 196, 205). In 1475, however, the order did acquire an early twelfth-century icon of Our Lady, which was supposed at one time to have been venerated in Damascus and is now preserved in the Greek Catholic church in Valletta (Borgia 1992; Azzopardi 1989: 18, 81, 107–16).

In May 1697, Henry Maundrell found the monastery

inhabited by 'twenty Greek monks and forty nuns, who seem to live promiscuously together, without any order of separation'. In addition to the church containing the icon, he also counted no less than sixteen other churches or chapels within the monastery, some of them quite ruined (1697a: 492–4; 1697b: 176–9). By 1883, the main church had been completely rebuilt (Rey 1883: 291–2).

Description

The monastery is still much as medieval and later writers describe it, occupying a pinnacle of rock with the village extending below it. Access is through a single small low outer doorway, whose lintel, bearing a cross-in-circle, appears Byzantine in date. Inside, however, most of the buildings, including the church, are of relatively recent construction.

Visited 8.5.84.

Sources

Burchard of Strasbourg (1175) (*IHC*, II, 406); *Chemins et pelerinages* A (–1265), IV, 17 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 188); *de Constructione Castri Saphet* (c.1264) (ed. Huygens, 35, lines 29–32); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin, 1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 173–4); *Hec sunt peregrinationes* (thirteenth century), XI (*IHC*, IV, 338); Matthew Paris, *Itinéraire* (c.1244), X (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 131–2); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227) (ed. Hoogeweg, 197–8); *Pelerinaiges* (c.1231), XXI (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 103); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), XII (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 235); Philip of Savona (1283), LXIII (*IHC*, IV, 250); Thietmar (1217), IV, 7–8; V, 1.56; VI, 1–7 (ed. Laurent, 13–18).

Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 156; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 462; Ball 1994: 67; Burns 1994: 214–15; Devos 1947; Dussaud 1927: 283; Fedden 1946: 43–4, pl. 4; Frescobaldi 1384: 84–5; Grethenios c.1400: 191; Gucci 1384: 141–2; Guide Bleu 1932: 309–10; Hamilton 1980: 169; James of Verona 1335: 294–5; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 349, 361–2; 1336–41b: 131–4; Luttrell 1987: 196, 205; Mandeville c.1356–66: 142, 190–1; Maundrell 1697a: 492–4; 1697b: 176–9; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 91–2; Odenthal 1982: 125; Peeters 1906; Prawer 1975a: II, 293; Rey 1883: 291–6; Saydnaya n.d.; Sigoli 1384: 193; Zayat 1932.

ST CHARITON, Monastery of

Kh. Khuraitun; Cr. ecclesia s. Karithoth/Karioth/Charitonis

Nos. 199–200 Abbey Church of St Chariton, with another church adjacent to it 1726.1172

History

According to his sixth-century biographer, St Chariton was a native of Iconium (Konya) in Asia Minor who came to Palestine in the early fourth century. After establishing the monasteries of Faran, in the Wadi Fara, and *Douka* on the Jabal Quruntul (see Vol. I, p. 252), he moved to the Wadi Khuraitun south-east of Tekoa around AD 345 and founded there the monastery that bears his name. Also known as Souka and later as the 'Old Laura', this was one of the largest monasteries in the Wilderness of Judaea (*Vita Charitonis*, II–XXIII (ed. Garitte, 17–33; cf. 11); Vailhé and Pétridés 1904; Chitty 1966: 14–15; Hirschfeld 1990: 8–10).

Monastic life in the Wadi Khuraitun seems to have survived the Muslim invasion. The monastery is mentioned by Epiphanius the Monk in the later seventh century (ch. IV (trans. Wilkinson, 119)), but was attacked by Bedouin in 788 and 796 (Gil 1992: 283, 474). Around 808 the *Commematorium de Casis Dei* records the existence of an abbot and monks 'at the small (monastery) built by St Chariton a mile away from the saint's tomb' (ch. XXXIV (trans. Wilkinson, 137)). Hirschfeld suggests identifying this with a small laura at 'Ain as-Sakhari (Grid. ref. 1736.1164), 1.5 km east of the monastery (1985: 58–60, 12*, 36*–7*, fig. 40). These monks, however, probably represented the community of St Chariton's, who were forced to abandon the main monastery during the civil war following the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 809 (Theophanes, ann. 6301, 6305 (ed. de Boor, 484, 499); Gil 1992: 474–5). Evidently they returned, for in 817 the monks of St Chariton's monastery were addressed in a letter by Theodore of Studium. Stephen Ibn Hakam of Ramla copied a theological treatise at the monastery in 877, dedicating it to his teacher, Father Basil (Griffith 1986a: 128); and a Georgian monk named Paul copied a manuscript in the 'Old Laura' sometime in the tenth century (Bagatti 1971d: 138, 152; cf. 106; Griffith 1985a; 1986a; 1986b; Gil 1992: 445–6).

In 1106–8, the monastery was visited by the Russian Abbot Daniel:

And to the south of Bethlehem there is the monastery of Saint Chariton on the river of Etham . . . It is near the Sea of Sodom in rocky mountains with a desert all around it. This place is terrible and waterless and dry and beneath it is a rocky and very awful ravine; all about the place was a wall and in the middle there are two churches in the larger of which is the tomb of Saint Chariton. Outside the wall there is a sepulchre beautifully fashioned and in this sepulchre lie holy fathers, their bodies as if still alive, and more than 700 (*var.*: 500, 800) lie here. Here lies Saint Cyriacus the Confessor, his body completely preserved; here lie John and Arcadius the sons of Xenophon and a miraculous sweet smell emanates from them. And we worshipped here in this holy place . . . (ch. LVI (trans. Ryan, 149))

This cave evidently lay to the south of the monastery, for Daniel proceeded down the wadi before continuing his journey towards Tekoa.

Pilgrimage texts from the 1130s onwards record the translation of Chariton's body to Jerusalem, though it is uncertain exactly when this was supposed to have occurred. The *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), for instance, states:

Four miles from Bethlehem, towards Hebron, is the church of St Chariton, where, as he himself was passing from this world, all his followers likewise passed with him. The blessed Chariton was afterwards translated to Jerusalem, where his body is still to be seen. (ch. xxxiv (*IHC*, II, 100; *PPTS*, v, 36))

This account is embellished in subsequent versions, which tell how his companions sought death rather than face life without their leader:

And the bodies of each one of them can be seen in the aforesaid church in that state in which they had been, grief-stricken over their dying father; afterwards they were translated to Jerusalem, where it (*or* he) is kept entire in a mausoleum. (Fretellus (1137), XLVIII (ed. Boeren, 30))

The phrase 'they were translated' (*translati*), which is copied in later versions (e.g. Anon. vi (1148), 8 (*IHC*, III, 68); Eugesippus (c.1148) (*PG*, cxxxiii, 996); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 86)), is evidently a mistake (for *translatus*). It seems that St Chariton's was the only body to be moved to Jerusalem; it was seen lying there uncorrupted in the church of St Chariton (*q.v.*) from c.1150 onwards (Icelandic pilgrim (trans. Hill, 221); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 137)). The other monks' bodies remained at the monastery, where, despite the attempts of the Saracens to burn them, the pilgrim Thietmar saw them 'laid in a beautiful crypt' in 1217 (ch. x, 22–5 (ed. Laurent, 29)).

In the late thirteenth century, Burchard of Mount Sion recalled, 'Once crowds of people used to visit this

place' (ch. ix, 30 (ed. Laurent, 82; *PPTS*, XII, 93)). Although the site is mentioned by later writers (e.g. Peter de Pennis c.1350: 367–8; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 349; 1336–41b: 93; Mandeville c.1356–66: 165), it seems that pilgrims rarely visited it. In the early seventeenth century, the church was reported to have been mostly destroyed (Quaresmi 1626a: II, 517; 1626b: 338).

The site of the monastery has been explored by V. Guérin (1868: III, 138–9), the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 315, 357) and Fr B. Bagatti (1971g; 1983: 65). More recently a detailed survey and excavations have been undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of Israel (Hirschfeld 1985: 12–14, 36–48, 56–7, 11*–13*, 27*–32*, 35*–36*; figs. 16–29, 38; cf. 1990: 8–12, figs. 8–10).

Description

The monastery extends along the north-west side of the Wadi Khuraitun, with the river in a ravine at its foot and steep slopes above. The core of the monastery is triangular, with a two-storey tower (originally 11.4 m square and 8 m high, later extended on one side) at its apex and enclosure walls on the north and west running downhill to two smaller towers (pl. cxxiv); the third side was enclosed by a massive retaining wall. It is probable that the abbey church would have been in this area, but unfortunately the buildings here have mostly collapsed into the wadi (Hirschfeld 1985: 40–45, 28*–29*, figs. 20–5).

Below and to the south-west of the core area there extends an outer zone containing terraced gardens, cisterns and some individual cells. The southern edge of the monastery was defined by a ravine which cuts into the valley from the north-west. On the north side of this stands a large barrel-vaulted cistern (Bir al-'Unaiziya), lined with plaster, from which the monastery evidently derived most of its water (Hirschfeld 1985: 45–8, 30*–32*, figs. 21, 26–9).

For some 800 m southwards down the wadi a series of individual cells have also been recorded, in most cases consisting of masonry structures built over small cisterns (Hirschfeld 1985: 56–8, 35*–36* (no. 27), figs. 38–9).

Discussion

Although earlier writers had considered some of the surviving structures to be medieval (Conder and Kitchener: III, 357; Chitty 1966: 19 n.77), the recent survey suggests that they all date from the Byzantine period; later building activity had an impermanent



cxxiv Monastery of St Chariton: view down the Wadi Khuraitun, showing the remains of the tower that dominated the Byzantine monastery.

character, indicating the temporary reuse of abandoned structures. The pottery from the site is also predominantly Byzantine, though it includes a polychrome type that might date to the ninth to eleventh centuries, and other glazed slip-painted types and handmade painted types datable to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (Hirschfeld 1985: figs. 18–19). This combined evidence supports the conclusion that the site is unlikely to have been permanently occupied in the twelfth century, though it was evidently visited by pilgrims and also, as in later times, by Bedouin (Hirschfeld 1985: 28*; 1990: 11). The condition of the two churches seen by Daniel in 1106–8 is unknown.

Visited 21.10.81.

Sources

Anon. vi (1148), 8 (*IHC*, III, 68; *PPTS*, vi, 62); Anon. Graecus (1187–), viii (*PG*, cxxxiii, 983); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), ix, 30 (ed. Laurent, 82; *IHC*, iv, 202; *PPTS*, xii, 93); Daniel (1106–8), lvi (trans. Ryan, 149; de Khitrowo, 48–9); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxiv (*IHC*, II, 100; *PPTS*, v, 36); Eugesippus (c.1148) (*PG*, cxxxiii, 996); Fretellus (1137), xlvi (ed. Boeren, 30); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 86; 137); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227) (ed. Hoogeweg, 15; *IHC*, iv, 390); Philip of Savona (1283), xliii (*IHC*, iv, 238); Phocas (1185), xxviii (*PG*, cxxxiii, 960; *PPTS*, v, 34; trans. Wilkinson, 334); Thietmar (1217), x, 22–5 (ed. Laurent, 29).

Baedeker 1876b: 149–50; Bagatti 1971d: 74–5, 106, 138, 152; 1971g; 1983: 65; Chitty 1966: 14–15, 19 n.77; Compagnoni 1978: 29–32, pls. xxx–xxxii; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 315, 357; Escobar 1976a: 30, figs. h–i; Faber 1480–3: II, 404; Gil 1992: 283, 445–6, 474–5; Guérin

1868: III, 138–9; Hamilton 1980: 166–7; de Hamme 1897: II, 75–81; Hirschfeld 1985: 12–14, 36–48, 56–8, 11*–13*, 27*–32*, 35*–36* (nos. 17, 27), figs. 16–29, 38–9; 1990: 8–12 (no. 3), figs. 8–10; 1992: 23–4, 31, 63–4, 66, 150, 180, 200, figs. 3–4, 11, 32–3, 77, 110; 1993c: 297–9, fig. 2; 1993d; Hoade 1978: 450; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 349; 1336–41b: 93; Mandeville c.1356–66: 165; Marti 1880: 37–9; Meistermann 1936: 334; da Milano 1764: 148–9; Morone 1669: 298; Norris 1950: 36; Palestine 1929: 122; 1948: 182; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 367–8; Pococke 1743: II, 41; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 517; 1626b: 338; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 392; Tobler 1853: II, 509–29; Vailhé 1898a: 50–6; 1899b: 524–5; Vailhé and Pétridés 1904; Wilkinson 1977: 154; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 56; Wilson 1880a: I, 141–2; 1880b: III, 21–2, pl. p. 23.

No. 201 Mortuary Chapel (?)1725.1165

History and Identification

The Life of St Chariton tells how after founding his third monastery the saint left it to seek solitude in a cave suspended in a nearby cliff and accessible only by means of a ladder (*Vita Charitonis*, xxiv (ed. Garitte, 34; cf. 11)). In the sixth century the cave was occupied by St Cyriacus, who died and was buried in it in 557 at the age of 107 (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci*, xi, xv (ed. Schwartz, 229, 231; trans. Festugière, 46, 49)).

In 1106–8, Abbot Daniel visited and worshipped in a cave to the south of the monastery which contained the bodies of several hundred monks, including that of St Cyriacus (see above). It was probably this mortuary chapel, rather than the abbey church itself (as Fretellus implies), that other twelfth-century writers were referring to when they described the bodies of Chariton's companions who were supposed to have died of grief at his passing from the world; indeed, Thietmar (1217) specifies that these bodies were to be seen in a crypt.

The 'Hanging Cave' of St Chariton was identified in 1982 (Hirschfeld 1985: 53–5, 34*–35* (no. 26), figs. 34–7; 1987; 1988; 1991a; 1993: 299–300, figs. 3–5). It lies 800 m south of the monastery in the western face of the ravine. It consists of a cave complex on three levels. The lowest, the access cave, contained three cisterns. A hole in its ceiling, 4.5 m above floor level, gave access by ladder into a small chapel with remains of an apse. An opening high in the north-west corner led up through a narrow passage to a bell-shaped cell (1 by 2 m, 1.9 m high), 15 m above the base of the cliff and 5 m below the top. The walls of the cell and chapel were plastered, and the former painted with crosses and monograms.

The identification of this cave with the 'Hanging Cave' of St Chariton is not in doubt. What is questionable.

however, is whether so small and inaccessible a complex could have been the sepulchre containing hundreds of bodies that was visited by Daniel and described by other twelfth-century writers. Their descriptions, though doubtless exaggerated, suggest a monastic charnel house, possibly located in one of the larger caves that exist between the 'Hanging Cave' and the monastery.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), lvi (trans. Ryan, 149; de Khitrowo, 48–9); Thietmar (1217), x, 22–5 (ed. Laurent, 29).

Chitty 1966: 128–9, 130–1; Hirschfeld 1985: 53–5, 34*–35* (no. 26), figs. 34–7; 1987; 1988; 1992: 228–32, figs. 126–30; 1990: 11–12, fig. 10; 1991a; 1993: 299–300, figs. 3–5; 1993b: 298; Strobel 1967.

ST ELIAS, Monastery of

Mar Elias; Cr. Saint Helye/Elyes, Sanctus Elyas casellum

No. 202 Abbey Church of St Elias 1700.1268

History

A church of St Elias, 'where he stayed', is first mentioned from around 1160 by Western pilgrims, on the way from Jerusalem to Bethlehem just before one reached Rachel's Tomb (Anon. vii, 6 (*IHC*, iii, 80); cf. Anon. ii (c.1170), 8 (*IHC*, iii, 14); Anon. ix (1175), 5 (*IHC*, iii, 94); Anon. v (1180s), 1. 11 (*IHC*, iii, 32)). A piece of land belonging to St Elias (*terra S. Helye*) is also mentioned in 1178, lying east of the Jerusalem to Nablus road near to Tall al-Ful (Bresc-Bautier, 355–6, appx., no. 5; *RRH*, 149, no. 561); it is possible, however, that this belonged to the church of St Elias in Jerusalem itself (q.v.), rather than to the abbey.

The monastery was visited in 1185 by the Greek, John Phocas, who writes of it:

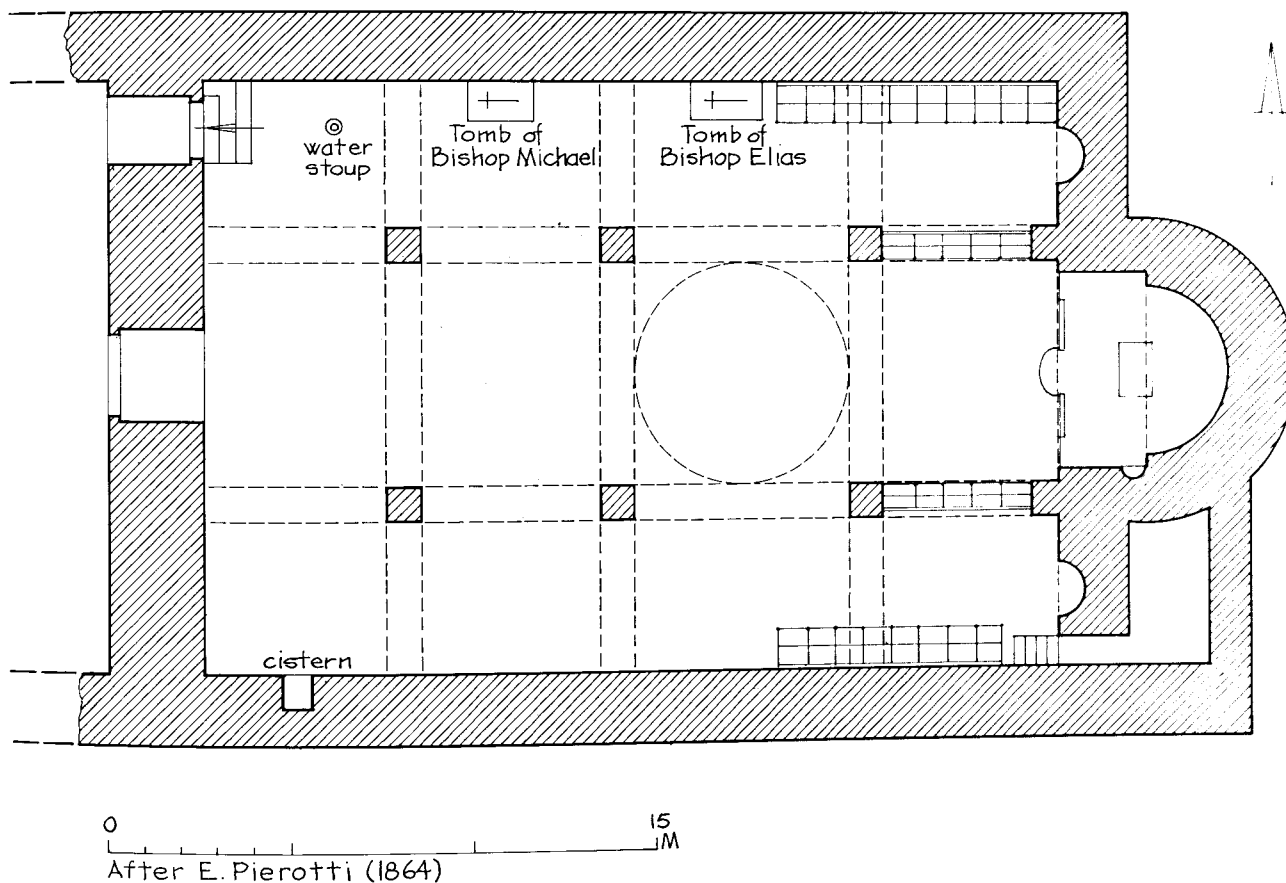
At the half way point from the Holy City is a Monastery of the Holy Prophet Elijah, which was erected by the ancient men who loved God, but had fallen down completely because of the earthquake. But this too the universal benefactor, my Lord and King, raised from the foundations, the work being done under the direction of a certain Syrian who was abbot. (ch. xxvii (PG, cxxxiii, 956; trans. Wilkinson, 332))

The Byzantine emperor by whose munificence the monastery had been restored was evidently Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80), and the earthquake the same one that had destroyed the monastery of St John the Baptist beside the Jordan (see Phocas, xxii (PG, cxxxiii, 952); and no. 209); the tremor was probably that recorded by al-Suyūti around 1157, when many towns in the Latin Kingdom were said to have been destroyed (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 228; cf. Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 269–70).

Like many Orthodox monasteries, the house seems to have survived Saladin's conquest of the area in 1187. Its abbot is recorded visiting King Richard's camp at Bait Nuba in June 1192, and taking the king to a place where he had buried a piece of the True Cross (*Itin. Ric.*, v, 54 (RS, xxxviii.i, 377–8; on the dating, see *ibid.*, 378 n.3); Ambroise, lines 10,089–139 (ed. Paris, 270–1; trans. 440–1)). According to Roger of Howden the hiding place was the chapel of St Elias itself (*Chronica* (RS, li.iii, 182)), though Ralph of Coggeshall's account makes better topographical sense in placing it at St Samuel's (Nabi Samwil, no. 159), which lies directly between Bait Nuba and Jerusalem (*Chronicon* (RS, lxvi, 40–1)). The church of St Elias is also mentioned by thirteenth-century pilgrimage texts (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 98 (c.1231); 104⁶ (c.1230); 170 (1261); 186 (–1265); 196 (1268); 232 (c.1280)).

An anonymous Greek text of the late twelfth or thirteenth century describes the church as domed, and states that it was associated with the place in the wilderness where the prophet was fed by an angel while escaping from Jezebel (Anon. Graecus (1187–), xiv (PG, cxxxiii, 989); cf. 1 Kings 19.4–7). This tradition was also known to later writers, including Philip of Savona in 1283 (ch. xxxix (*IHC*, iv, 236)) and Nicolas of Poggibonsi (1346–50: 58); and to it were added others, such as that identifying this as the place where Elijah was born (de Caumont 1418: 45; Poloner 1422b: 18; Amico 1620a: pl. xlv.23), where he was fed by ravens (Ignatius of Smolensk 1405: 154; cf. 1 Kings 17.1–7) and where he was taken up into heaven (Peter de Pennis c.1350: 366; cf. 2 Kings 2.11). It seems, however, that these traditions developed because of the existence of the monastery, rather than the reverse. Indeed, Peter de Pennis expressed his disbelief (c.1350: 366).

In the early fifteenth century St Elias is described by John Poloner as 'a tall building, a beauteous church belonging to the Greeks, with a well near its south wall' (1422b: 18). Francesco Suriano states in the draft of his treatise written in 1485 that the monastery was then inhabited by two Greek monks, but at times was uninhabited (1485b: 134 n.); however, another source



60 Monastery of St Elias: plan of the church (no. 202).

says in 1492 that it had become a mosque (cf. Suriano 1485b: 132 n.).

In 1517 the monastery was in Greek hands (Vryonis 1981: 41; cf. Perera 1553b: 33). Near by, seventeenth-century visitors were shown by the monks the impression left by Elijah's body in the stone where he lay (Quaresmi 1626a: II, 456; 1626b: 296–8; Maundrell 1697a: 456). An inscription records rebuilding work in 1647. In the eighteenth century, however, Richard Pococke describes the building as 'rustic', and notes, 'there is little remaining except the church, in which there are some paintings relating to the history of Elias and Elisha' (1743: II, 38–9). Another restoration was undertaken in 1976.

Description

In its present form (fig. 60, pl. cxxv), the church is evidently a post-medieval construction, though it remains possible that it is built within the shell of an earlier building; internal plastering, however, makes it impossible to tell. Internally it measures some 23.5 by



cxxv Monastery and church of St Elias (no. 202): from the west.

15.7 m and consists of a three-aisled basilica of four bays, with a dome over the second bay of the central nave. The vaulting is carried on tall, relatively slender square piers which are unplastered below the cornice and have chamfered corners. The central nave terminates in a semi-circular apse, preceded by a barrel-vaulted sanctuary, and the aisles in small semi-circular niches. The mouth to a cistern is built into the south wall's western bay.

Associated Buildings

The monastery buildings enclose the church on all sides but the west, and appear to be of recent date.

Epigraphy

An inscription in Greek high on the wall to the left of the outer door records a restoration in 1647, and another above the door on the inside records a restoration in 1976. A bishop's tombstone, dated 1810, is set against the north wall.

Visited 16.2.81, 16.9.81.

Sources

Ambroise, lines 10,089–139 (ed. Paris, 270–1; trans. 440–1) (1192); Anon. II (c.1170), 8 (Tobler, 125–6; *IHC*, III, 14; *PPTS*, VI, 11; trans. Wilkinson, 241); Anon. V (1180s), 1, 11 (*IHC*, III, 32; *PPTS*, VI, 26); Anon. VII (c.1160), 6 (Tobler, 105; *IHC*, III, 80; *PPTS*, VI, 74; trans. Wilkinson, 236); Anon. IX (1175), 5 (*IHC*, III, 94); Anon. X (1250–) (*IHC*, III, 104); Anon. Graecus (1187–), XIV (PG, CXXXIII, 989); Bresc-Bautier, 355–6, appx. no. 5 (1178); *Chemins et pèlerinages A* (–1265), III, 15; B (1268), II, 14 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 186; 196); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin, 1261) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 170); *Hec sunt peregrinationes* (thirteenth century), VII (*IHC*, III, 338); *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* (ed. Mayer, 319) (1192); *Itin. Ric.*, V, 54 (RS, XXXVIII, 377–8; trans. Bohn, 300) (1192); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); Paoli, I, 247–8, no. 215 (1178); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), XII (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 98); *Pelerinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), VI (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 332); Philip of Savona (1283), XXXIX (*IHC*, IV, 236); Phocas (1185), XXVII (PG, CXXXIII, 956; *PPTS*, V, 30–1; trans. Wilkinson, 332); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), IV, 65 (ed. Laurent, 110; *IHC*, IV, 268); Roger of Howden (RS, LI, III, 182) (1192); RRH, 149, no. 561 (1178); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), XVI (XII) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104 6).

Amico 1620a: pl. XLIV.23; Augustinović 1949b; 1972: 16n., 63, fig. 42; Baedeker 1876b: 135–6; Bagatti 1949: fig. 9; Basil 1466: 251; van Bruyn 1725: II, 233; de Caumont 1418: 45; Grethenios c.1400: 181; Gucci 1384: 127; Hamilton 1980: 167, 311 n.8; Hoade 1946: 290; 1978: 375–6; Igna-

tius of Smolensk 1405: 154; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 48–9; Jotischky 1994: 216, 217; 1995: 83–4; Kühnel 1994: 134; Marti 1880: 42–3; de Martoni 1395: 612; Maundrell 1697a: 456; 1697b: 117; Meinardus 1966c: 53–4; Meistermann 1936: 302; Moore 1961: 43; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 57–8, 159; Palestine 1929: 205; 1948: 170; Perera 1553b: 33, 69; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 366; Pierotti 1864; Pococke 1743: II, 38–9; Poloner 1422a: 246–7; 1422b: 18; Posniakov 1561: 332n.; Prag 1989: 311–12; Pringle 1990: 30; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 456; 1626b: 296–8; Schiller 1930: 162–3 (photos. 1880, 1898); Sigoli 1384: 191; Suriano 1485b: 132, 134n.; de Thévenot 1687: I, 198; Tobler 1853: II, 547–8; de Vogüé 1860: 340; Vryonis 1981: 41; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 58; Wilson 1880a: I, 122; 1880b: III, 2; Zozimos 1421: 217; Zvallart 1585a: pl.

ST ELIAS OF CARMEL, Monastery of

Mar Elias, al-Khidr, Elijah's Cave, School of the Prophets; Cr. mansio Helie, spelunca Helie, S. Elias, S. Elyas, S. Helies dou Carme; Med. Ar. Dayr Mārlabās; Hebr. Ma'arat Eliyahu

No. 203 Abbey Church of St Elias of Carmel 1474.2483

History

From the time when the Prophet Elijah triumphed over the prophets of Ba'al on its summit (1 Kings 18.20–46), and doubtless before, Mount Carmel was renowned as a centre of pagan worship (Friedman 1979: 146). This particular event is traditionally located at al-Muhraqa, on the south-eastern peak of the Carmel range overlooking the Kishon valley (Friedman 1971b; 1985; cf. Benjamin of Tudela (trans. Adler, 19)). The north-western end of Carmel, however, where the range forms a promontory jutting into the sea, was equally noted as a pagan cult centre in Hellenistic and Roman times. It was probably somewhere in this area that Vespasian offered a sacrifice to the god Carmel in AD 68 (Tacitus, *Historiae*, II, 78 (ed. Bekker, 152–3; trans. Wellesley, 128); Suetonius, *de Vita Caesarum*, VIII, 5 (trans. Graves, 277)); and the discovery in c.1933 of an inscribed votive stone foot in the garden of the Stella Maris convent suggests that the god in question would have been

'Jupiter Carmel of Heliopolis' (Friedman 1979: 147). Near the base of the promontory, below the convent, an artificial cave is cut into the rock. Analysis of more than 150 dedicatory inscriptions on its walls confirms that it was used as a place of pagan worship in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Friedman 1979: 143–5; cf. Ovadia 1966; 1969).

Sometime in or after the fourth century, this cult centre was Christianized and the sun god Helios was conveniently and appropriately transformed into Elias, or Elijah. Archaeological remains and the testimony of medieval and later writers point to the existence of two monastic establishments in the Byzantine period, one apparently dedicated to St Margaret on the upper terrace where the lighthouse now stands (see nos. 211–12), and another associated with St Elias on the lower slopes around the cave (Friedman 1979: 146–50).

Before the twelfth century the Carmel area seems to have been rarely visited by Christian pilgrims; at any rate the information that they provide is scanty. Both the pilgrim of Bordeaux (333) and Egeria (384) (in Peter the Deacon, section v6) mention the place of Elijah's sacrifice, but apparently without having been there (CCSL, CLXXV, 12; 99; trans. Wilkinson, 153, 201); and although the Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570) mentions the monastery of Elisha (ch. III (CCSL, CLXXV, 130; trans. Wilkinson, 79)), this is more likely to have been located south of the promontory in the Wadi as-Siyah (see no. 213).

The cave where Elijah was said to have lived and to have been fed by ravens (1 Kings 17.5–6), however, was visited by Abbot Daniel in 1106–7, in the company of a group of pilgrims travelling from Acre to Jerusalem. They worshipped in the cave before proceeding to *Caper-naum* (Kh. al-Kanisa, Grid ref. 146.241) (chs. LXVII, XCV (trans. Ryan, 152, 165)). There is no indication at this stage of any monastic presence at the site. That a monastery had existed there, however, is suggested by a bull which Pope Alexander III granted to the abbey of St Mary of Mount Sion in 1179. This confirmed, amongst other things, that the churches in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria that had belonged to St Elias and three other religious houses in the Kingdom of Jerusalem (St Mary on the Mount of Olives, St Abraham, and St John in Sebaste) had been appropriated by St Mary of Mount Sion at the time of Patriarch William (1130–45) (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 286, no. 113; RRH, 153–4, no. 576; Rey, 'Chartes', 47). Although three other Orthodox churches of St Elias existed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, one on Mount Tabor (no. 157), one in Jerusalem (q.v.) and another between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (no. 202), the house on Mount Carmel

seems more likely to be the one indicated here, since it was to be from Calabria that the monastery was re-colonized during the twelfth century.

The first indication of renewed monastic activity around the cave of Elijah comes from Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71). After visiting the Jewish cemetery at the foot of Mount Carmel (cf. Prawer 1988: 253 n.3; Friedman 1979: 151–2), Benjamin relates, 'On the mountain is the cave of Elijah, where the Christians have erected a structure called St Elias.' This was evidently not on the summit, for he continues, 'On top of the mountain can be recognized the overthrown altar which Elijah repaired in the days of Ahab' (trans. Adler, 19).

John Phocas, in 1185, also locates the cave on the slope of the promontory, by the sea.

Formerly there was in that place a large monastery, which is evidenced by the ruins which can now be seen. But in the course of time, which makes everything decay, and through occasional attacks by enemies, it had utterly vanished. Some time ago a man who was a monk in Holy Orders, a Priest, grey-haired and who came from Calabria, spent time in the place after having a vision of the Prophet. Then he made a little enclosure among the monastic dwellings, built a tower, erected a small church, and gathered about ten Brothers. In that Holy Place he now dwells. (ch. xxxi (PG, cxxxiii, 961; trans. Wilkinson, 335–6))

Two years later, in 1187, the area fell to Saladin, though in describing this event the author of the *de Expugnacione* appears to confuse the church of St Elias with the Templar castle (no. 212) on the summit of Carmel (RS, LXVI, 231; IHC, III, 112). The fate of the Orthodox monks is not recorded, but the continuance of religious activity once the area returned to Christian control is attested by Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1211–12:

Directly above Haifa stands Mount Carmel, on which the dwelling place of Elijah (*mansio Helie*) is shown and honoured today . . . In which place solemn Masses are celebrated every day. (ch. II, 1, 5–8 (ed. Laurent, 183; IHC, III, 232))

A few years later, in 1217, another German pilgrim, Thietmar, wrote in similar terms:

Above . . . Haifa, on the slope of Mount Carmel is the cave of Elijah and Elisha the prophets. There a certain chapel has been built. (ch. VIII, 13–14 (ed. Laurent, 21))

Later thirteenth-century sources also locate the hermitage of St Elias around the cave on the slopes of the Carmel promontory. On 4 May 1250, for example, the lord of Haifa, Garcia Alvarez, granted the abbey of Mount Tabor a vineyard located above the old vineyard of the house of S. *Helies dou Carme* and below and to the right of the track leading up to S. *Marguerite dou Carme*

(no. 211) (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 913–14, appx., no. 26; *RRH*, 313–14, no. 1189). Similarly, a pilgrimage text of c.1230 relates,

below that abbey [of St Margaret], on the slope, is the place where St Elias lived. In that place there is a beautiful little chapel in the rock of the place where the hermits of Carmel live. (*Sains Pelerinages*, VI (1) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104³); cf. *Pelerinages* (c.1231), I; *Chemins et pelerinages* A (–1265), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 90, 180))

A later text adds that in the chapel the prophet performed many miracles and made a spring of cold water, which still existed (*Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 189)).

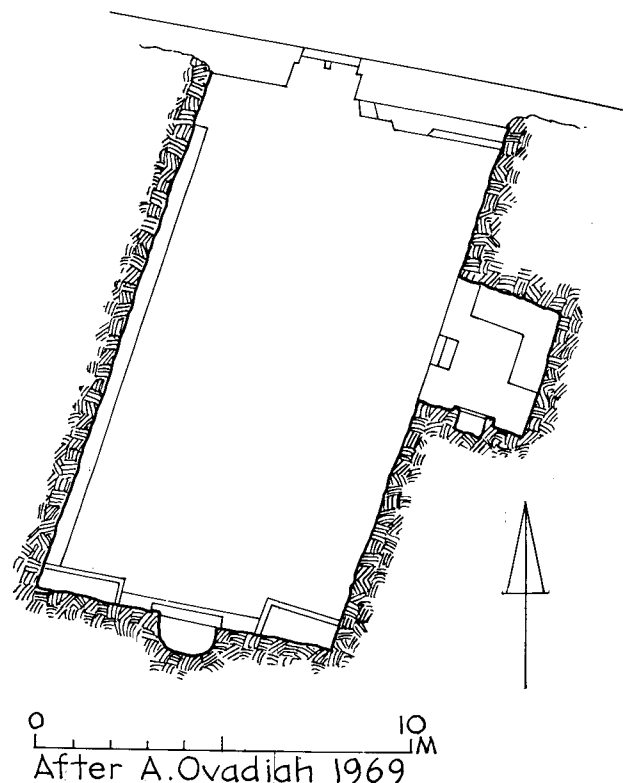
The cave of Elijah was visited by another, anonymous Jewish pilgrim between 1270 and 1291 (Prawer 1988: 235–6); and in 1283, Burchard of Mount Sion mentions the *spelunca Helie* before describing the Latin hermitage in the Wadi as-Siyah (no. 213) (ch. x, 3 (ed. Laurent, 83; *IHC*, IV, 202)). In the same year, the treaty made between the Franks of Acre and Sultan Manṣūr Qalāwūn placed the monastery of Mar Elias (*Mārlabās*) in Frankish territory (Barag, 'New source', 200; cf. 209; *RRH*, 379, no. 1450). It is unknown for how long the monastery continued to exist after the fall of Acre in 1291.

When the Latin Carmelites returned to Mount Carmel in 1633, Fr Prosper at first established his hermitage in some caves and remains of structures about the cave of Elias. Two years later, however, he was forced to move his community further up the slope to just below the ruined castle when the cave itself was converted into a mosque (Albert du Saint-Sauveur 1897: 139–44; Friedman 1979: 82, 136, 142–3; Giordano 1994: 92–105).

In the early nineteenth century there was built in front of the cave 'a sort of caravansera', housing the Muslim guardian of the cave (Buckingham 1822: I, 187–8; Guérin 1874: II, 273; Friedman 1979: 139–40).

Description

The cave of Elijah is cut into the foot of the promontory, some 50 m above sea level. It is evidently artificial, having the shape of a parallelogram, oriented south-south-west to north-north-east, and measuring 13.5 by 8.7 m and 4.3 m high (fig. 61). The entrance wall which closes the north side is relatively modern. In the east wall is a small rectangular recess, traditionally identified by local Christians as a place where the Holy Family rested on their return journey from Egypt. A smaller rectangular recess in the south wall, 1.25 m wide and 0.5 m. deep, flanked by pilasters and sub-



61 Monastery of St Elias of Carmel: plan of the Cave (no. 203).

sequently (1635) made into a *mihrāb*, may originally have been a niche for a statue. A low stone bench runs around the cave on all sides but the east (Ovadiah 1969; Friedman 1979: 139–43; Giordano 1994: figs. 110–12).

The cave is surrounded by a number of cisterns cut into the rock, one of which may be the cold water spring referred to in 1268. However, the nucleus of the Byzantine monastery, and presumably therefore of its twelfth-century successor, seems to have been further up the slope, just below the terrace. It would have been reached by an ancient track which leads from the right-hand side of the cave's entrance up to the plateau, and is probably that referred to in 1250. It was in these caves that Fr Prosper and his companions established themselves, after they had been evicted from the cave of Elijah in 1635 (Friedman 1979: 82–3).

The caves are described by Giambattista di S. Alessio, one of the Carmelites who accompanied Prosper:

Many were the caverns of the Sons of the Prophets on the promontory. Those on the western side have fallen in long ago, since the rock was fragile. Of the others to the north, the largest one was used by us as a kitchen, a refectory and a church, by means of the erection of partitions. It fell in, in the

year 1769, though the chapel remained intact with the altar of the holy Prophet. This altar was formed out of the rock by the ancient Carmelite hermits and there they celebrated Holy Mass according to the Greek rite. (1780: 392; trans. Friedman 1979: 83–4)

This rock-cut altar niche was rediscovered in 1857, and survives to the west of the present chapel on the site (Friedman 1979: 84). In 1920 it was described by Captain E. Mackay of the British Military Government:

A little further down the slope [below Stella Maris] is an old chapel and refectory? cut in the rock. The roof of the latter has collapsed at some time. The chapel is now doorless and had above its rock-cut altar nine tiles painted with a picture of the Virgin and Child. These tiles appear to be of sixteenth-century work and at the time of the visit could be removed by anybody. (PAM: Mar Elias file, 25 Dec. 1920)

Discussion

Although nothing survives today that can unequivocally be attributed to the twelfth- or thirteenth-century re-occupation of the site, it seems that the Orthodox monastery of that period would have been located, like Fr Prosper's initial resettlement of 1633, around the cave itself. It is uncertain how far up the slope the medieval monastery would have extended.

Visited 28.4.95.

Sources

Barag, 'New source', 200; cf. 209 (1283); Benjamin of Tudela (1169–71) (ed. Adler, 31; trans. Adler, 19; Asher, 81); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), x, 3 (ed. Laurent, 83; PPTS, xii, 94; IHC, iv, 202); *Cart. des Hosp.*, ii, 913–14, appx., no. 26 (1250); *Chemins et pèlerinages A* (–1265), i, 2; B (1268), i, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180, 189); Daniel (1106–7), 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180, 189); de Khitrowo, 54, 73; *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, lxvi, 231; IHC, iii, 112) (1187); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 286, no. 113 (1179); *Itin. Ric.*, i, 32 (RS, xxxviii.i, 76) (1189); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), i (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 90); *Pelrinages ... de Acre* (c.1280), i (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229); Phocas (1185), xxxi (PG, cxxxiii, 961; PPTS, v, 35; trans. Wilkinson, 335–6); Rey, 'Chartes', 47 (1179); *RRH*, 153–4, no. 576 (1179); 313–14, no. 1189 (1250); 379, no. 1450 (1283); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), vi (i) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 1043); Thietmar (1217), viii, 13–14 (ed. Laurent, 21); Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211–12), ii, 1, 5–8 (ed. Laurent, 183; IHC, iii, 232).

Albert du Saint Sauveur 1897: 147; Ali Bey 1816: ii, 251; Augustinović 1972: 30–2, figs. 18–20; Bagatti 1971a: 107; Barag 1979: 209; Benvenisti 1970: 353–7; Biran 1967; Buckingham 1822: i, 187–8; Doubdan 1657: 517–22, pl. opp. p. 517; Enlart 1925: ii, 83–5; Friedman 1971a: 298–9, 300–3; 1979: 33, 81–4, 103, 128, 136–56; Giordano 1994:

92–105, 121; Guérin 1874: ii, 272–3; Hoade 1978: 665–7; Israel 1964: 1374; Johns 1937: 37; Jotischky 1995: 109, 111, 119–21, 125; Kopp 1929: 34–6, 74–83; Marie-Joseph 1913; Mariti 1769: ii, 129–30; Meistermann 1936: 483; Ovadiah 1966; 1969; Palestine 1929: 28; 1948: 22; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 378; Pococke 1743: ii, 56; Porter 1867: 236; Prawer 1988: 180–1, 235–6, 253 n.3; Röhricht 1887b: 227; de Sainte-Marie 1949; de Sandoli 1974; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; de Thévenot 1687: i, 219–20; Wilson 1880a: iii, 99, fig. p. 85; 1880b: ii, 147, fig. p. 133; Wylie c.1883: 103.

ST EUTHYMIUS, Monastery of

Kh. Khan al-Ahmar

**Nos. 204–5 Monastery of St Euthymius,
containing the Monastery Church (no. 204)
and the Cemetery Chapel (no. 205)
1819.1332**

History

The monastery that came to bear his name was in fact the third and last to be founded in the Judean desert by Euthymius, an Armenian native of Melitene who was born in 377. Settling in a cave in the plain above the monastery of St Theoctistus (**no. 220**), an earlier foundation, Euthymius gathered a dozen pupils and with the assistance of Peter Aspebet, a converted Arab shaykh, built a laura consisting of a bakery, a cistern, cells and a church. The latter was dedicated by Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem on 7 May 428 (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, xiv–xvi (ed. Schwartz, 24–7; trans. Festugière, 77–81); Chitty 1928: 135; 1932: 188; 1966: 84; Hirschfeld 1990: 15).

When Euthymius died, on 20 January 473, the cave in which he had first settled was demolished by Fidus, a deacon acting for the patriarch of Jerusalem, who 'in only three months built a great and wonderful vaulted house, and in the middle made the grave of the Saint, and on each side the graves of abbots and priests and other holy men' (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, xl–xlii (ed. Schwartz, 59–62; trans. Festugière, 113–16); Chitty 1932: 188). Euthymius's body was translated to this vaulted tomb by Patriarch Anastasius on 7 May (Chitty 1928: 135–6; 1932: 188; 1966: 97; Meimaris 1989: 13).

During the patriarchate of Martyrius (478–86), in accordance with the saint's instructions, his laura was converted into a *coenobium*:

So Fidus took an engineer (*mechanikos*), a multitude of craftsmen, and much building material, descended to the laura and built the coenobium, surrounded it with a wall and fortified it. Also [Fidus] transformed the old church into a refectory and built the new church above it, and he also erected a tower inside the coenobium, very strong and very graceful, and coordinated the work so that the finished chapel would stand in the middle of the coenobium. (Cyril, *Vita Euthymii*, XLIII (ed. Schwartz, 62–5; trans. Festugière, 116–19); here trans. Hirschfeld 1992: 60–1)

The church was consecrated by Patriarch Martyrius on 7 May 482 (Cyril, *Vita Euthymii*, XLIV (ed. Schwartz, 65–6; trans. Festugière, 119–20); Chitty 1928: 136; 1932: 189; 1966: 102–3; Meimaris 1989: 13).

The fate of the monastery at the time of the Persian conquest in 613–14 is not recorded (Meimaris 1989: 14). The saint's tomb is mentioned, however, by Epiphanius (638–89) (ch. XI (trans. Wilkinson, 120)). Around 659–61 the monastery was destroyed by an earthquake (Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 266; Meimaris 1989: 14; Gil 1992: 78 n.5; Chitty 1932: 189); but in 724 it was visited by St Willibald (Hugoburg, xvii (ed. Tobler, 28–9; trans. Wilkinson, 129)), and it was probably that described as having 30 monks in c.808 (*Commematorium de Casis Dei*, xxxv (trans. Wilkinson, 137; cf. 157); *pace* Gil 1992: 474–5). Soon afterwards it seems to have been abandoned (Theophanes, ann. 6301 (ed. de Boor, 484; cf. 499); Meimaris 1989: 15), though probably only temporarily (cf. Chitty 1928: 137).

In the years immediately preceding Caliph al-Ḥākim's destruction of churches in Palestine (1009), the monastery was being used as a retreat for unsatisfactory monks from the monastery of St Sabas. While it seems unlikely that the monastery would have escaped damage at that time, however, there is no specific documentary evidence concerning the state of its buildings until the early twelfth century (Chitty 1928: 137–8; 1932: 189; Meimaris 1989: 15–16).

In 1106–8, the monastery was visited by the Russian Abbot Daniel:

And beyond the mountain three versts (*var.*: ten) to the east of the Laura of St Saba is the monastery of St Euthymius, and here lie St Euthymius and many other holy fathers, their bodies as if still alive. The monastery is in a valley with rocky mountains all round it at some distance; the monastery was once surrounded by a wall and there was a fine tall (*add.*: in a high place) church and nearby stood the monastery of St Theoktistus [no. 220] . . . but all this is now destroyed by the pagans. (ch. xxxix (trans. Ryan, 141))

Daniel's account suggests that although the church was still in ruins, the tomb of the saint remained intact. There were probably also monks, for Dositheos refers to a charter from the monastery of St Euthymius dated 1146 (1715: 752; Jotischky 1994: 216–17). It seems very possible that the monastery would have received imperial benefactions during the reign of Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80), when other Orthodox monasteries in the Judaeian wilderness were being restored. However, a manuscript in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, which bears an inscription saying that it was donated to the monastery of St Euthymius by the Great Comnenus (Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891b: II, 83), now appears more likely to have been a donation to the monastery of the same name in Jerusalem (q.v.) by Alexius II Comnenus of Trebizond (1297–1330) (Meimaris 1989: 17–18 n.; *pace* Chitty 1928: 138).

By 1185 the monastery had evidently been restored and the church rebuilt, for the Greek John Phocas records:

Opposite the aforesaid monastery [St Theodosius, no. 221], more towards the right-hand, in the depths of the wilderness of Jordan, is the monastery of Saint Euthymius the Great, which is also fortified with towers and great ramparts. In the midst of this stands a church which, like the other, has a round roof (*kyllindrōtēn* . . . *tēn orophēn*); beneath it is a grotto, and in the midst of the grotto is the tomb of Euthymius the Great, which is like the monument of the inspired Saba, being covered like it with white marble. Herein also are buried the remains of the Holy Fathers Pazarion and Domitian. (ch. xviii (PG, cxxxiii, 949; PPTS, v, 25))

In the twelfth century the monastery was again used as a retreat for problematical monks from the monastery of St Sabas. The Cypriot St Neophytos relates the story of one Gabriel, a Georgian stylite, who having become deceived by the devil, was sent for treatment to the care of Abbot Theosterict in the monastery of St Euthymius. There he remained, performing menial tasks, until the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, when he returned to St Sabas (*Narratio de monacho Palaestiniensi*, xviii–xix (ed. Delehaye, 171–1); Chitty 1928: 138–9; 1932: 190; Meimaris 1989: 18).

The monastery of St Euthymius was probably destroyed by Sultan Baybars or Sultan Qalāwūn at the time of the institution of the Muslim pilgrimage to Nabi Musa in the later thirteenth century, when a southerly branch of the Jerusalem to Jericho road was re-formed, passing close by the monastery (cf. Sion 1991; 1993). Its demise may also be connected with the foundation (or refoundation) of the monastery of St Euthymius in Jerusalem (q.v.) by Anna, daughter of Alexius II

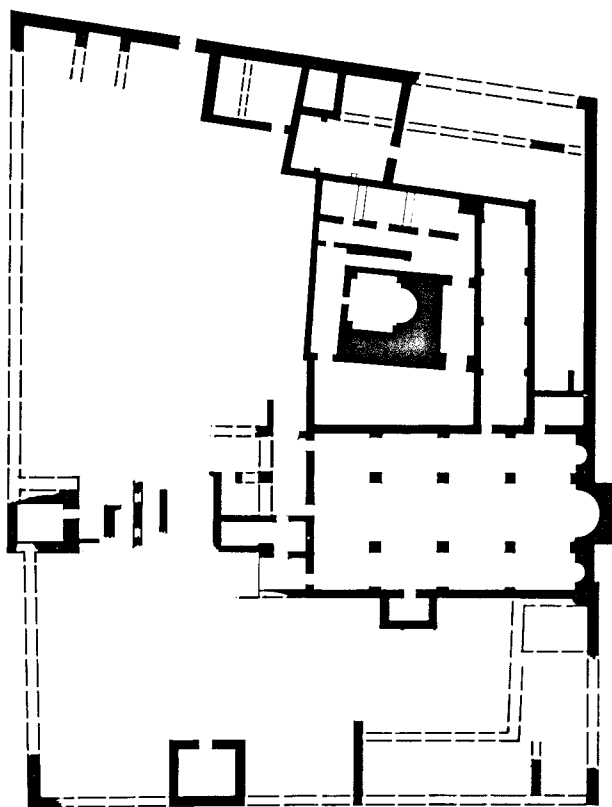
Comnenus of Trebizond (1297–1330) (Chitty 1928: 139; Meimaris 1989: 19). At about this time an icon of the Theotokos found in the ruined church was also removed to Jerusalem (Neophytos of Cyprus [c.1775–1861], in Meimaris 1989: 20). The monastery continued to be mentioned subsequently by Orthodox pilgrims, though it was apparently in ruins and was inhabited latterly, on a temporary basis, by Bedouin and by villagers from Silwan (Meimaris 1989: 20–1).

The ruins were described by the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 207), J.L. Féderlin (1894) and R. Génier (1909: fig. opp. p. 299). Between 1927 and 1929 excavations by the Rev. D.J. Chitty for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem focussed on the church and the burial structure north of it (Chitty 1928: 137–9; 1930; 1932; Chitty and Jones 1928; Barrois 1930). Excavation was resumed by Y. Meimaris in 1976–9 for the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, concentrating on the vaults below the church, the burial structure and the area around it, and various vaulted rooms. This was accompanied by a programme of masonry consolidation (Meimaris 1977; 1979; 1989). Further excavations were carried out in 1987 by Rivka Birger of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Birger and Hirschfeld 1989; Hirschfeld 1990: 17–18).

The Monastery Church (no. 204)

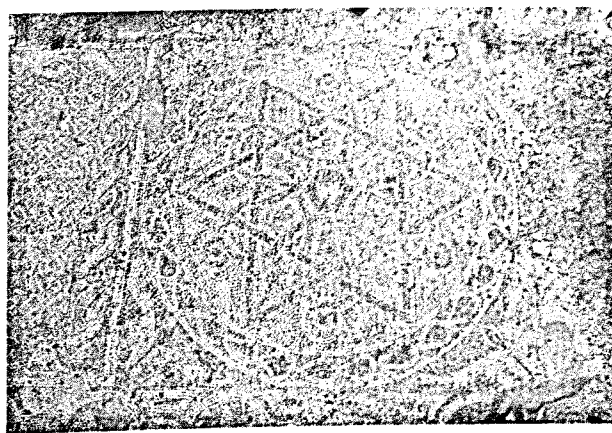
According to Cyril of Scythopolis, the church of the original *laura* was made into a refectory when the later church of the *coenobium* was built over it in 482. Remains of this earlier church, preceded by a narthex, were identified during the excavation of the vaults below the later church in 1930 (fig. 63); its alignment was slightly different from that of the later church and its size much smaller (Chitty 1930: 46–7, pl. I.1; 1932: 192, pl. v.2; Meimaris 1989: 23).

The monastery church was found to have had at least two principal phases of construction (figs. 62–4). The first church was a three-aisled basilica, probably with a timber roof. It was built over an undercroft of three parallel vaults, the central one being wider than the side ones. Only the side vaults, underlying the north and south aisles, appear to survive from this church. They are parabolic in section, and built of unfaced stone which was formerly plastered; somewhat curiously they butt against the outer walls of the church. The outer walls, though not the colonnades, of the early church were retained in the later one, and therefore survive, at least in part, standing to a maximum height of 1.5 m; the west end and the outer face of the east end, however,

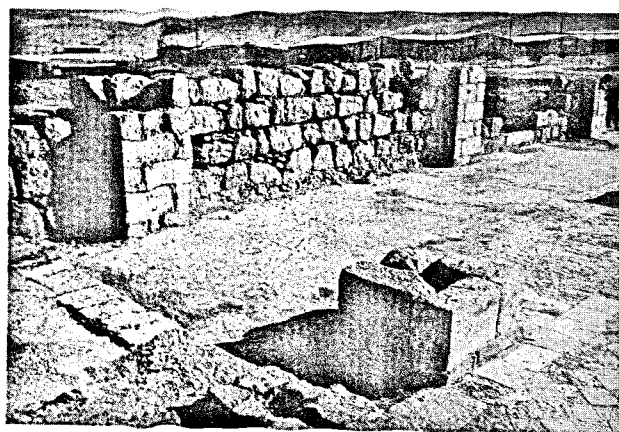


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After Chitty 1932 & Hirschfeld 1990

62 Monastery of St Euthymius (nos. 204–5): plan.



CXXVI Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): mosaic in the south aisle of the church (no. 204), dating from the first phase of the building.



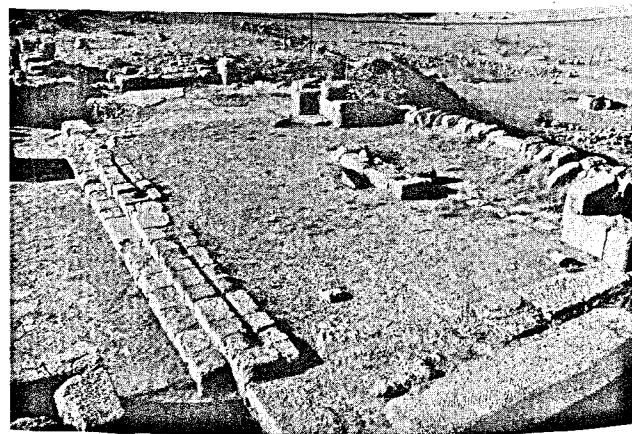
cxxvii Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): the south aisle of the church (no. 204) showing the pier and pilasters added in the second phase.

do not survive to this level. Internally the church would have measured some 23 by 14 m with walls 0.8 m thick. The east end terminated in three semi-circular apses, the central one 5 m wide and the side ones 2.35 m. The mosaics in the aisles (pl. cxxvi) also appear to belong to this church, since they do not correspond to the later arrangement of piers and pilasters, which in places cut through them (Chitty 1932: 194–5, pls. II, III.2, v.2; Chitty and Jones 1928: 175–7, 178, pl. I.1; Meimaris 1989: 23–5, figs. 3–4, 6–8, 35). The vault under the northern apse, or *prothesis*, is separate from that below the north aisle and appears earlier in date; its original function is unknown, though it was later used for burials (Meimaris 1989: fig. 31; Chitty 1930: 44–5; 1932: 192–4, pl. II).

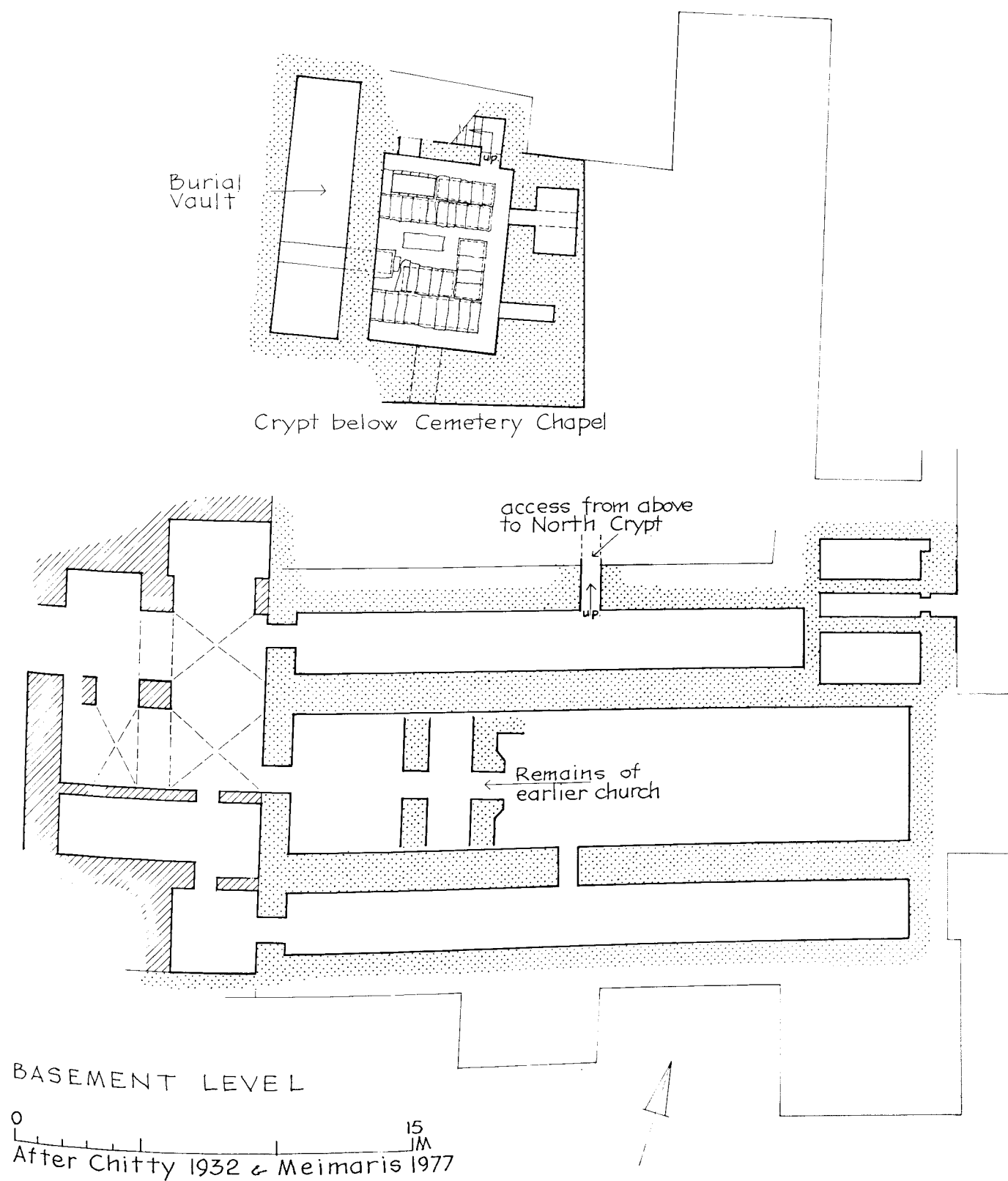
In the second phase, the central vault of the undercroft appears to have been rebuilt, possibly following a collapse. At this time the colonnades of the earlier church were also removed and replaced by a system of roofing carried on rectangular piers and pilasters, built in chisel-dressed ashlar contrasting with the rougher build of the walls. These divided the interior into three aisles of four bays each. In the aisles the pilasters cut through the earlier floor mosaics and, though partly bonded into the walls, also butted against the plastered wall-faces. The central nave appears to have been somewhat narrower than that of the earlier church, and the aisles broader, with the result that the side apses were now asymmetrical with respect to the aisles. The second bay of the nave was almost precisely square in plan, and fragments from two pendentives found in the excavations demonstrate that it was covered by a dome. Chitty and Jones suggest that the other nave bays had been groin-vaulted and the aisles barrel-vaulted (Chitty 1932:

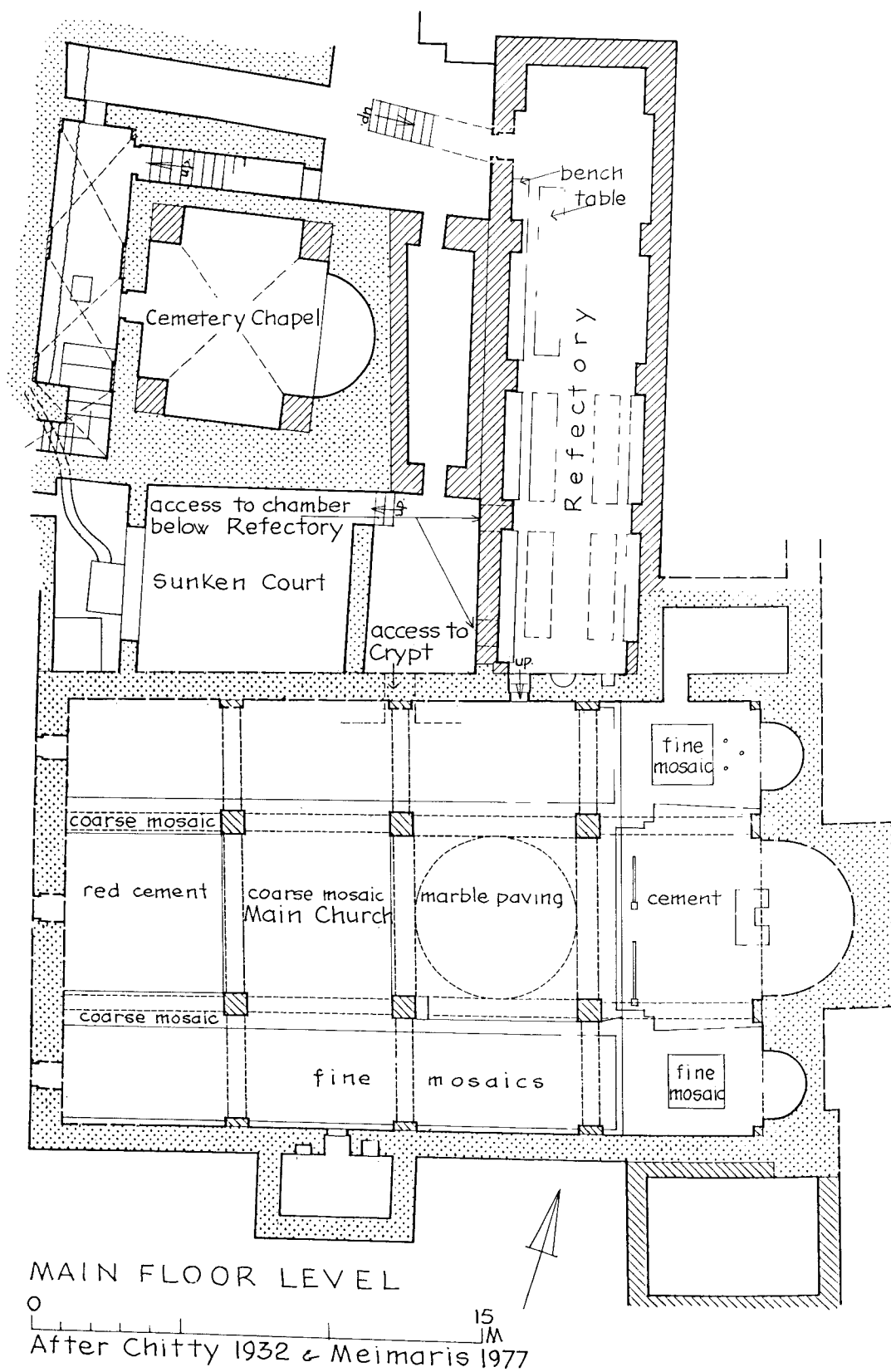
195–6, pl. v.2; Chitty and Jones 1928: 176). In view of the relative slenderness of the piers and pilasters and the absence of external buttressing, however, it is not impossible that as in Bethany (Vol. I, no. 59) the roofing, including the dome, was of timber supported on masonry arches (cf. Megaw 1973: 112; Pringle 1982b: 12). Some of the masonry from the dome or drum is reported to have borne the diagonal tooling characteristic of twelfth-century work, though this cannot now be verified (Kühnel 1988: 182). In a later period the south-western pier supporting the dome appears to have been thickened on its east side, either as buttressing for the pier or in order to support a reinforcing arch (Chitty 1932: 198).

The floor decoration of the central nave, unlike that of the aisles, corresponded to the layout of the piers (see below). At the east end, the apses and bays corresponding to the *prothesis* (on the north) and *diaconicon* (on the south) were raised one step above the nave, and a further step led up to the presbytery. The feet of three colonnettes which supported the table of the *prothesis* still survive, set in a mosaic representing a cross (Chitty 1932: 197; Chitty and Jones 1928: 176; Meimaris 1989: 24, figs. 6, 10, colour fig. p. 114). The base for a rectangular altar stood just forward of the chord of the central apse (pl. cxxviii); in its back was a rectangular recess, used possibly as an Easter sepulchre or a deposit for relics, and latterly blocked with cement (Chitty 1932: 197; Chitty and Jones 1928: 176). There remains *in situ* the socketed base for a low screen of posts and panels dividing the presbytery from the nave; this was latterly encased in masonry, indicating its conversion into the base for a timber *iconostasis* (Chitty 1932: 197–8; Chitty and Jones 1928: 176–7; Meimaris 1989: 24, figs. 11, 20). A wall



cxxviii Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): presbytery of the main church (no. 204), from the south, showing the remains of the altar and the position of the chancel screen.





64 Monastery of St Euthymius: plan of church (no. 204) and burial chapel (no. 205) at principal floor level.

which separated the *diaconicon* from the south aisle was evidently built later than the floor mosaics, which it covered, but before the paintings on the south wall which stopped at it (Chitty 1932: 197; Chitty and Jones 1928: 177). Evidence was also found of a rough wall separating the south aisle from the nave; this was built in line with the north face of the southern row of piers, and was faced only on the south. Chitty's suggestion that this may have been a retaining wall, allowing the south aisle to remain in use after the rest of the church had collapsed, cannot now be verified (Chitty 1932: 197).

A door in the north wall of the *prothesis* leads into a rectangular sacristy, with a stone bench on its south side (Chitty 1930: 46; 1932: 194). Excavations below it in the 1970s revealed a vaulted tomb chamber belonging to the earliest stages of the monastery and related to that under the *prothesis* itself (Meimaris 1989: 26–7, fig. 30). Another sacristy was built against the south side of the church and was entered from the third bay of the south aisle. This measured internally 3.58 by 1.92 m, and had wall cupboards to either side of the door and a plastered stone bench across its west side, 0.33 m high and 0.8 m wide (Chitty 1930: 46, pl. 1.2; 1932: 194; Meimaris 1989: 27, figs. 25, 27–8).

The arrangement of the church's west end is unknown, since the walls do not survive above the basement level. It seems reasonable to assume that there would always have been three doors corresponding to the tripartite division of the interior, and probably also a narthex, the vaulted undercroft of which appears to be of medieval date (Chitty 1930: 46). The only other door is in the second bay of the north aisle.

Decoration and Furnishing of the Monastery Church (no. 204)

Two principal phases of floor covering were found in the church, corresponding to the two main phases of its construction. The aisles belonging to the earlier colonnaded basilica were paved with mosaics. Those in the north aisle were mostly destroyed, while those in the south aisle were well preserved, consisting of geometrical interlace patterns datable probably to the seventh or eighth century. In the *prothesis* and *diaconicon* the mosaics consisted of a small rectangular panel of finer geometrical design in a plain white surround. All the surviving mosaics showed signs of later repairs. The pavement of the nave belonged to the later phase of the church. Beneath the dome was a large elaborately designed rectangular panel of *opus sectile* paving, while the next bay to the west was paved with crudely patterned mosaics, which included large irregular frag-

ments of marble. The presbytery and western bay were paved with red cement (Chitty 1932: 198–9; Chitty and Jones 1928: 175–6, pl. 1; Hankin and Myres 1929; Aviyonah 1933: 180, no. 172; Meimaris 1989: 24–5, figs. 6–9, 12, 18a, colour figs. pp. 113–19).

Nothing now remains *in situ* of the wall paintings revealed in the south aisle by the 1927–30 excavations, though watercolour copies were made of those on the pilasters by Mrs A.H.M. Jones and are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A large quantity of fragments is also preserved in the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum in Jerusalem. The pilaster paintings, belonging to the second phase of the church, include the lower parts of two saints, one dressed in ecclesiastical vestments, the other a soldier saint attired in a green tunic and red cloak and holding a spear and a shield shaped like an inverted tear-drop and decorated with a cross (Chitty 1932: 196–7; Chitty and Jones 1928: 176; Meimaris 1989: 25, figs. 21–4, 147–57, colour figs. pp. 118, 120). The kite-shaped shield is of a type datable in Byzantium and the West from the eleventh century to the twelfth (Nicolle 1988: 1–11, *passim*).

Pieces of window glass set in plaster tracery were found, particularly in the debris at the south-east corner of the dome (Chitty 1932: 198; Chitty and Jones 1928: 177).

Among the numerous pieces of marble recovered in the excavations in 1976–9 is one carved with acanthus interlace which seems likely to be of twelfth-century date (Meimaris 1989: fig. 118).

The Cemetery Chapel (no. 205)

The cemetery block lies north of the church, separated from it by a narrow sunken court (figs. 62–4; pl. cxxix). It consisted of a chapel built over a barrel-vaulted crypt. The latter is constructed in fine ashlar and probably represents the 'vaulted house' built by Fidus within three months of the death of Euthymius in 473. The vault runs north–south and measures 4.75 by 5.9 m. It was reached by a staircase from the north end of the narthex of the chapel above. In the centre of the room, below the floor, was found the cist for an inhumation lying east–west, surrounded by others arranged in rows. Two more tombs were set into the east wall, and another vault (8.5 by 2.4 m) adjoining this one on its west side was excavated in 1976–9 and found to contain twenty-five or more male inhumations without coffins.

The walls of the burial vault were decorated with wall paintings in red, blue and black, the surviving fragments



cxxix Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): cemetery chapel (no. 205), from the north, with the main church (no. 204) behind.

of which include one representing the head of a saint (Chitty and Jones 1928: 178; Meimaris 1989: 25, 28, 30, fig. 23). Latterly the crypt was used as a chapel. A floor of rough flags was laid covering the tombs; this ran up against the earlier wall paintings, as did the stone altar placed against the centre of the east wall. This was flanked by *prothesis* and *diaconicon* niches in the wall to either side, the former leading into a small vaulted chamber. Stone benches ran along the north and south walls (Chitty and Jones 1928: 177; Chitty 1930: 152–3; 1932: 192, 200–2, pls. II, v.1, vi; Barrois 1930; Meimaris 1989: 27–33, figs. 35, 37–60; Hirschfeld 1990: 17, fig. 19).

The chapel above the burial vault measured 5.8 m north–south by 5.2 m east–west, with a semi-circular apse 3.5 m wide on the east. It was entered from the passage or narthex on the east. Little of it now survives. In a secondary, probably medieval, phase the vaulting was carried on square pilasters inserted into the corners and intended for either a groin-vault or a dome on pendentives. Fragments of painted plaster and glass tesserae indicate that the walls had a combination of mosaics and paintings. The roof seems to have been surmounted by a four-sided stone cross probably supporting a metal cross or finial (Meimaris 1989: 33–6, figs. 36–8, 61–2; Chitty 1932: 202, pl. II).

Associated Buildings

The monastery was enclosed by a quadrangular wall measuring some 61–7 m north–south by 51–4 m east–west (see fig. 62). The principal surviving portion of this is on the north, where there is a much-restored pointed-arched gateway (pl. cxxx), probably twelfth-century

and built in drafted ashlar masonry (Chitty 1932: 191, pl. IV.2; Meimaris 1989: 36–7, fig. 77).

The excavation of the monastic buildings has been more piecemeal and less extensive than that of the church and cemetery block. Their layout is therefore only poorly understood, and their phasing even less so. One medieval room excavated in 1976–9, however, was the refectory, which lay immediately east of the cemetery block, abutting the north wall of the church. It was an elongated room, some 19 m long and 4.3 m wide, covered by four bays of groin-vaults; its foundation consisted of earlier rooms filled with debris. Remains of six long stone tables were found, and a stone bench along one wall. Also found in the debris was a circular glass window pane (diam. 24 cm) and pieces of plaster window tracery (Meimaris 1989: 35, figs. 25, 78, 83–5a).

Another medieval room was that built against the south-east corner of church; this was found to have wall paintings and a mosaic floor (Chitty 1930: 46; 1932: 194; Meimaris 1989: 26, fig. 29).

A large underground cistern lies to the east of the



cxxx Monastery of St Euthymius (Khan al-Ahmar): medieval north gate.

monastery, formed with two barrel-vaulted aisles separated by an arcade of rounded arches; its date is possibly sixth-century (Chitty 1932: 190–91, pl. iv.1).

Discussion

Only further excavation and detailed structural analysis are likely to resolve the outstanding questions concerning the precise phasing and dating of the monastic church and buildings. Indeed, the need for such a re-evaluation is underlined by the preliminary report on the excavations by R. Birger in 1987 (Birger and Hirschfeld 1989; cf. Hirschfeld 1990: 17–18). The following is therefore proposed as no more than a provisional chronology.

The excavations of 1976–9 support the view that the vault below the cemetery chapel was that constructed in 473 to contain the saint's body. The building remains found by Chitty beneath the central vault of the church may also have been those of the early church that was converted into a refectory in 482. If so, the new church built at that time should have been above it. However, this would have been a much smaller building than the church which eventually replaced it. This was a three-aisled colonnaded basilica with three eastern apses, built over three parallel barrel-vaults. A *terminus ante quem* for its construction is provided by the mosaics in the side aisles, which would be consistent with a sixth- or early seventh-century date (cf. those in the Byzantine church south-west of Tall Sandahanna: Kloner 1993). The cistern lying east of the monastery was also probably built in this period.

The church was possibly destroyed in the catastrophic earthquake of 659–61. At that time the cemetery vault, which had evidently survived, may have been made into a chapel, though the excavators unfortunately provide no clear dating evidence for this event. Contrary to the view of Chitty and Jones, however, it seems unlikely that the main church would have been rebuilt in this period (Chitty and Jones 1928: 176; Chitty 1932: 196).

Indeed, in the early twelfth century the main church was still in ruins when the monastery was visited by Abbot Daniel. By 1185, however, it had been rebuilt as a domed basilica. The *opus sectile* and crude mosaic floors in the central nave would also belong to this phase, as would the paintings on the pilasters in the south aisle; the mosaics in the aisles were also repaired, somewhat crudely and with larger tesserae. The rebuilding of the cemetery chapel above the burial vault may also possibly date from the twelfth century, if it had not already been rebuilt in the eleventh.

Visited 18.1.79, 29.12.79, 28.10.81, 24.8.89.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–), XIII (PG, cxxxiii, 987); Daniel (1106–8), xxxix (trans. Ryan, 141; de Khitrowo, 35); Neophytos, *Narratio de monacho Palaestiniensi* (1187–), xviii–xix (ed. Delehay, 171–1); Phocas (1185), xviii; xxi (PG, cxxxiii, 949; 952; PPTS, v, 25; 26; trans. Wilkinson, 328; 329).
 Avi-Yonah 1933: 180, no. 172; Bagatti 1971d: 105; 1971f; Baldi 1973: 140; Barrois 1930; Benvenisti 1970: 364–5; Birger and Hirschfeld 1989; Chitty 1928: 137–9; 1930: 1932; 1966: 84–8, 91–2, 94–7, 102–3, 126–7, 129, 131, 157; pl. 4; Chitty and Jones 1928; Cohen 1977: 882, fig.; Compagnoni 1978: 48–50; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 207; Dositheos 1715: 752; Féderlin 1894; Folda 1977: 261 n.; Furrer 1880: 234; Génier 1909: fig. opp. p. 299; Gil 1992: 78 n.5; 446; 475; Guérin 1874: I, 23–8; Hamilton 1980: 167; Hankin and Myres 1929; Hirschfeld 1990: 15–18, figs. 17–19; 1992a: 12–13, 59, 60–1, 113, 132–3, 137–8, 162–4, 173–4, 199, 242–3, figs. 25, 40, 70; 1993e; Johns 1937: 37 (J6); Jotischky 1994: 216, 217; 1995: 77, 80, 83 n.49, 84, 95; Kühnel 1988: 182–5; Leclercq 1929: 1973–5; Meimaris 1977; 1979; 1989; Meistermann 1936: 370; Moore 1961: 43; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 216–18, fig.; Norris 1950: 34, pl. xii; Ovadiah 1970: 103–4 (no. 97), pl. 44; Palestine 1929: 54; 1933: 22; 1948: 190; Piccirillo 1977; Prag 1989: 308–11, fig.; Praver 1975a: I, 456; Pringle 1982b: 12, 28 (no. 13), fig. 1.8; le Quien 1740: II, 602; von Riess 1892; Schneider 1938a: 104, fig. 18; 1938b: 42, fig. 2; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 392; Tobler 1853: II, 505–9; Vailhé 1898a: 209–25; 1907–9.

The archives of the excavations by the Rev. D.J. Chitty (1928–30) are deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

ST EUTHYMIUS, Village of

Cr. casale sancti Euchimii iuxta Bethleem

In April 1158, Pope Hadrian IV confirmed to the abbot and convent of St Mary Latin in Jerusalem (q.v.) their possession of half of the village of St Euthymius near Bethlehem, together with its lands and their tithes (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 218–22, no. 79; RRH, 85, no. 331). The same privilege was confirmed by Pope Alexander III in March 1173 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 271–7, no. 106; Holtzmann, 'Papsturkunden', 56–9, no. 2). It seems more likely that this was a village formerly belonging to the Orthodox abbey of St Euthymius (nos. 204–5) between Jerusalem and Jericho, which if so would presumably have retained the other half, than that Euthymius was the patron of the village

church. Although the inhabitants are likely to have been Christian, there is therefore no unequivocal evidence for the existence of a church.

Sources

Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 218–22, no. 79 (1158); 271–7, no. 106 (1173); Holtzmann, 'Papstkunden', 56–9, no. 2 (1173); *RRH*, 85, no. 331 (1158, 1173).

ST GEORGE DE CHAMAN, Village of

at or near *Tall al-Khamman* or *Tall al-Khidr*;
Cr. *casale S. Georgii*, *S. Georgius de Chaman*

No. 206 Church (?) of St George (?)255.235

History

In 1126, William I of Bures, prince of Galilee, granted the village of St George, near *Medan* (*juxta Medan*), to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Delaborde, 40–1, no. 14; Kohler, *Chartes*, 18, no. 16; *RRH*, 28, no. 115). A confirmation of this grant by King Baldwin II in 1130 states that the village lay beyond the Sea of Galilee (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18; cf. 67–70, no. 29 (1154)), while another by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154 gives its full name as *Sanctus Georgius de Chaman* and locates it in the *Terre de Sueth* (Delaborde, 63–7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70; cf. Delaborde, 100–5, no. 49 (1255)). *Medan*, or *Meddan*, may be identified with the plain around Muzairib, a watering place on the King's Highway or pilgrims' route to Mecca (*Darb al-Hajj*), north of Dar'a, where in the twelfth century a fair was held each summer (Dussaud 1927: 340; Guide Bleu 1932: 366–7; cf. William of Tyre, XIII, 18; xvi, 10 (CCCM, LXIII, 608, 726); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), VII (IHC, II, 92)).

Khamman is identified by the Arab geographer Yāqūt (c.1225) as a district of the Bathaniyya (*Batanaea*) in the Hauran province of Syria (trans. Le Strange, 484). The village of St George *de Chaman* was probably located somewhere in the vicinity of Tall al-Khamman and Tall al-Khidr (hill of St George, or the Green), which lie east of Muzairib, and 7 and 9 km respectively north of Dar'a. It may be assumed that, as at neighbouring Dair Ayyūb

(*casale S. Jobi*: no. 208), the population in the twelfth century would have included a significant proportion of Christians, and that there would have been a church or sanctuary to St George, quite possibly at Tall al-Khidr, which is still venerated by the Druzes of the area (Augustinović 1972: 42).

Not visited.

Sources

Delaborde, 40–1, no. 14; 45–7, no. 18 (1130); 67–70, no. 29 (1154); 63–7, no. 28 (1154); 100–5, no. 49 (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70 (1154); Kohler, *Chartes*, 18, no. 16; *RRH*, 28, no. 115; Yāqūt (trans. Le Strange, 484).

Augustinović 1972: 42; Beyer 1945: 227; Deschamps 1933: 50 nn.2–3; 1935: fig. p. 287; Dussaud 1927: 336; Mayer 1977: 369; 1990: 25–6; Mittmann 1970: 253–4; Rey 1883: 444; Rheinheimer 1990: 282 (no. 59); Röhricht 1887b: 217.

ST GERASIMUS, Monastery of

No. 207 Monastery Church of St Gerasimus (?)1985.1374

History and Identification

St Gerasimus, a native of Lycia, founded a *coenobium* east of Jericho beside the Jordan around 455; he died and was buried there in 475 (Vailhé 1899a: 108–10). The monastery still existed in the early ninth century (*Commematorium de Casis Dei*, xxvii (trans. Wilkinson, 138)), but had probably been abandoned by the twelfth (Vailhé 1899b: 118). The Russian abbot Daniel (1106–7) states that it lay midway between the monastery of St John the Baptist (no. 209) and that of St Mary of Kalamonia (Vol. 1, no. 85), but provides no further details (ch. xxxiv (trans. Ryan, 138)). In 1185, however, John Phocas records that most of it had been washed away by the river, leaving only a few remains of the church, a hermit's column and two caves in which an aged Georgian hermit was living (ch. xxiii (PG, cxxxiii, 952–3)). A Greek text post-dating 1187 still refers to the monastery of St Gerasimus (Anon. Graecus, xiv (PG, cxxxiii, 989)), but by the end of the thirteenth century the saint's relics and the dedication of the

church had been transferred to nearby Dair Hajla, formerly the monastery of St Mary of Kalamonia (see Vol. I, no. 85). An anonymous Slav writer of the fourteenth century mentions only ruins, inhabited by desert lions (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393).

Y. Hirschfeld (1989a: 100–1; 1990: 18–19) follows Féderlin (1903: 134, 148) in locating the Byzantine laura 350 m east of Dair Hajla (Grid ref. 1976.1364); however, a likelier position for the site that was being identified in the twelfth century as that of the former monastery lies north-east of this, towards St John's (no. 209) and 200 m east of 'Ain Hajla (Grid ref. 1985.1374). Here Féderlin found building remains, including possibly those of a church surrounded by cells, some of which were built and others cut from the Lissan marl rock (Féderlin 1903: 132–4; cf. Dinur 1986). Both Féderlin and Hirschfeld (1990: 24–6) identify this with the monastery of Kalamon; but the evidence of twelfth-century pilgrims shows that by then at any rate Kalamon was identified with Dair Hajla itself (no. 85).

Not visited.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–), xiv (PG, cxxxiii, 989); Daniel (1106–7), xxxiv (trans. Ryan, 138; de Khitrowo, 30); Phocas (1185), xxiii (PG, cxxxiii, 952–3; PPTS, v, 27–8; trans. Wilkinson, 330–1).

Augustinović 1951: 109–10, 194–5, 197 n.30; Benvenisti 1970: 366; Dinur 1986; Féderlin 1903: 132–4; Hirschfeld 1990: 24–6, fig. 29; Hoade 1978: 493; Koikilides 1902; Lagrange 1892: 441; Moore 1961: 44; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Vailhé 1899a: 108–12.

ST JOB, Village of

Shaikh Sa'd, Dair Ayyub; Cr. Casale S. Jobi

No. 208 Tomb (and Church?) of St Job 247.249

History

The discovery of the tomb of Job at *Carneas* by a monk of the Hauran, sometime in the fourth century, is recounted by the pilgrim Egeria, who visited the church that was subsequently constructed over it in February or March 384. Although the church was still unfinished,

Egeria notes that the body of the prophet was lying in a stone coffin below the altar (ch. xiii, 1–2; xvi, 5–7 (CCSL, clxxv, 54, 57–8; trans. Wilkinson, 108, 112–13; cf. Wilkinson 1981: 29, 281)). *Carneas*, which Egeria says was known in her time as 'the town of Job' (*civitas Iob*), may be identified as Ashtarot-Karnaim (Genesis 14.5), or simply Karnaim (Amos 6.13), which seems to have replaced Ashtarot (Tall 'Ashtara, Grid ref. 243.244) as capital of Bashan under Aramaean and Assyrian rule (Aharoni 1979: 38, 140, 142, 344, map 7). Although R. Dussaud was sceptical about the separate identities of these two places (1927: 328–40), Eusebius, followed by Jerome, clearly distinguishes them from one another (*Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 6, lines 4–7; 12, lines 11–15)), and identifies Ashtarot-Karnaim as a large village in the corner of Bashan (*in angulo Batanaeae*) which in his time was called *Carnea* and was said to be the location of the house of Job (*Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 112, lines 3–6)).

In the twelfth century, this association of Job with Ashtarot-Karnaim (*Karnaim Emastaroth*) found its way, no doubt through Jerome, into Western geographical texts; the *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43) also adds:

In Sueth the monument of Job is still seen, and it is the scene of a yearly feast observed by Greeks, Syrians, and Gentiles (*in Suetha piramis superstes Iob adhuc a Grecis et Syris et Gentibus sollemnis habetur*). (ch. xxvi (IHC, II, 92; PPTS, v, 26–7); cf. Fretellus (1137), xxxiii (ed. Boeren, 23); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 994); Anon. vi (1148), 4 (IHC, III, 58); PPTS, vi, 53))

In 1129, William I of Bures, prince of Galilee, granted the village of St Job (*casale Sancti Jobi*) to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, reserving to his nephew, the monk William, the lordship and rent during the latter's lifetime (Delaborde, 42–3, no. 16; RRH, 32–3, no. 131; Rheinheimer 1990: 266, no. 6). A confirmation of this grant by Baldwin II in 1130 specifies that this village lay beyond the Sea of Galilee (*ultra mare Tyberiadis*) (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18; cf. 67–70, no. 29 (1154)), while another by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154 states that it was in the Terre de Sueth (*in terra Sueti*) (Delaborde, 63–7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70; cf. Delaborde, 100–5, no. 49 (1255)).

In June 1187, Ashtara, lying as it does on the ancient King's Highway, the principal north–south route following the edge of the desert and connecting Karak with Damascus (Aharoni 1979: 53, 54, 56), was the site chosen by Saladin for assembling his troops before the campaign that ended at Hattin ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 16, 19); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxiv, xxxv, cf. v (PPTS, XIII, 109, 120; cf. 58)). However (*pace* Dussaud 1927:

329), this cannot be taken to indicate that Tall Ashtara was the same place as late Roman *Carneas*, since Yāqūt, writing around 1225, clearly distinguishes *Ashtarā* from *Dayr Ayyūb* (the convent of Job) (Le Strange 1890: 400, 427). The latter he describes as

A village of the Haurān, in the Damascus Province. This is where Job dwelt, and where Allah tried him. There is here a spring, where (at Allah's command [Qu'ran 28.41]) he struck with his feet the rock that was over it (and the water gushed out). Job's tomb also is here. (trans. Le Strange, 427)

Dair Ayyub is located on the south-western edge of Shaikh Sa'ad, a modern village established by Sa'ad, the son of Abd al-Qadar, in the later nineteenth century. In 1932 the building was described as a ruinous Muslim sanctuary, containing a stele of Rameses II. The spring (or 'baths') of Job was situated at the foot of the hill, and to the west of it in a cemetery lay the prophet's supposed tomb (Guide Bleu 1932: 349; cf. Dussaud 1927: 344–5; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: v, 13).

It seems likely that, whatever the original location of Karnaim may have been, Dair Ayyub was the site of *Carneas*, or the 'town' or 'village of Job', where the prophet's tomb was shown from the fourth century onwards. In the twelfth century the sanctuary was venerated by local Christians, and apparently by Muslims. Unfortunately the precise nature of the building that existed at that time is unknown.

Not visited.

Sources

Anon. vi (1148), 4 (IHC, III, 58; PPTS, vi, 53); Delaborde, 42–3, no. 16; 45–7, no. 18 (1130); 63–7, no. 28 (1154); 67–70, no. 29 (1154); 100–105, no. 49 (1255); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxvi (IHC, II, 92; PPTS, v, 26–7); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 994); Fretellus (1137), xxxiii (ed. Boeren, 23); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70; RRH, 32–3, no. 131; Yāqūt (trans. Le Strange, 427).

Beyer 1945: 227; Deschamps 1933: 50; Dussaud 1927: 328–40, 344–5; Guide Bleu 1932: 349; Le Strange 1890: 427; Mayer 1990: 25–6; Mittmann 1970: 254; Rey 1883: 445; Rheinheimer 1990: 282, no. 60.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST, Monastery of

Qasr al-Yahud, Mar Yuhanna; Cr. ecclesia S. Iohannis, Saint Jehan

No. 209 Monastery Church of St John the Baptist 2011.1388

History

A church of St John the Baptist was founded by the emperor Anastasius I (491–518) near the site of the Baptism of Christ on the banks of the Jordan (see Vol. I, no. 39). The church was built on great vaults, high enough to protect it when the Jordan was in flood, and the emperor endowed each of the monks serving it with an annual stipend of six *solidi* (Theodosius, xx (CCSL, CLXXV, 121–2; ELS, 172, no. 168; ed. Wilkinson, 190; trans., 69)). Imperial patronage continued under Justinian I (527–60), who by 553–4 had provided the monastery with a well (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v, 9, 19 (Loeb, 358)). In c.572, it was a large establishment, with two guest-houses (Piacenza Pilgrim, XII (CCSL, CLXXV, 136; ELS, 173–4, no. 169.4; trans. Wilkinson, 82)).

In 659, this church was destroyed by an earthquake (Gil 1992: 78 n.5; cf. Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 226; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 266). When it was rebuilt, the monastery appears to have been set back from the river on higher ground, for in 685 Bishop Arculf distinguished the church and monastery of St John from the church of the Baptism (no. 39); the former overlooked the latter from the brow of a small hill, and was surrounded by a wall (Adomnán, II, 16, 8 (CCSL, CLXXV, 214; ELS, 175–6, no. 171; trans. Wilkinson, 107); cf. Bede, XII, 1–2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 273–4)).

When St Willibald stayed at the monastery in 724, it had a community of about twenty monks (Hubeburc, XVI (ed. Tobler, 27–8; ELS, 176–7, no. 173; trans. Wilkinson, 129)); and in the early ninth century thirty-five monks are recorded serving both the monastery and the dependent church on the river bank (*Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* (c.808), xxxviii (Tobler and Molinier, I, 303; ELS, 177, no. 174; trans. Wilkinson, 138)). A text of the description of the Holy Places by Epiphanius the Monk, dated between 715/17 and 1000, denotes the larger church as that of the Holy Trinity (ch. XI (ELS, 177–8, no. 176; trans. Wilkinson, 121)); while an early eleventh-century Armenian account, based on Epiphanius, describes what appears to have been the larger church as:

in the shape of a cross with a pointed roof. It is eighty ells in length and eighty in breadth, and contains three tables at which the sacrifice is offered. (Armenian Guidebook, xi (trans. Nahabedian, 201))

In 1106–8, the Russian abbot Daniel found the monastery of St John the Baptist, 'built high on a hill' six versts from Jericho before one reached the river. A variant reading states that it was 'surrounded by a wall'. Near it was the hill called Hermon (i.e. *Armona*, or Little Mount Hermon, from which Elijah ascended in a fiery chariot: cf. Wilkinson 1977: 163); and it was a good two bow-shots from there to 'the old monastery of St John, where there was a great church built in honour of St John the Precursor' (chs. xxvii–xxviii (trans. Ryan, 136; *ELS*, 178–9, no. 178.1–2)).

A Latin source dating before 1114 records that the monastery contained about twenty monks (*de Situ*, II, 7 (*IHC*, II, 78; *PPTS*, v, 7; *ELS*, 180, no. 179); cf. Belard of Ascoli (1112–60), iv (*IHC*, II, 46; trans. Wilkinson, 230)). According to the pilgrim Theodoric, however, during a Muslim raid which he attributes to Zangi, possibly the raid recorded in 1139 (William of Tyre, xv, 6 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 682–4)), six monks from the monastery had been decapitated (ch. xxx (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 177; *PPTS*, v, 48–9; *ELS*, 180–1, no. 181)). The continued presence of Greek monks, however, is recorded by al-Idrisi, writing around 1154 (ch. III, 5 (trans. Jaubert, 345; *Le Strange*, 34)). Theodoric also records that by 1169–72 the protection of pilgrims visiting the Jordan had been improved by the construction of a strong castle belonging to the Templars sited close to the monastery (ch. xxx (*CCCM*, cxxxix, 177; *PPTS*, v, 48–9; *ELS*, 180–1, no. 181); cf. Pringle 1994c: 150–1, 153).

Muslim raiding, however, was only one of the worries experienced by the monks. In 1185, the Greek John Phocas wrote:

The monastery of the Prodomos [i.e. John the Baptist] was completely demolished by an earthquake. But it has now been newly rebuilt by the munificent hand of our Emperor, crowned by God, Manuel Porphyrogenitus and Comnenus, because the head of the community spoke freely to him about it being rebuilt. (ch. XXII (PG, cxxxiii, 952; *ELS*, 181–2, no. 182; trans. Wilkinson, 329))

The earthquake was probably that recorded in 1160 (Kallner-Amiran 1950–1: 228; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 270), though it is also possible that it was a much earlier one. A new chapel was also built at this time at the site of the Baptism (no. 39), two bow-shots away beside the Jordan.

Although the chapel of the Baptism may have been destroyed by 1212 (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, xii, 3 (ed. Laurent, 189; *ELS*, 182–3, no. 184)), the monastery

church appears to have been still intact in 1217; it was seen then by the German pilgrim Thietmar, who mentions that the Greeks and Syrians still came each year at Epiphany to baptize their children (ch. xi, 20–4 (ed. Laurent, 31–2; cf. *ELS*, 183, no. 185)). The presence of Greek monks is also affirmed by Ernoul, around 1228–31 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 70; de Mas Latrie, 79; *ELS*, 183, no. 186); and the church, or chapel, is also shown on a map of c.1252 attributed to Matthew Paris (cf. Röhrich, 'Karten', no. 4 (London, c.1250)), and is mentioned by Philip of Savona, who recalls its association with St Mary the Egyptian (ch. xlii (*IHC*, iv, 240); cf. *ELS*, 174, n.1), by Burchard of Mount Sion (1283) (ch. vii, 39 (ed. Laurent, 58; *IHC*, iv, 168; *PPTS*, xii, 57–8; *ELS*, 183, no. 187)), and by Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289) (ch. iv, 32–3 (ed. Laurent, 109; *IHC*, iv, 266; *ELS*, 183, no. 188)).

Greek monks were still in residence in the fourteenth century (Antony of Cremona 1327–30: 159–60; Baldi 1955a: 184, no. 191). In 1335, James of Verona visited the monastery church, in which he saw and touched its most precious relic, the hand and arm of John the Baptist:

It is in a wooden box of modest value, but the hand and arm are covered in silver, except for the fingers and hand, which can be touched by all, and there are still finger-nails and flesh on the bones. (1335: 211)

The Greek monks and their relic are also mentioned by Ludolph of Sudheim (1336–41a: 357; 1336–41b: 119; Baldi 1955a: 184, no. 192) and by an unnamed English pilgrim, who confirms that the hand was the left one, contained 'in a little chest, wrapped up in a covering of byssus' (Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 75). More details are given by Nicolas of Poggibonsi:

As you go straight down [towards the east] you enter the said monastery [of St John the Baptist], and to the left you find a staircase, to the right there is the church, and in front of the door there is a portico. And the Greek monks who live in the said monastery show at the gate a box of cypress, in which they display the hand of St John the Baptist; and the hand is withered, with the fist open. And his body was translated from this monastery to the city of Sebaste, and placed in the monastery of Sebaste. (1336–50: 83–4; cf. Baldi 1955a: 185)

The final sentence probably reflects the tradition that after his execution at Machaerus in Transjordan under Herod Antipas, John's body was taken by his followers to Sebaste, though at that time the monastery at the Jordan obviously did not exist. However, at another point Nicolas says that the relics of John the Baptist, which had at one time been displayed in the church at Sebaste, were subsequently translated to the monastery beside the Jordan (1336–50: 71). It seems likely that

this would have occurred after 1187, for the left arm of John the Baptist, encased in gold, was seen by pilgrims in the cathedral church of Sebaste in 1169–72 and in 1185 (see **no. 225**).

An unnamed Slav writing around 1360 seems to have been simply copying Epiphanius in speaking of two churches: one of St John, and another of the Holy Trinity on 'Mount Hermon' near by (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Baldi 1955a: 183–4, no. 189). Nicolas de Martoni, however, also saw the left hand of John the Baptist in the chapel of the same name:

In that chapel there are Greek monks; and the entrance to it has a door of thick marble, on which there is an iron bolt of subtle workmanship and iron hinges; and the entrance is perhaps three palms wide and four palms high. (1395: 621; Baldi 1955a: 185)

Only one or two Greek monks were seen by the Italians who visited the monastery in 1384, and while one identifies the relic as a hand missing the thumb, another describes it as a silver hand reliquary containing only a finger (Frescobaldi 1384: 78; Gucci 1384: 134).

The monastery was still inhabited in the fifteenth century (de Rochechouart 1461: 265), though for Orthodox pilgrims 'Little Mount Hermon' and thereby the memory of a former church of the Holy Trinity seem to have migrated to the east bank of the river (Grethenios c.1400: 186; Ignatius of Smolensk 1405: 153). In the 1480s, however, Felix Faber writes of the monastery of St John:

[it] has now been desecrated by the dwelling therein of Arabs, who live the life of robbers therein and inhabit it as a fortress. Its altars are destroyed, and it has in some sort lost the form of a church. (1480–3: II, 35)

Francesco Suriano says that the monastery was abandoned during his time in the East, that is to say by 1515 (1485a: 130; 1485b: 143; Baldi 1955a: 187), though Basil Posniakov still records the presence of an abbot and monks later in the sixteenth century (1561: 332–3). The church seems to be that of the Saviour, which Boniface of Ragusa locates some 2 miles from the river (1577: 19; Baldi 1955a: 197, no. 200). By the early seventeenth century Francesco Quaresmi confirms that both the church and the monastery were in ruins (1626a: II, 560; 1626b: 360; Baldi 1955a: 188, no. 201).

The ruined monastery was visited by Victor Guérin around 1873 (1874: I, 111–16) and by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine in November 1873 and October 1881: Conder noted on his second visit that a modern Russian–Greek Orthodox monastery had been built over the ruins, with a large guest-chamber

projecting on the south-west (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 217–19, plan p. 217). These new structures were damaged once more by an earthquake in July 1927, and were restored by the Greek Patriarchate in 1952–5 (Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 90; Meinardus 1980: 40). From 1967 until 1993 the monastery was effectively abandoned, since it lay in the zone between the cease-fire lines.

Description

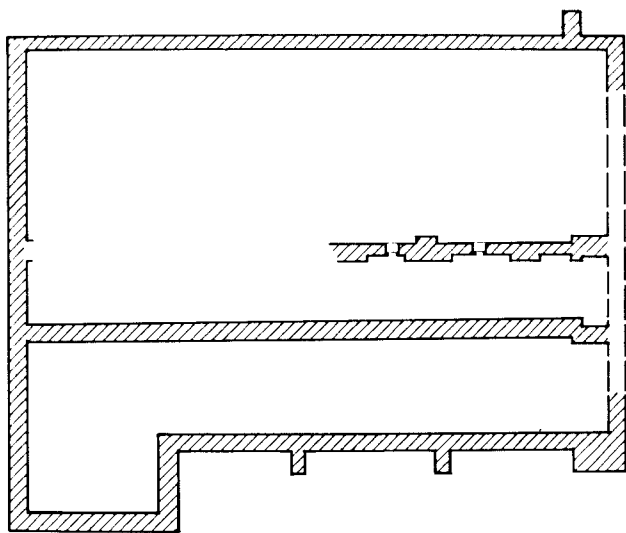
The monastery stands 600 m west of the present course of the River Jordan, and is surrounded by marl cliffs. Although some fragments of the medieval monastery survive in the present building, notably the lower apse (Meinardus 1980: 40), for an understanding of the layout of the building we must rely almost entirely on descriptions made before the rebuilding of 1881 (e.g. Guérin 1874: I, 111–12; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 177, 217–19, plan p. 217).

Like Dair Hajla (Vol. I, **no. 85**), the monastery was enclosed by a defensive wall and was built on two levels, with the church on the first floor (fig. 65). Overall it had a rectangular plan, measuring 42.7 by 27.4 m, with a tower, 10.7 m broad, projecting 5 m at the west end of the south wall. The same wall was also strengthened by a solid buttress at the east end, and by two intermediate buttresses (0.79–0.97 m wide, projecting 1.2 m). A door at the north-east corner may possibly have led into another projecting tower. The easiest natural approach was from the west, where remains of a door 1.2 m wide were recorded (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 217–18).

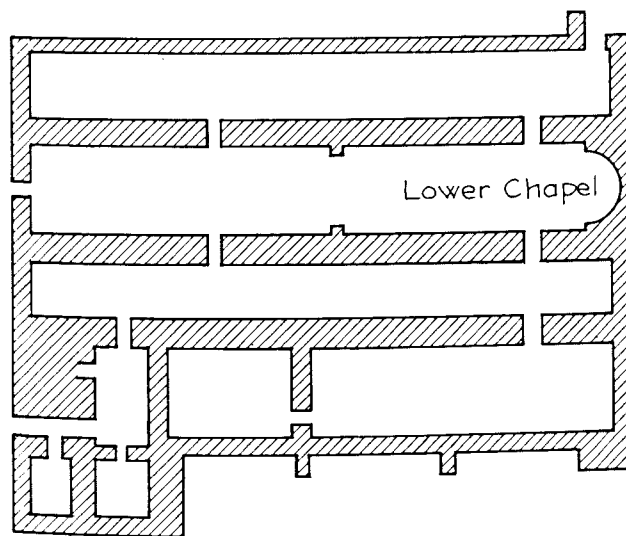
The basement consisted of four barrel-vaults arranged in parallel. The vault that one entered from the outside door contained a chapel, the western part of which had broken away.

It had an apse on the east 7 feet 8 inches [2.34 m] from chord to back of the circle, and 12 feet [3.66 m] diameter. The chapel nave was 15 feet 8 inches [4.78 m] across. Its length is not determinable. The vaulting is a simple barrel-vault of rubble work. The masonry of the interior of the chapel averages 2 feet by 9 inches by 1 foot [0.61 by 0.23 by 0.30 m]. It is very well cut, but no draft was observed on any of the stones. (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 217)

The two vaults south of this were 3.6 and 5 m wide respectively, and the walls separating the vaults 2 m thick with doors communicating towards the east end. The fourth vault, on the north, was 4.3 m wide. The south-west tower appears to have contained groin-vaulted chambers (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 217). Guérin was of the opinion that these vaults dated



FIRST FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR

0 30
m
After C.R. Conder (1873)

65 Monastery of St John the Baptist (no. 209): plans.

well before the Crusades (1874: i, 112), though the SWP noted that one of them contained a pointed arch (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218).

The buildings on the upper level were completely destroyed except for the outer south wall and part of an internal wall standing on the south wall of the basement chapel. The SWP describes the latter as having projecting piers on its south side, 12 ft (3.66 m) apart and projecting 2 ft (0.61 m); at the top they had a

simple moulding of medieval type, comparable to those at Bait Jibrin (Vol. i, no. 31) (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218). Guérin also mentions some 'pillar bases' and interprets the remains as those of the church (1874: i, 112). If this was the south wall of the medieval church, however, as seems probable, it would appear that it had only a single nave. Very possibly the medieval church occupied no more than the central nave of the former Byzantine church, which, to judge from the plan of the vaulted basement, would have been a three-aisled basilica measuring internally some 17 by 42 m.

Decoration and Furnishings

The church floor was paved with tesserae, which the SWP identified as medieval (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218); but since 1955 this flooring has been replaced with tiles (Meinardus 1980: 40). During the reconstruction work in 1881 two Byzantine and some medieval capitals came to light, and the ancient iron-cased door was discovered and put back into use. Traces of frescos were also found (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218 n.). A pair of marble columns of late Roman or Byzantine date, decorated with acanthus ornament, are now preserved in the house of the Greek Orthodox priest in Lydda (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: ii, 101, fig.; cf. Buschhausen 1978: 249, pl. 201).

Associated Buildings

The SWP noted a cistern, 9 m deep with piers and arches, immediately west of the monastery, associated with traces of what may have been an aqueduct (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218).

Epigraphy

An Armenian inscription and graffiti in Greek and Arabic were noted by the SWP on one of the piers of the church. One of the Greek graffiti was interpreted by C.F.T. Drake as the date 1019 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 218, fig. p. 217). The walls of the lower chapel were covered with crosses apparently scratched there by pilgrims (Guérin 1874: i, 112).

Not visited.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187-), xiii (PG, cxxxiii, 987); Belard of Ascoli (1112-60), iv (IHC, ii, 46; trans. Wilkinson, 230); Burchard of Mount Sion (c.1283), vii, 39 (ed. Laurent, 58; IHC, iv, 168; PPTS, xii, 57-8); Daniel (1106-8), xxvii (trans. Ryan, 136; de Khitrowo, 26); ELS, 178-83, nos. 178-88;

Ernoult (1228–31) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 70; de Mas Latrie, 79); Hugh of St Victor (1135), vi (IHC, ii, 164); al-Idrisi (1154), iii, 5 (trans. Jaubert, 345; Le Strange, 34); Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land (c.1252); Philip of Savona (1283), xlvii (IHC, iv, 240); Phocas (1185), xxii (PG, cxxxiii, 952; PPTS, v, 27; trans. Wilkinson, 329); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289), iv, 32–3 (ed. Laurent, 109; IHC, iv, 266); *de Situ* (~1114), ii, 7 (IHC, ii, 78; PPTS, v, 7; trans. Wilkinson, 180); Röhricht, 'Karten', no. 4 (London, c.1250); Sanudo (c.1321), Maps (ed. Röhricht, nos. 18 and 22); Theodorici (1169–72), xxx (CCCM, cxxxix, 177; PPTS, v, 48–9); Thietmar (1217), xi, 20–24 (ed. Laurent, 31–2); Wilbrand (1211–12), ii, 12, 3 (ed. Laurent, 189; IHC, iv, 244).

Abel 1932: 237 n.2, 240, 241–4; 1967: ii, 264–5; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 270; Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 75; Antony of Cremona 1327–31: 159–60; Augustinović 1951: 110–11, 170–2, fig. 51; Baedeker 1876b: 160, 162–3; Bagatti 1971d: 107; Baldi 1955a: 183–8; 1973: 155; Benvenisti 1970: 366; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 19; Buschhausen 1978: 249, pl. 201; Carr 1982: 232 n.61; de Caumont 1418: 39, 47; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: ii, 101, fig.; Conder and Kitchen 1881: iii, 177, 217–19, plan p. 217; Enlart 1925: ii, 268; Faber 1480–3: ii, 29–36; Féderlin 1903: 360, 372; Frescobaldi 1384: 78; Gil 1992: 78 n.5, 446; Grethenios c.1400: 186; Gucci 1384: 134; Guérin 1874: i, 111–16; Hamilton 1980: 166–7; Hirschfeld 1990a: 35–6 (no. 20), fig. 41; 1992a: 16, 17, 56, 62, 70; Hoade 1946: 364–71; 1966: 101–3; 1978: 499–500; Humbert of Dijon 1332: 536; Ignatius of Smolensk 1405: 153; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 90, pl.; James of Verona 1335: 211; Johns 1937: 38 (17); Jotischky 1995: 80–4, 180; Kochavi 1972: 116 (no. 72); Koikilides 1905; Kootwyk 1619: 311–12; Lagrange 1892; Le Strange 1890: 428; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 357; 1336–41b: 119; Mamalades 1961: 74–5; Marti 1880: 15; de Martoni 1395: 621; Maundrell 1697a: 451; 1697b: 109; Meinardus 1966b: 52–3; 1980: 38–40; Meistermann 1936: 381–2; Moore 1961: 43; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 71, 83–4; Norris 1950: 34; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 249 (no. 63), fig.; Palestine 1929: 218; 1948: 191; Perera 1553b: 54, 72; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 371–2; Pococke 1743: ii, 32; Poloner 1422a: 276; 1422b: 39; Posniakov 1561: 333; Pringle 1994c: 151, 153; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 560; 1626b: 360; de Rochechouart 1461: 265; Röhricht 1901: pl. 2; de Saulcy 1853: ii, 150; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Suriano 1485a: 130; 1485b: 143; Tobler 1853: ii, 685–6, 708–12; Vailhé 1900b: 19–22; de Vogüé 1860: 340; Wilkinson 1977: 163; Wilson 1880a: i, 168, fig. p. 163; 1880b: iii, 48, fig. p. 43; Zozimos 1421: 215, 218.

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST, Priory of

Cr. *saint Johan l'Evangeliste*

No. 210 Priory Church of St John the Evangelist (Unlocated)

The prior of the abbey of St John the Evangelist is listed by John of Ibelin as one of the suffragans of the bishop of Lydda (*Livre*, cclxi (RHC Lois, i, 417)). G. Beyer has suggested that this abbey might have been located at Kh. Dair al-Qassis (1951: 169); however, there is no evidence of any structures of the Frankish period at this site (see Vol. i, p. 197). Another possibility (kindly suggested to me by Bernard Hamilton) is that the reference is to the Orthodox archbishop of Lydda, who would have been both a suffragan of the Latin bishop and head of his own community (see **no. 137**).

Sources

John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxi (RHC Lois, i, 417).

Bagatti 1979: 129; Beyer 1951: 168.

ST MARGARET OF CARMEL

Stella Maris; Cr. *S. Marguerite dou Carme*, *S. Margaretha Graecorum*; Med. Ar. *Marina*

No. 211 Abbey Church of St Margaret 1475.2481

History

The Greek Orthodox abbey of St Margaret, or Marina, is first mentioned by the pilgrim Thietmar in 1217:

On the top of Mount Carmel there is a certain monastery (*cenobium*), where Greek and Syrian monks live together to this day. (ch. viii, 15 (ed. Laurent, 21))

Other thirteenth-century sources confirm the location of the abbey on the Carmel terrace, overlooking the sea above the cave of St Elias (see **no. 203**) and some distance north of the Latin Carmelites in the Wadi as-

Siyah (no. 213) (Michelant and Raynaud, 89–90 (c.1231); 104³ (c.1230); 180 (–1265); 189 (1268)). It is referred to variously as 'St Margaret of the Greeks' (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 779–81, no. 2732; *RRH*, 325, no. 1234 (1255)), 'St Margaret of Carmel' (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 914, appx., no. 26; *RRH*, 314, no. 1189 (1250)), and 'the monastery of the blessed virgin Margaret' (James of Vitry, I, 52 (*IHC*, III, 320)). The abbey church contained important relics (Michelant and Raynaud, 89–90 (c.1231); 104³ (c.1230); 189 (1268)), including, we may assume, some associated with St Margaret herself, who was martyred at Antioch in Pisidia in the third century.

The foundation date of the abbey is not known. Although Greek hermits were already living on the lower slopes of Mount Carmel around the cave of St Elias from early in the twelfth century, the only structure known to have existed on the terrace above was a castle, built by the Templars sometime before 1169–72 (see no. 212). This castle is marked on a map of c.1252 attributed to Matthew Paris as *S. Margareta cast(ellum)*; but although this information confirms that the abbey is likely to have stood near the castle, it does not help us to date it. Quite possibly the relics of St Margaret were brought to the site and the abbey established sometime after the conclusion of the Third Crusade in 1192.

The date of the abbey's abandonment is easier to determine. In 1283, the village of *Marina* together with its lands, vineyards and plants was assigned to the Franks in the treaty made between them and Sultan Qalāwūn (Barag 1979: 202). In 1291, however, the area was definitively lost to the Mamluks, and judging by the speed with which the site's association with St Margaret came to be forgotten, it seems likely that it was soon abandoned (cf. Sanudo (c.1321), II, 4, 25 (ed. Bongars, 86); Peter de Pennis c.1350: 378; Friedman 1971a: 304–7). Although some remains of the Templar castle survive incorporated into the foundations of the present Carmel lighthouse, what was left of the former church of St Margaret seems to have been destroyed when the church of the Stella Maris convent was built by the Carmelites on its site between 1831 and 1836 (cf. Giordano 1994: 108–17). This is suggested by the account of the excavations made there between 1767 and 1774 by the architect Giambattista di S. Alessio (1780) and is supported by the topographical and documentary researches of C. Kopp (1929) and E. Friedman (1971a).

Description

Nothing now remains of the medieval church identified as that of St Margaret, save part of the rock-cut grotto

against which it was built and which now forms the crypt of the modern Carmelite church. For details of its layout and construction we are therefore dependent on descriptions given by those who visited the site before 1836 (see Friedman 1971a: 307–10). Most of these visitors, including Giambattista himself, took the remains to be those of the original Carmelite church, built against the entrance to a cave in which Elijah was supposed to have taken refuge. Francesco Suriano, for example, writes in 1485:

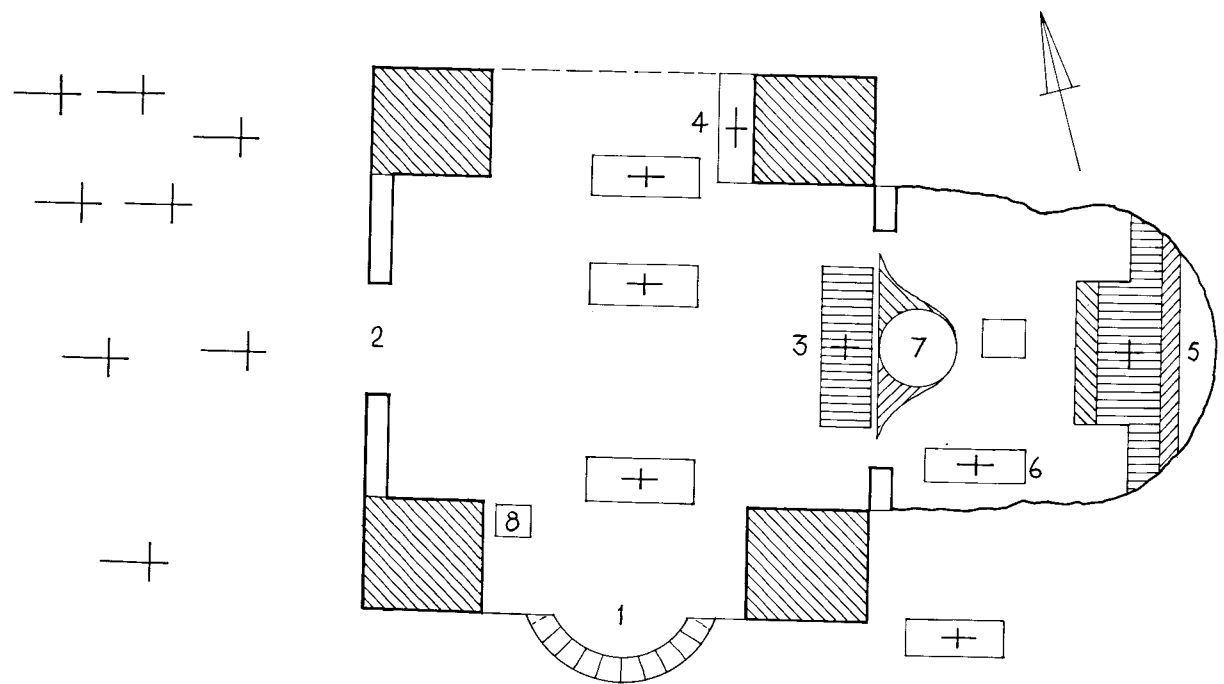
at the top of [Mount Carmel] there is a church built in honour of the prophet Elias ... This church is all painted and historiated (*tuta depincto et hystoriata*), and here the Order of Carmelites had its beginning. (1485a: 163; 1485b: 175; cf. Friedman 1971a: 307)

William of Harlem, in 1498, states that the inside of the vault (or dome?) of this building was decorated with mosaic (*testudo interior opere mosaico est depincta*: Friedman 1971a: 307). A century later (c.1598), the building had fallen into decay (Kootwyk 1619: 128); but in 1639 the Carmelite Philippe de la Très Sainte-Trinité was able to give the following description:

It is perfectly quadrangular in shape, covered by a dome reposing on four arcades [i.e. arches] of which two are still extant; beneath is a cistern, adjacent to which is a small underground chamber on the eastern side, where our Discalced Carmelite Fathers have established an altar. (trans. Friedman 1971a: 307)

Some other seventeenth-century writers refer only to the grotto (e.g. Nau 1679: 657; Surius 1666: 316; Doubdan 1657: 517–22), while the Chevalier d'Arvieux noted in 1660 that the ruined chapel was being used by the Carmelites as a cemetery (1735: II, 305–6). On a perspective map of Haifa Bay made by Fr Prosper of the Holy Spirit (c.1631–53), the 'chapel of the Blessed Virgin', containing the cave in which Elijah hid, is shown as a square structure with a single rounded arch on each face and either a flat roof or no roof at all (Giordano 1994: fig. 107.2). The remains of the chapel could still be seen as late as 1831 (Gérard 1840: II, 288) and were described by Cdrs Irby and Mangles in 1817–18 as those of 'a handsome church in the Gothic style, built by the Empress Helena' (1861: 60). They had disappeared, however, by the time that the new convent was opened in 1836.

Giambattista's account and the published plan of his excavations in 1767–74 have been analysed by Father Friedman, whose interpretation forms the basis for the following description and discussion (1971: 325–35, fig. 1; cf. Giordano 1994: fig. 120). The church consisted of two distinct parts, a rock-cut sanctuary and a nave, about 6 m square internally, built against it on the



66 Monastery of St Margaret of Carmel: plan of the church (no. 211) after Fra Giambattista di S. Alessio (1767).

north-west (see fig. 66). This nave was constructed on four massive piers. These were apparently rock-cut, at least in their lower parts, though by the time of the excavation the two eastern ones stood only about 1.2 m high and the others 0.2–0.4 m. From the evidence of earlier writers, it seems that the piers supported four arches, which in turn carried a central dome. The outer walls of the church were of white limestone. In the south wall was the trace of a *mihrāb* (1), indicating that the building had at one time been used as a mosque or *maqām*. There was a low stone-cut bench along the north-west wall, in the centre of which was the main door (2).

On the south-east, a wall of natural rock separated this part of the church from the inner sanctuary. In the centre of the wall was an altar table (3), cut from the same rock, and to left and right of it respectively a door and a window communicated with the sanctuary. Giambattista also noted a small altar (*altarino*) against the west face of the north-east pier (4); this was perhaps an altar of *prothesis*, for the Eucharist was still celebrated in the church by the Greeks in the early seventeenth century (Friedman 1971a: 314).

The cave-sanctuary was roughly semi-circular in plan, some 3.6 by 3.6 m and 2.4 m high. On the south-east, rock-cut steps led up to a rock-cut tomb recess. This was blocked by a wall, which Giambattista removed to find behind it a deposit of human bones associated with

a small iron chain (5). Believing the tomb to be of no great antiquity, however, and the stone bench to be the 'bed of Elijah', Giambattista promptly removed the bones. A second tomb, this time covered by a slab bearing a Greek inscription (not recorded, but also perhaps of recent date), was also found and emptied near the south wall (6). On the west side of the grotto, against the wall dividing it from the rest of the church, was a rock-cut font (7), which at that time was still used by the Orthodox for baptisms (Friedman 1971a: 314).

Decoration

Giambattista recalls that a painting of Elijah was said to have existed on the wall of the grotto at the time of Fr Prosper in the 1630s, and he claimed to have observed traces of it 150 years later (1780: 305; Friedman 1971a: 330). As noted above, Suriano also records the existence of paintings and William of Harlem of mosaics inside the church in the later fifteenth century.

Associated Buildings

On his plan and in his description, Giambattista indicates remains of monastery buildings lying north of the church, but he does not record their layout (1780: 307; Friedman 1971a: 334).

Epigraphy

The only inscription found in the grotto was a Greek epitaph, the text of which was not recorded (Giambattista 1780: 304; Friedman 1971a: 329).

Discussion

Friedman concluded (1971: 339–42, 346) that the 'grotto-tomb' and 'chapel' had served in the fifth and sixth centuries as a mortuary chapel for a Byzantine monastery built on the site now occupied by the lighthouse; that after the Muslim conquest it was converted into the mosque (*masjid*) to which Yāqūt refers in 1225; that after 1099 the Greeks, unable to rebuild their monastery because the Templars had used the site for the construction of a castle, built an abbey instead on the site of the former mortuary chapel; and that the abbey and its church were destroyed by the Muslims in 1291, the chapel being spared because it had once been a Muslim building.

Although this reconstruction of events is virtually impossible to disprove, some of its points are particularly questionable. Whatever the original date of the grotto, there is no compelling evidence for the church having existed before the Crusades. The existence of mosaic on its vaulting suggests that it had originally been built as a church and not as a mosque; and the *mihrāb* in its south wall seems likely to have been a secondary insertion. Friedman argues that this conversion from church to mosque was made before the Crusades and this in turn implies that the church existed even earlier. The basis for this assertion is Yāqūt's identification of 'Carmel' with the site of the *masjid* of Sa'ad al-Dawla before the Crusader conquest. But while Yāqūt does not say exactly where this was (perhaps because he did not know), he seems to imply that it stood on the site occupied in his day (c.1225) by the Templar castle (Le Strange 1890: 487; Marmardji 1951: 174; cf. Friedman 1971a: 320–1). There appears therefore to be no justification for connecting the *masjid* with the church; and indeed there is every reason to think that the *mihrāb* was inserted into the latter after 1291 (see Surius 1666: 316; cf. Friedman 1971a: 319).

What then was the date of the church? As we have seen, there is no evidence, whether documentary, epigraphic or art-historical (*pace* Friedman 1971a: 330, 337), to suggest a date before the Crusades. No comparable early Byzantine church building of this type is known in Palestine. On the other hand, two Orthodox convents in Jerusalem, the Dair al-'Adas (q.v.) and St Michael the Archangel (q.v.), have twelfth-century churches which are closely comparable. These have a

central dome carried on pendentives, the main weight of the structure being carried on massive piers at the four corners; the north, south and west walls of these buildings represent in effect no more than an infilling of the arches which form the pendentives. A medieval date thus appears very plausible.

Finally there is the question of whether this building represented the abbey church or simply a mortuary chapel. Giambattista shows on his plan the outline of a larger church, which he says enclosed the domed building under its roof. The arrangement seems highly improbable especially in view of the sloping terrain (see Kopp 1929: 105; Friedman 1971a: 333–4). Furthermore, the existence of a dome rules out the possibility that the building represented the crypt of a larger church that once stood above it. Most likely therefore, what Giambattista took as the walls of a larger church were no more than an enclosure wall. The identification of the building as a mortuary chapel also seems unlikely: only two burials were found in it, and one of them, if not both, appears to have been of late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date. Though small, the church was no smaller than the two other medieval Greek abbey churches mentioned above.

In conclusion, Kopp and Friedman seem perfectly justified in identifying the small church excavated by Giambattista di S. Alessio with part of the monastery of St Margaret. It would also seem likely, however, that the building represented the abbey church itself, rather than a subsidiary chapel, and that it dated from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

Visited 1.4.81, 28.4.95.

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., II, 797–81, no. 2732 (1255); 913–4, appx., no. 26 (1250); *Chemins et pèlerinages A* (–1265), I, 2; B (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180; 189); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 52 (IHC, III, 320; PPTS, XI, 27); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); *Pelerinages*, I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 89–90) (c.1231); *RRH*, 314, no. 1189 (1250); 325, no. 1234 (1255); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VI–VII (1–2) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104³); Sanudo (c.1321), II, 4, 25 (ed. Bongars, 86); Thietmar (1217), VIII, 15 (ed. Laurent, 21).

Abel 1930: 120; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 305–6; Barag 1979: 202, 208–9 n.43; Benvenisti 1970: 355; Brémond 1679: 208; Dichter 1979: 101; Doubdan 1657: 517–22, pl. opp. p. 517; Enlart 1925: II, 83–5; Friedman 1971a: 1979: 84–91 and *passim*; Gérard 1840: II, 288; Giambattista di S. Alessio 1780: 304–7, 362–4, fig. 4; Giordano 1994: figs. 107, 120; Hoade 1978: 666; Irby and Mangles 1861: 60; Johns 1937: 37 (c4);

Kootwyk 1619: 128; Kopp 1929: 95–122; Laffi 1683: 463; Mariti 1769: II, 136–7; Meistermann 1936: 484–5; Nau 1679: 657; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 378; Philippe 1669: 153–4; Pococke 1743: II, 56; Rey 1883: 432; Röhricht 1887b: 227, 302; de Sainte-Marie 1949: 1071–3; Suriano 1485a: 163; 1485b: 175; Surius 1666: 316.

ST MARGARET'S CASTLE

Cr. S. Margareta cast(ellum), Cava Templi (castrum)

No. 212 Castle Chapel 1474.2482

History

Around 1169–72 Theodoric mentions a Templar castle which stood on the headland of Mount Carmel overlooking Haifa and the Bay of Acre and served as a guide to mariners (Theodoric, xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 185)). This appears to have been called by various names in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In a list of the places that fell to Saladin in 1187 (*Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIV.ii, 23)), for example, it appears to be the castle referred to as 'the Valley of the Temple' (Cava Templi, castrum), for the *cave dou frere dou Temple* is located below St Margaret's abbey (no. 211) in a charter of 1250 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 913–14, appx., no. 26). In another description of Saladin's conquest, however, it is confused with the church of St Elias, which stood lower down the slope (*de Expugnacione* (RS, LXVI, 231; IHC, III, 112); see no. 203). On a map of c.1252 attributed to Matthew Paris, the castle is marked as *S. Margareta cast(ellum)* (Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land), this name evidently being derived from the nearby abbey. Indeed the description of the coast of Palestine given by Marino Sanudo (c.1321) confuses the castle with the church of St Margaret itself (ch. II, 4, 25 (ed. Bongars, 86); Rey, 'Périples', 342).

The castle seems to have been roughly square in plan, with a tower at each corner (Friedman 1979: 89). It may possibly have replaced an earlier Muslim fort, which is referred to by Yāqūt (c.1225) as the mosque (*masjid*) of Sa'ad al-Dawla (Le Strange 1890: 487; Marmardji 1951: 174). Six cubits of walling on the side facing the sea were demolished in the 1760s by the Latin Carmelites then occupying the caves below (Mariti 1769: II, 135–6); the rest of the castle was destroyed in 1821 and now forms the foundation for the present

Carmel lighthouse (Dichter 1979: 101). Investigation of the surrounding site in 1913, however, revealed extensive architectural remains of a Byzantine church and monastery of sixth- to seventh-century date, as well as some later walls of the early Islamic or Crusader periods incorporating Byzantine *spolia* (Friedman 1979: 84–6; E. Mackay, PAM: Mar Elias file, report dated 25 Dec. 1920).

Many late and post-medieval writers have mistaken the remains of the Templar castle for those of the medieval Carmelite monastery of St Mary (no. 213). A description by Antonio de Castillo in 1656, however, includes reference to 'a church of notable size' (Friedman 1979: 207 n.22a); and Giovanni Mariti, while comparing the remains to those of a castle, describes them as 'the ruins of a large monastery and church . . . which St Helena had caused to be made there' (1769: II, 135). The Templar castle would doubtless have contained a chapel, though it is perhaps doubtful whether this was what these visitors actually saw.

Epigraphy

A fragment of a grave slab has been found in the vicinity of the lighthouse and is now in the museum of the Carmelites of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (pl. cxxxI). It represents the head of a man enclosed by a trefoil arch and pitched roof, with part of the drapery and wing of an angel visible in the spandrel to the left. Around the arch is written:

hic ia]cet : Hugo [. . .
Here] lies Hugh [. . .

In view of the obviously western character of the tombstone, it seems likely that it came from the Templars' own cemetery, rather than from that of the nearby Orthodox monastery (Clermont-Ganneau 1897: pl. XLVII.1; Kopp 1929: 98; de Sandoli 1974: 281, no. 378; cf. Enlart 1925: II, 83–5).

Sources

de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae (1187) (RS, LXVI, 231; IHC, III, 112); *Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIV.ii, 23); Matthew Paris, Map of the Holy Land (c.1252); Rey, 'Périples', 342 (c.1321); Sanudo (c.1321) II, 4, 25 (ed. Bongars, 86); Theodoric (1169–72), xxxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 185; PPTS, v, 59).

Abel 1930: 119–20; Barag 1979: 207–9; Clermont-Ganneau 1897: pl. XLVII.1; Dichter 1979: 101; Friedman 1971a: 305; 1979: 84–6, 89–90, 120, 152, 207–9; Giordano 1994: 123, 127, figs. 107, 120, 133; Johns 1937: 37; Kopp 1929: 95–100; Mariti 1769: II, 135–6; PAM: Mar Elias file, report by E. Mackay, 25 Dec. 1920; de Sandoli 1974: 281, no. 378.



cxix St Margaret's Castle: fragment of a Crusader tombstone.

ST MARY OF CARMEL

Khirbat ad-Dair (Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah); Cr. S. Maria de Carmelo; Med. Ar. Dayr al-Siyah; Hebr. Horvat ha-Minzar

No. 213 Priory Church of St Mary of Carmel 1477.2453

History

A group of Latin hermits settled on Mount Carmel, near to Elijah's Spring in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah, probably around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the area was returned to Frankish hands after the Third Crusade. Latin hermits may already have been living on Mount Carmel earlier in the twelfth century (Kedar 1983a: 69–70); but before this the site in the Wadi as-Siyah seems to have been occupied by Greeks (Friedman 1979: 60–80, 313–14). The first certain indication that Latin hermits were living at this spot dates from between 1205 and 1214, when Albert of Vercelli, patriarch of Jerusalem, granted them a 'form of life', bringing them under the authority of the church of Rome. According to a later modified version of it, the patriarch addressed the 'form of life' simply to 'his beloved sons in Christ, B. and the other hermits who live in obedience to him by the spring on Mount Carmel' (Innocent IV, *Quae honorem conditoris* (ed. Laurent, 11, lines 33–6)). Later tradition identifies 'B.' as a certain Brocard, the legendary founder of the Carmelites; but Brocard's name first appears only in the second quarter

of the fourteenth century (Friedman 1979: 29–36, 170–4).

In drawing up his 'form of life', Patriarch Albert took pains to avoid upsetting the traditional way of life of the hermits, which was based on personal poverty, silence, abstinence and solitary living, prayer and contemplation. The spiritual value of such an existence was well recognized by a contemporary such as James of Vitry, bishop of Acre (1217–28), who likened the hermits living next to Elijah's Spring, not far from the monastery of St Margaret (no. 211), to bees of the Lord, storing up spiritual honey in their cells (*Hist. Or.*, 1, 52 (IHC, III, 320)). But by seeking to establish a canonical basis for the communal life of the hermits, the 'form of life' also began a process which within forty years was to see the community in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah transformed into a well-endowed monastery and the Carmelites established as an international order of the Church. For the time being, however, the 'form of life' did no more than establish the community as a religious house under an elected prior. The patriarch instructed the prior to build an oratory in the midst of the cells, in which Mass was to be said daily. The community would also have come together for chapter meetings. Otherwise, however, the brothers were enjoined to work, pray, eat and sleep apart. The prior's cell was to be near the entrance of the site so that he could see to the needs of visitors. Personal property was forbidden and whatever the brothers needed was to be distributed to them by the prior or by his appointee (Clarke and Edwards, *Rule*; Friedman 1979: 174–80; Giordano 1994: 71–3).

In January 1226, the 'form of life' was approved by Pope Honorius III (*Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, no. 5811); *Bull. Carm.*, 1, 2); and three years later, in April 1229, Gregory IX added a further clause formally restricting the community's ownership of property to things that did not generate any income, including male asses for transport and a limited number of livestock and poultry for food (Potthast, 1, 720, no. 8368; *Bull. Carm.*, 1, 4, no. 2; Friedman 1979: 180–2; Giordano 1994: 58–9).

The identification of the hermitage and church built by the brothers of Carmel with the ruins in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah is established by details given in various thirteenth-century topographical sources. A French pilgrimage text of c.1231, for example, states:

Near that abbey of St. Margaret [no. 211] on the edge of the same mountain there is a very beautiful and delightful place, where there live the Latin hermits who are called the Brothers of the Carmel (*freres du Carme*) and where there is a small church of Our Lady; and throughout this place there is a great profusion of good waters which issue from the very rock of the mountain. (*Pelerinages*, 1 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud. 90))

This text locates the hermitage one and a half leagues from St Margaret's. Another roughly contemporary source also refers to 'a very beautiful little church of Our Lady' (*un mout bele petite Eglyse de Nostre Dame*), which it locates one league from the sea (*Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), vi-vii (1-2); cf. *Chemins et pelerinages* A (-1265), i, 2; B (1268), i, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104³; 180; 190)). The hermitage (*heremitorium*) is also shown on a map of c.1252, attributed to Matthew Paris, situated near to 'Elisha's dwelling' (*habitacio Elisei*), and the 'living spring' (*fons uiuus*).

In the late 1230s and 1240s, partly as a result of Muslim pressure, a number of Carmelite brothers began to leave the Holy Land and to establish separate houses in Western Europe (cf. Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, 494, no. 3287)). It soon became necessary, therefore, to amend the 'form of life' to take account of this change in circumstances. In 1247, a chapter general of the Carmelites meeting at Aylesford in Kent (England) elected a prior general and dispatched delegates to the Holy See. On 1 October of the same year, Innocent IV issued a letter, *Quae honorem conditoris*, amending the Carmelites' 'form of life' (ed. Laurent; cf. Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, 494, no. 3288); Friedman 1979: 182-6; Giordano 1994: 59-60, 70-3). As well as formally sanctioning the establishment of daughter houses the new 'rule' also instructed the brothers to eat in a common refectory instead of singly as before. Under this new condition it is easy to imagine the community in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah taking on the aspect of a small monastery. That new building works did indeed take place is confirmed sixteen years later. In February 1263, Pope Urban IV appealed for help on behalf of the Carmelites because the building project which they had begun was proving beyond their means to complete. In the pope's own words,

They have begun to build anew (*de nouo*) in sumptuous style (*opere sumptuoso*) a monastery to the honour of God and of their patron, the . . . Glorious Virgin, in the place where the head and origin of the order are commemorated. (*Bull. Carm.*, i, 28-9, no. 10; Potthast, ii, 1501, no. 18493; cf. Bagatti 1958: 280; Friedman 1979: 186; Giordano 1994: 60-1)

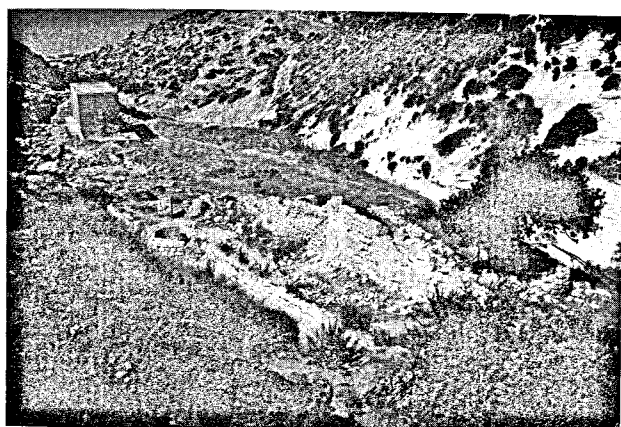
In 1265 this sumptuous work would have seemed a rich prize for Sultan Baybars, who raided the coastal region of Palestine, taking Haifa and Caesarea from the Franks. The Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah may even have been abandoned for a short while. It seems, however, that it was included in the territory returned to the Franks by Baybars in 1268 (Prawer 1975a: ii, 484); and in the ten-year treaty which the Franks made with Sultan Qalāwūn in 1283 the *Dayr al-Siyah* was specifically mentioned as being still in Frankish hands (Barag, 'New

source', 202; cf. 209). If the site had been deserted, it was therefore soon reoccupied (Friedman 1979: 186-7). It seems likely in fact that the new building works had been successfully completed by this time. Philip of Savona, travelling from 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle) to Haifa in that year, describes the Carmelite establishment in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah as the 'monastery of St Mary of Carmel' (*S. Maria de Carmelo* (ed. Neumann, 76); cf. Friedman 1979: 32, 168); and in the same year the Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion mentions

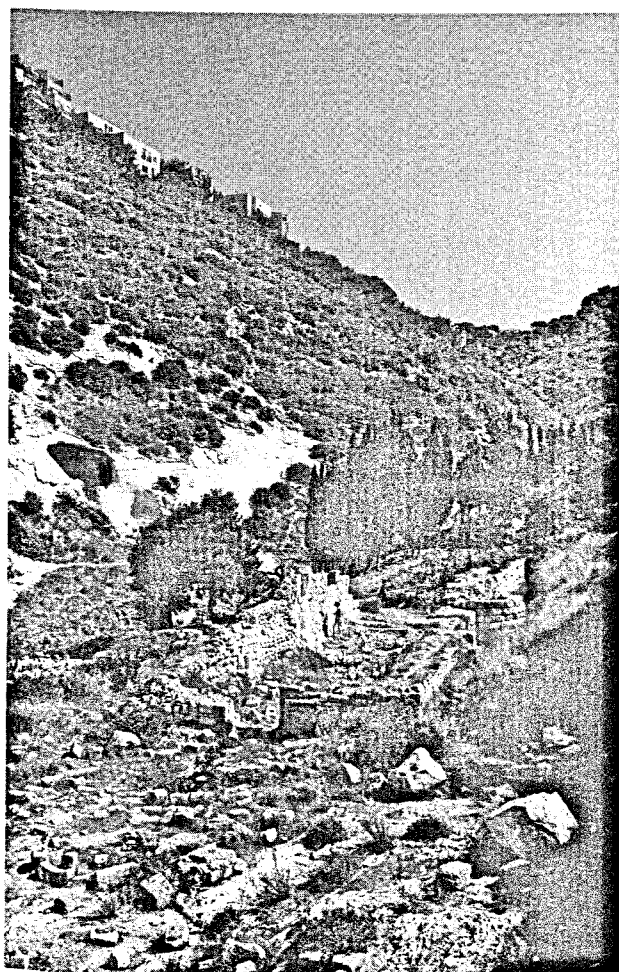
the dwelling of Elisha and the fountain, where the Sons of the Prophets used to live, and where live today the brothers of Carmel; and I was with them there. (ch. x, 3 (ed. Laurent, 83; *IHC*, iv, 202))

The life of the new monastery, however, was to be short. Its end is lucidly described in a chronicle attributed to William of Sandwich that was incorporated into a historical compilation in 1390. According to this tradition, after the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in May 1291 the Muslims advanced on the monastery and there slaughtered the friars, who went to their deaths singing the *Salve Regina*. It seems more likely, however, that the site was simply evacuated. In the Carmelite constitutions of 1294 an appeal was made by the prior-general of the order to collect all the books and documents that the friars fleeing the Holy Land had taken with them, in preparation for the day when they could be returned (Friedman 1979: 187-8; Giordano 1994: 62).

The return of the Carmelites to Mount Carmel, however, did not finally come about until 1631 and then it was to the site of the medieval monastery of St Margaret (no. 211) overlooking Elijah's Cave (no. 203) and the town of Haifa (Friedman 1979: 209-11; Giordano 1994: 91-118). Many Western travellers after the fourteenth century had already sought to identify the medieval Carmelite monastery with the ruins visible on the Carmel terrace (cf. Friedman 1979: 206-9), and their confusion has been compounded by some of the more recent attempts to understand the medieval topography of the Carmel region (e.g. Benvenisti 1970: 353-7; Marie-Joseph 1911-13; von Mülinen 1907; 1908a; 1908b; Tönniesmann 1961; 1963; cf. Kopp 1929; 1961). Despite being less accessible than the sites nearer Haifa, however, the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah was nevertheless visited and described by a number of travellers, some of whom identified it as the medieval Carmelite monastery, though often under the erroneous name of 'monastery of St Brocard' (see Friedman 1979: 35-6). These included Philippe de la Très Sainte-Trinité (1669: 151), J. Doubdan, who also gives a sketch of the site (1657: 523, pl. opp. p. 517), G. Brémond (1679: ii, 216-17), G. Mariti (1769: ii, 138-9), V. Guérin (1874: ii,



cxviii Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) and monastery from the south-east.



cxviii Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) from the south-west.

277–8) and the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder 1878: i, 174–5; Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 289, 301–2). In 1881, the Carmelites reacquired the site and in 1885 they built a small chapel there (Friedman 1979: 210). In 1958, 1960 and 1961, the site was excavated by Fr B. Bagatti, OFM, on behalf of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, and the results have shown beyond all reasonable doubt that it is indeed the original thirteenth-century Carmelite monastery of St Mary. Further excavations were carried out by Sister Damian of the Cross, OCD (Dr Eugenia Nitowski), between 1987 and 1991 (Nitowski 1987a; 1989a; 1989b; Nitowski and Qualls 1991; Giordano *et al.* 1993) and proposals were put forward for conservation of the monument (Nitowski 1987b).

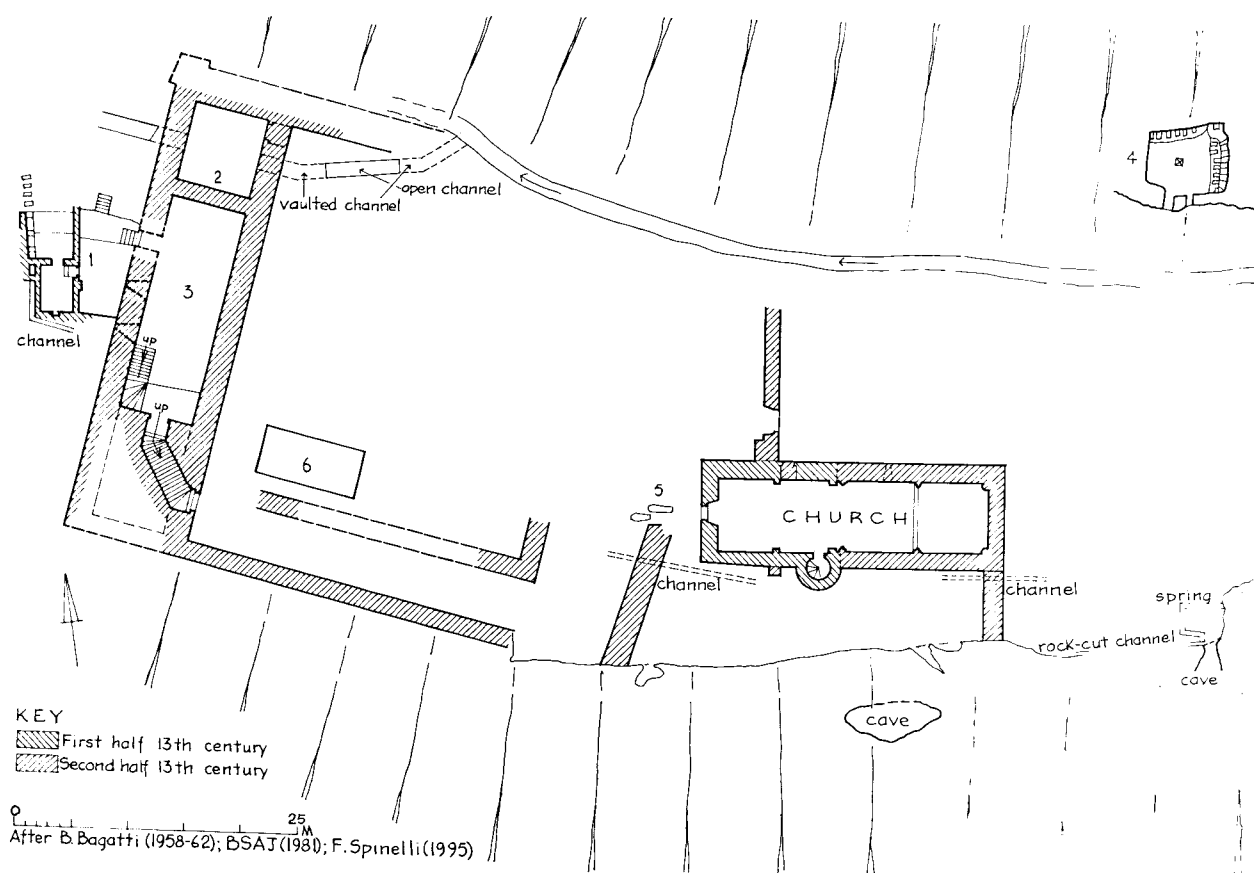
The Site

The church and monastery of St Mary of Carmel are situated in the Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah on the south-western flank of Mount Carmel, overlooking the sea from just above the 100 m contour. The monastery occupied a part-natural, part-artificial terrace about 40 m wide on the southern side of the valley bottom (fig. 67; pls. cxviii–cxviii). The 'Ain as-Siyah itself, known in medieval times and more recently as the Spring of Elijah, is some 200 m downstream; but immediately south-east of the monastery rises another spring, the 'Ain Umm al-Faraj, which in the thirteenth century supplied water for the community (Friedman 1979: 42–58; Bagatti 1958: 286–7). The choice of site was perhaps not ideal for the monastery that later developed there; the original hermits, however, were doubtless motivated by the desire to seek solitude and tranquillity in the place in which, according to tradition, Elijah, Elisha and the Sons of the Prophets had lived (Friedman 1979: 95–103, 164–5).

The earliest traces of occupation revealed by Fr Bagatti's excavations date from the fourth to the seventh century AD and consist of a few fragments of coarse pottery and various features cut into the soft limestone sides of the valley. As Fr Friedman suggests, these may well represent remains of a Byzantine *laura*, perhaps the monastery of St Elisha that is mentioned by the Pilgrim from Piacenza around 570 (ch. iii (CCSL, CLXXV, 130; trans. Wilkinson, 79); Friedman 1979: 60–80, 313–14).

The Church

The medieval church lies east of the main monastery complex (Bagatti 1958; Friedman 1979: 160–2). It is a rectangular building of four bays, measuring about 26



67 Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: plan showing the location of the church (no. 213).

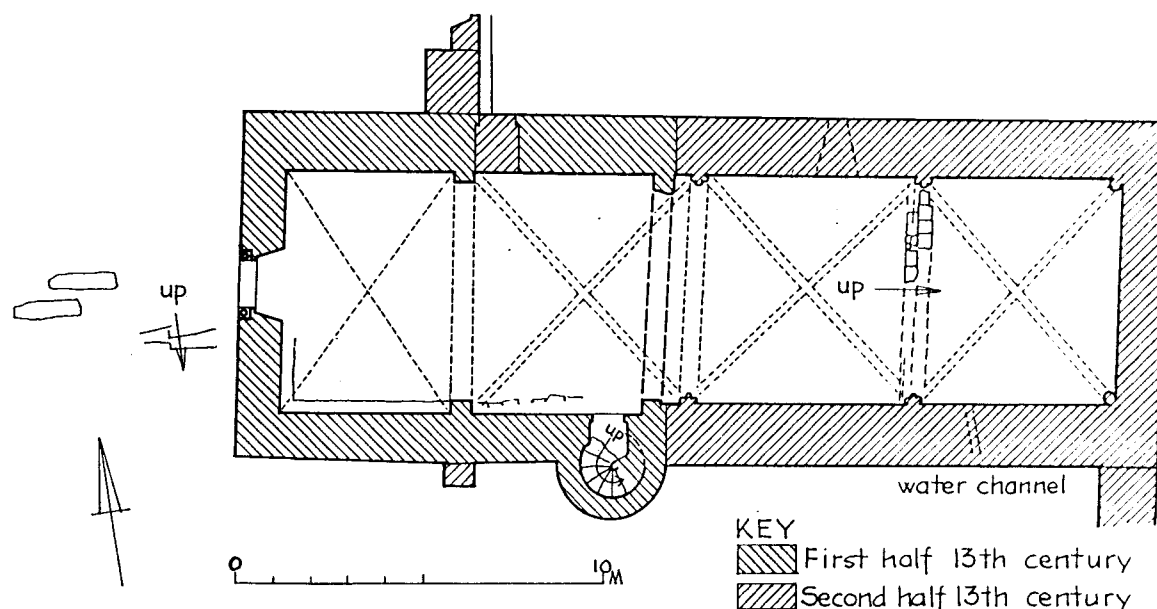
by 8.85 m overall and oriented at S70°E. Its walls are about 1.2–1.25 m thick and stand about 3 m high. Two principal phases may be distinguished (see figs. 67–68; pls. cxxxii–cxxxv).

The first phase is represented by the remains of the two western bays and of the bell-tower. Internally this building would have measured 10.85 by 6.35 m. The east wall was cut away in the second phase, however, and it is thus uncertain whether the original *chevet* was flat or had a projecting apse. The masonry consists of an irregular build of local chalky limestone containing flints, while the quoins and door (and possibly window) surrounds are of sandstone (*kurkar*) from the coastal plain. The main door, on the west, was 1.3 m wide with rebates for a pair of wing-doors on the inside and a recessed portal on the outside, flanked by a pair of columns (diam. 15 cm) of which only the bases remain; its voussoirs, forming a pointed arch, were incorrectly reassembled in 1989 (Nitowski 1989a: 56, fig. 12). On the north was a second door, 1.18 m wide. The bell-tower stood near the east end of the south wall. Its door is still intact, about 0.9 m wide with a triangular head composed of six voussoirs (pl. cxxxvi). The tower was

cylindrical, some 3.2 m wide (1.5 m internally), with a spiral staircase ascending anti-clockwise. Its base was built half into the wall, though it may be assumed that its upper part would have risen clear of the church roof.

In the second phase the church was extended by a further 12.5 m (measuring internally) to the east, more than doubling its size. Partly because of the slope of the site, the floor rises in steps towards the sanctuary, which has a flat east end. The inside wall faces are constructed in a similar fashion to those of the first phase, but the areas around the pilasters and all the external facings are of well-cut soft limestone ashlars. The north and south walls also have a slight external batter. Excavation against the north wall in 1989 produced Ayyubid- and Mamluk-period pottery from the foundation trench, supporting a late thirteenth-century date (V. Fargo, in Nitowski 1989a: 41–2) and overturning the idea of an earlier date which was based on ceramic evidence for an eighth-century *terminus post quem* (Nitowski 1987a: 3–4, 73–4, 139, fig. 33).

The pilasters of the new work suggest a different style of vaulting (pls. cxxxvii–cxxxviii). Those on the north



68 Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): plan.

and south walls comprise triple clusters of cylindrical shafts, each about 20 cm in diameter, while in the north-east and south-east corners there are simple rounded pilasters, about 35 cm in diameter. The surviving capitals are too badly eroded to allow their details to be distinguished. The height from floor to cornice, however, is almost exactly 3 m. The spacing of the new pilasters suggests that the whole building was revaulted in this phase, not simply the two new bays. The two central bays of the rebuilt church would thus have been almost exactly square, the east and west ones somewhat more squashed. The design of the new pilasters suggests rib-vaulting in early Gothic style. The two rectangular pilasters of the old work, however, were not replaced by new ones. That the vaulting which they carried was rebuilt in this phase, however, is suggested by the external buttresses with which they were provided in a secondary phase.

At the time when the northern of these buttresses was built, the north door was evidently still in use, for the buttress is displaced slightly to the west so as not to obstruct it. Later, however, the door was blocked. The blocking was done after the construction of the buttress, but before the building of an enclosure wall which runs north from the church; the southern end of this buttress against the buttress and the outer face of the door's blocking.

A window, 1.15 m wide on the inside, narrowing externally, survives in the north wall of the new work; its sides were built in *kurkar*. Doubtless there were others, but the walls do not survive high enough to

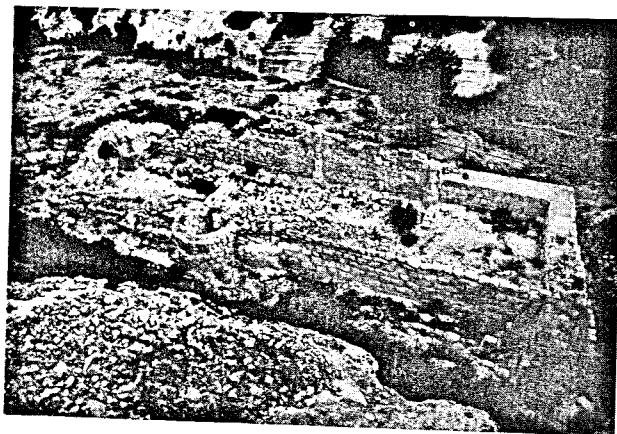
allow one to tell. In the south wall of the sanctuary, a narrow water channel (5 cm wide) pierced the wall; it seems that it was originally fed by a conduit leading from the spring, and would once have filled a piscina in this position (Bagatti 1958: 283).

In front of the west door, two graves had been cut into the rock (fig. 67.5). One contained an elderly man, the other the jumbled redeposited remains of two individuals, at one time identified as a man and a woman (Friedman 1979: 165–7, phs. 22–3; cf. Bagatti 1958: 284–5). More recent analysis, however, suggests that all three individuals were male (Nitowski 1987a: 117–32; R.M. Little, in Nitowski 1989a: 113–18).

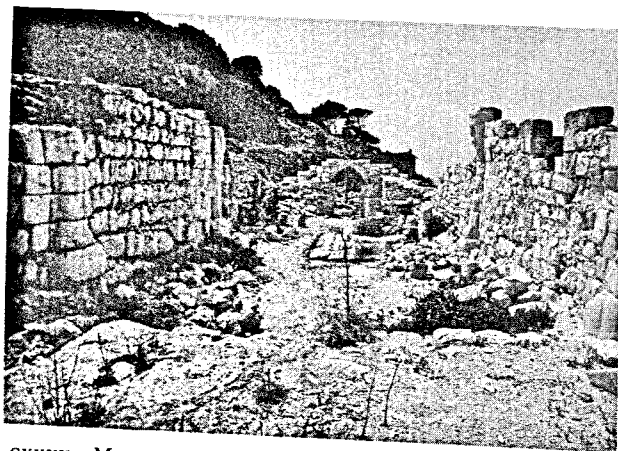
Decoration and Furnishings

Many of the architectural fragments uncovered in 1958–61 were left on the site and have since been stolen. Some, however, are now in the museum of the Stella Maris convent in Haifa. They include the base for three colonnettes, which was found in the church but evidently came from a free-standing aedicule of some kind (pl. cxxxix; cf. Bagatti 1958: 284; Friedman 1979: ph. 29); and part of a stone tank or sarcophagus decorated externally with a pattern of dog-tooth and oak leaves (pl. cxl; cf. Folda 1977: pl. xxix; Friedman 1979: 168, ph. 28). Bagatti also mentions a small capital having a rosette and cross on opposing sides (1958: 283).

Traces of plaster flooring were found during the excavations but none remains (Bagatti 1958: 283).



cxxxiv Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: church (no. 213) from the south.



cxxxv Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: interior of the church (no. 213), looking west (and showing the reconstructed west door).



cxxxvi Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): door to the bell-tower.

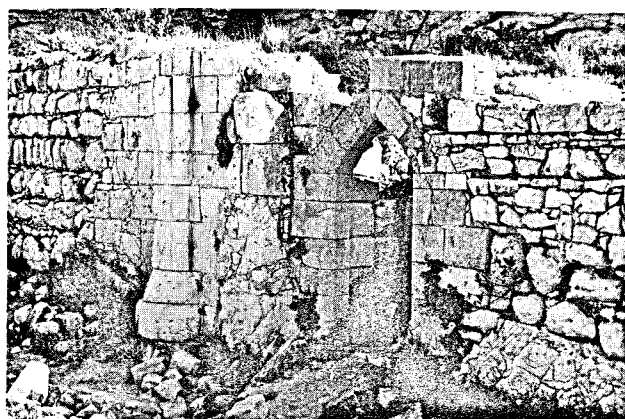
Fragments of plain window glass set in plaster were also found (1958: 283–4; 1961a: 70; cf. Nitowski 1987a: 133, fig. 65).

The medieval pottery from the site includes both local wares and glazed types imported from Cyprus, Greece, Syria and southern and north-central Italy (Pringle 1984a; Nitowski 1987a: 1–45; J.B. Storfjell, in Nitowski 1989a: 1–25); this includes thirteenth-century material dating from the period of Carmelite occupation and also a quantity of later pottery, including Syrian blue-and-white and local handmade wares, that would probably have been associated with the subsequent occupation of the site by *fallahin* (Pringle 1984c; 1986a: 151–3).

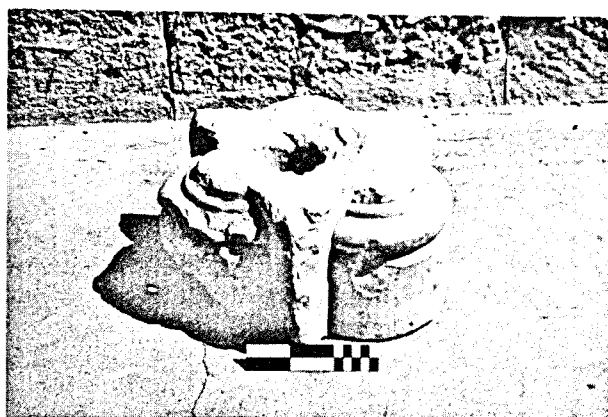
Associated Buildings

The monastery buildings extended west of the church, between the steep side of the wadi on the south and the stream bed on the north (Bagatti 1958: 284; 1961;

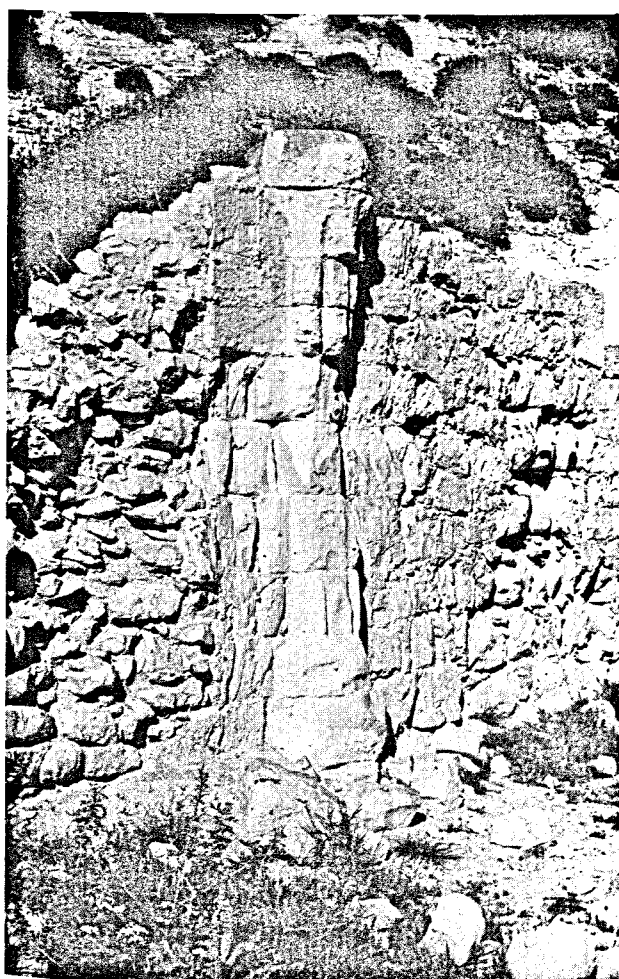
Friedman 1979: 162–7). The earliest surviving feature consists of a cave of two storeys with an interconnecting stair, cut into the north side of the valley (fig. 67.4). This seems likely to have been part of an earlier Byzantine laura, but in a later period it was converted into a stable. For this reason it seems doubtful whether it should be identified, as Friedman suggests, with the *mansio Helisei* to which thirteenth-century sources refer (1979: 63–73, phs. 11–13; for another interpretation, see also Nitowski 1987a: 48–68; 1989a: 51–6). Later writers describe the valley sides as riddled with the caves of anchorites (d'Arvieux 1735: II, 300; Friedman 1979: 63), of which subsequent erosion has left little trace. About 60 m west of the church there survive three rooms of a structure built in masonry similar to that of the first phase of the church and plastered on the inside (fig. 67.1; pl. cxli). On the west side was a tank fed by a channel from the spring, with to the north of it an outflow channel passing inside along the west wall of



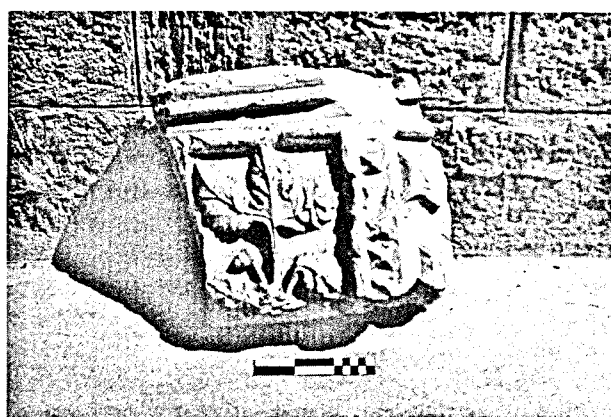
CXXXVII Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): inside of the south wall, showing the door to the bell-tower and, to the left, the junction between the two building phases.



CXXXIX Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: base for triple column (now in Stella Maris, Haifa).



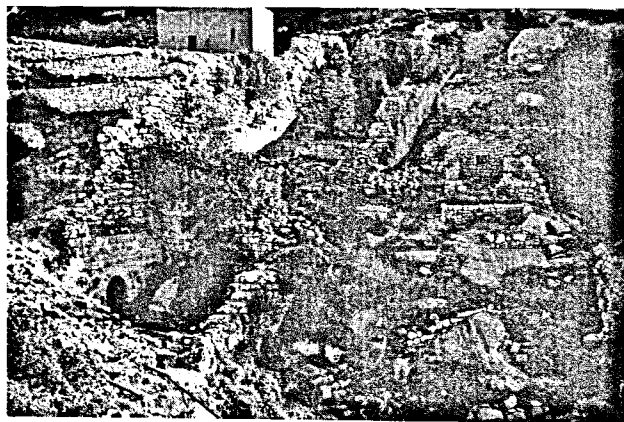
CXXXVIII Monastery of St Mary of Carmel, church (no. 213): phase-two pilaster at the centre of the north wall.



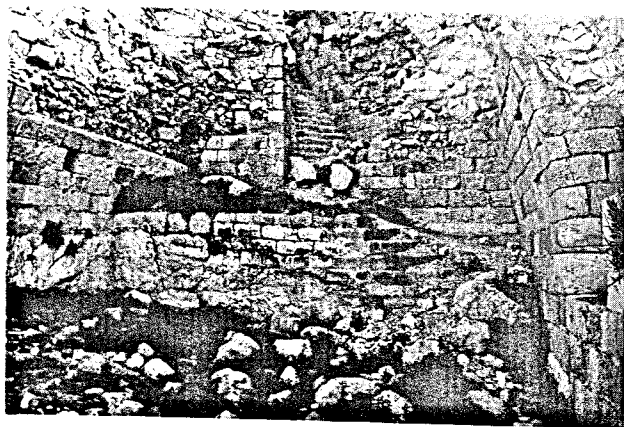
CXL Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: fragment of a stone tank or sarcophagus (now in Stella Maris, Haifa).

the building. The eastern part of the structure, and any others of the same phase that may have existed between it and the church, would have been destroyed when the later monastic buildings were constructed. The function of the rooms is uncertain, and there is no sure evidence to identify them as part of the original prior's lodging (cf. Bagatti 1962; Friedman 1979: 159–60, ph. 15a; Nitowski 1987a: 87–8; fig. 29; 1989a: 56–9).

The later monastic buildings were set around a cloister to the west of the church and seem likely to be contemporary with its second phase. The main part to survive is the barrel-vaulted undercroft of the west range (fig. 62.3; pls. CXLII–CXLIII). This room lies 7.5 m below the level of the cloister and contained one of the entrances to the monastery. It probably also served to house the cellarer's stores. It measures internally some 19 by 6.4 m. On its western, downhill side are remains of two internally splayed windows, 1.86 m wide, narrowing externally to 0.22 m. The position of the door



CXLI Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: west range (2- 3) with first-phase structures (1) lying outside it, seen from the north-west.



CXLII Monastery of St Mary of Carmel: staircase inside the west range (3).

is shown on Bagatti's plan, but no trace of it is left. At the southern end of the room is a raised landing, some 2 m higher than the rest of the room; and in the south wall a door, 1.5 m wide and 2.93 m high, gives access to a staircase which leads in tortuous fashion up to another door, 1.51 m wide, in the south-western corner of the cloister.

At the northern end of the west range is an enclosed space, some 6.4 m square, taking up the whole width of the range (fig. 67.2). This is quite isolated from the rest of the range, but has pointed arches 1.3 m wide opening on the east and west to allow the stream to pass through it along an artificial channel. The vaulting has collapsed (cf. Nitowski 1989a: 47-51, figs. 9-10). This structure has been identified as the base of a tower (Friedman 1979: 164); such it may have been, but if that were its only function it is hard to see why the stream should have been made to pass through it. It seems unlikely to

have been a mill, since the stream could hardly have provided sufficient power except when in spate. A more plausible explanation is that it served as a cess-pit, flushed by the stream, with no doubt a reredorter on the floor above. Traces of a doorway on the upper floor, level with the cloister, show that the upper room communicated with the north range.

The cloister itself measured some 30 m from east to west and its ambulatory was about 4.7 m wide. If its north-south dimension was the same, there would have been enough space for a north range about 10 m wide. It may be that the kitchen and refectory occupied this range, adjacent to the rubbish-disposal area; but little is left of this range because of erosion by the stream. There is no clear evidence for any corresponding range along the south side where the cloister appears to have been built directly against the hillside. Remains of terracing, however, suggest that structures may have existed at a slightly higher level. Though excavation would be necessary to ascertain their character, it seems not unlikely that they would have represented the cells of the friars, others of which may also have existed on the upper floor of the west range.

How the monastic buildings were related to the church is uncertain. Various enclosure walls were built against this building, restricting access to the site from the east; one of them, north of the church, has in it remains of a door. It seems very likely that the chapter house would have stood somewhere in this area, perhaps north-west of the entrance to the church.

Epigraphy

A single inscription was found west of the west range of buildings. It consists of a rough piece of limestone with the word *aqua* inscribed on it (Bagatti 1961a: 69; de Sandoli 1974: 281-2, no. 379). A system of masonry marks may be observed on the monastic buildings. On the eastern wall of the west range's undercroft (fig. 67.3), most ashlar bear two or more rarely seven parallel strokes; on the south wall of the west range facing the cloister they have three. These have been interpreted as assembly marks for ashlar brought from some distance away (Nitowski 1987a: 90-5; Ellenblum 1992: 174).

Discussion and Conclusions

Documentary and archaeological, including ceramic (cf. Pringle 1984a; Nitowski 1987a: 1-45), evidence suggests some fourth- to eighth-century activity on the site followed by little or none until the thirteenth

century. On architectural and historical grounds, the first phase of the church seems likely to date from 1205–14, when Patriarch Albert instructed the Latin hermits to build a chapel (*oratorium*). The buildings west of the monastery (fig. 67.1) and some others that were probably destroyed by later works may also be assigned to this early phase. The second main building phase took in the enlargement of the church in Gothic style and the construction of the cloister and monastery buildings; it may be dated to the years after 1247, and was already in progress in 1263 when Urban IV appealed for help to complete it. The monastery was abandoned by the Carmelites in 1291, though pottery evidence suggests continued occupation, presumably by *fallahîn*, lasting into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Visited 1.4.81, 14.10.81, 28.4.95.

Sources

Barag, 'New source', 202; *Bull. Carm.*, I, 2–4, no. 1 (1226); 4–5, no. 2 (1229); 8–11, no. 6 (1247); 28–9, no. 10 (1263); Burchard of Mount Sion (c.1283), x, 3 (ed. Laurent, 83; *IHC*, IV, 202; *PPTS*, XII, 94); *Chemins et pelerinages A* (–1265), I, 2; B (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180; 190); Clarke and Edwards, *Rule*; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, II, 400, no. 5811) (1226); Innocent IV, *Quae honorem conditoris* (ed. Laurent) (1247); Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, I, 494, no. 3288) (1247); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 52 (*IHC*, III, 320; *PPTS*, XI, 27); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); *Pelerinages* (c.1321), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 90); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre*, I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229); Philip of Savona (c.1283) (ed. Neumann, 76); Potthast, I, 720, no. 8368 (1229); II, 1070, no. 12701 (1247); 1501, no. 18493 (1263); Röhricht, 'Karten', no. 1 (Florence, c.1300); *RRH*, 128–9, no. 489 (1205–14); 306, no. 1165 (1247); 379, no. 1450 (1283); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VI–VII (1–2) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 1043); Sanudo (c.1321), III, 14, 2 (ed. Bongars, 246).

Abel 1930: 120–1; Anon. 1960; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 300; Bagatti 1958; 1961a; 1961b; 1962b; 1971a: 108–9, fig. 77; Baldi 1973: 213; Barag 1979: 202, 209 n.44; Benvenisti 1970: 345, 353–7, pls.; Brasca 1480: 135; van Breydenbach 1488: pl. c1 (map); Brémond 1679: II, 216–17; van Bruyn 1725: II, 307–8; Conder 1878: I, 174–5; Conder and Kitchen-er 1881: I, 289, 301–2; Doubdan 1657: 523, pl. opp. p. 517; Ellenblum 1992: 174; Folda 1977: 278, pl. xxive; Friedman 1971a: 297, 299, 300–3, 313–14; 1979; Giordano 1994: 54–90; Giordano *et al.* 1993; Gonsales 1673: pl. after p. 808; Guérin 1874: II, 277–8; Guide Bleu 1932: 510–11; Hamilton 1980: 252; Hoade 1978: 668; Humbert of Dijon 1332: 18; Israel 1964: 1375; James of Verona 1335: 299; Johns 1937: 27 (c4); Jotischky 1995: 101–5; Kopp 1929: 1961; Laffi 1683: 461; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 341; 1336–41b: 64; Marie-Joseph 1911–13; Mariti 1769: II, 138–9; Meister-

mann 1936: 484–5; von Mülinen 1907; 1908a; Nitowski 1987a; 1987b; 1989a; 1989b; Nitowski and Qualls 1991; Palestine 1929: 29; 1948: 23; Philippe de la Très Sainte-Trinité 1669: 151; Pococke 1743: II, 56; Pringle 1984a: 1993: 36; Rey 1883: 432; de Sainte-Marie 1949; de Thévenot 1687: I, 220; Tönnemann 1961; 1963; Wilson 1880a: III, 101; 1880b: II, 149.

ST MARY OF THE MARSHES

Cr. *Nostre Dame de Mareys/de Marreis/dou Marais*,
Camera Beate Virginis Marie, Domina Nostra majoris

No. 214 Pilgrimage Chapel of St Mary of the Marshes (Unlocated)

Pilgrimage texts of c.1230 onwards locate the chapel of Our Lady of the Marshes a short distance inland from *Pain Perdu* (q.v.), overlooking the crocodile-infested marshes which surrounded the lower course of the Nahr az-Zarqa (Crocodile River). The chapel was a place of pilgrimage for people from Caesarea and for travellers proceeding south along the coast road from 'Atlit (*Pelerinages* (c.1231), III; *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VIII, 3; *Chemins et pelerinages A* (–1265) I, 2; B (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 91; 104²; 181; 190)). A text of c.1280 places it three leagues from Tantura (*Merle*) and one from Caesarea, and notes that this was where Our Lady rested (*Pelrinages . . . de Acre*, I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229); cf. Oderic of Friuli 1330: 157); while a Florentine map of c.1300 marks the position with the words, *Camera beate uirginis Marie* (Röhricht, 'Karten', no. 1). Yet another late thirteenth-century source describes it as a 'small chapel' of Our Lady the Great, two miles from Caesarea (Anon. Saec. XIII (1244–), xxxiv (*IHC*, IV, 366)).

The identification of the site with the *maqām* of Shaykh Maṣṣūr al-'Aqqab (Grid ref. 144.216), proposed by G. Beyer (1936: 28–9) and accepted by others (Johns 1937: 35; Prawer and Benvenisti 1970; Bagatti 1979: 194), remains unsubstantiated; indeed, apart from the *maqām* itself, this site has so far produced no evidence for structures or occupation later than the Byzantine period (cf. Conder and Kitchen-er 1881: II, 31–3; von Mülinen 1908a: 238–9; Palestine 1948: 46). Recent excavations have revealed the remains of two successive rustic villas, the first dating from the first century BC to the first

century AD, and the second from the fifth to seventh century AD (Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991).

Sources

Anon. Saec. XIII (1244–), xxxiv (IHC, iv, 366); *Chemins et pelerinages* A (–1265), I, 2; B (c.1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 181; 190); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), III (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 91); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229); Röhricht, 'Karten', no. 1 (Florence, c.1300); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), VIII, 3 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104³).
Bagatti 1979: 194; Beyer 1936: 28–9; Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991: 83 n.7; Johns 1937: 35 (E4); Oderic of Friuli 1330: 157.

ST MARY OF THE THREE SHADES, Abbey of

Cr. *monasterium S. Marie Trium Umbrarum, Treis Ombres*

No. 215 Abbey Church of St Mary of the Three Shades (Unlocated)

History

John of Ibelin lists the abbess of the Three Shades (*l'abaece de Treis Ombres*) as one of the suffragans of the bishop of Lydda (*Livre*, cclxvii (RHC Lois, I, 417)). After 1187, however, it seems that the convent moved to Acre, for a confirmation of privileges granted by Pope Gregory IX to the prioress and nuns of the Augustinian convent of St Mary and All Saints in Acre, in December 1237, includes 'the monastery of St Mary of the Three Shades, situated in the bishopric of Lydda near the city of Ramla . . . in which the convent of your order ought to be' (*Reg.* (ed. Auvray, II, 840–2, no. 4013); Ughelli, VII, 39–42; RRH, 283, no. 1085). It may be doubted, however, whether the nuns were able to reoccupy the monastery in the thirteenth century.

No further mention is made of the church until the fourteenth century, when John Mandeville recorded, 'And beside Ramla is a fair church of our Lady, where our Lord appeared to our Lady in the likeness that betokeneth the Trinity' (c.1356–66: 191). This was close to the church of St George in Lydda (no. 137), which suggests that it lay somewhere between Lydda and Ramla. It may possibly be the church of St Mary in

Lydda that is alluded to by al-Harawī around 1171 (see no. 138); but this too is unlocated.

Sources

Gregory IX, *Reg.* (ed. Auvray, II, 840–2, no. 4013) (1237); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxvii (RHC Lois, I, 417); Potthast, I, 905, no. 10695 (1237); RRH, 283, no. 1085 (1237); Ughelli, VII, 39–42 (1237).

Beyer 1951: 168; du Cange 1869: 835–6; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: I, 352 n.1; Mandeville c.1356–66: 191; Röhricht 1887b: 229–30.

ST SABAS, Monastery of

Dair Mar Saba, Dair as-Siq; Cr. monasterium . . . S. Sabae; Gk. tēn erēmon tou Souka tou hagiou Saba

Nos. 216–17 Abbey Churches of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216) and of the Holy Mother of God, or St Nicolas (no. 217) 1815.1235

History

The life of Sabas is told by Cyril of Scythopolis. Born in Cappadocia in 439, Sabas joined the archimandrite Elpidius in the monastery of St Passarion in Jerusalem in 456, before serving under Theoctistus and Euthymius in their *coenobium* in the Wadi Mukallik (no. 220) (*Vita S. Sabae*, I–X (ed. Schwartz, 86–94; trans. Festugière, 14–22)). After a spell with Euthymius in Rouba, he settled in a cave on the left side of the Kidron Gorge, south-east of Jerusalem in 478. There he was eventually joined by other anchorites, and when their number had reached seventy he founded the Great Laura, with a small oratory on the opposite bank, where the wadi is met by a tributary gully (*Vita S. Sabae*, XI–XVI (ed. Schwartz, 94–101; trans. Festugière, 22–8)). When, in due course, the small chapel in the centre of the laura became too small for the number of anchorites, a natural cave in the shape of a church was disclosed to Sabas by a pillar of fire (no. 217); above this he built himself a tower, with an interconnecting passage (*Vita S. Sabae*, XVIII (ed. Schwartz, 101–3; trans. Festugière, 29–30)). By 486, the laura was surrounded by a strongly fortified enclosure wall (Chitty 1966: 105–7; Vailhé 1899d: 337). Patriarch Sallust of Jerusalem

ordained Sabas priest before consecrating the 'God-built' church of the laura on 12 December 490, and in 493–4 he nominated him archimandrite of all the anchorites in the wilderness (*Vita S. Sabae*, xix (ed. Schwartz, 103–5; trans. Festugière, 30–2); Chitty 1966: 107, 110; Vailhé 1899d: 337–8).

Much of the building work on the new laura was carried out by two architect brothers from Isauria, Gelasius and Theodulus. It included a bakery, an infirmary, a hostel, various cisterns and the church of the Virgin Mary (**no. 216**), which was consecrated by Patriarch Elias on 1 July 501. The Armenians, who up to this time had been using the old chapel, were now transferred to the God-built cave church (*Vita S. Sabae*, xxxii (ed. Schwartz, 117–18; trans. Festugière, 43–5); Chitty 1966: 110–11; Vailhé 1899d: 333, 337–8). When Sabas died, on 5 December 532, at the age of 93, he was buried in a cave below the court separating the two churches (*Vita S. Sabae*, lxxvi–lxxvii (ed. Schwartz, 182–4; trans. Festugière, 112–13); Vailhé 1899d: 341).

At the time of the Persian invasion in 614, Antiochus, a monk of Mar Saba, relates how a party of Arabs, profiting from the disarray caused by the Persian advance on Jerusalem, sacked the laura and massacred those monks who had not already fled to Transjordan. In the aftermath of this atrocity, the patriarchal vicar, Modestus, had the forty-four martyrs buried in the tombs reserved for the abbots. While one group of survivors under Thomas reoccupied the laura, another remained in the monastery of Anastasius nearer Jerusalem (*Epistula ad Eustathium* (PG, lxxxix, 1424–8); Vailhé 1899d: 333; 1900a: 20; Chitty 1966: 156, 158–9).

Ironically, perhaps, the laura was not to achieve its intellectual golden age until the century and a half that followed the conquest of Byzantine Palestine by the Muslim Arabs. In this period the community included poets such as John Damascene and Cosmas of Maiuma, and defenders of icons such as Michael Syncellus, and Theodore and Theophanes the Branded (Vailhé 1900a: 21; Chitty 1966: 179–81; Bagatti 1971d: 149–52). However, the instability of the times often made life precarious for the monks. On 13 March 796, the monastery was sacked by Bedouin, who killed and injured a number of them; and a massacre of a further twenty monks followed on 20 March (Vailhé 1900a: 22–4; Gil 1992: 283, 474). Between 797 and 807, monks from Dair Mar Saba and Benedictines from the Mount of Olives acted as intermediaries between the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne (Vailhé 1900a: 25–6); and a Carolingian document of c.808

gives the number of monks at Dair Mar Saba as 150 (*Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, xxxiii (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; trans. Wilkinson, 137)). In 809, however, the monastery was again sacked, and further persecutions took place in 813 (Theophanes, ann. 6301, 6305 (ed. de Boor, 484, 499); Vailhé 1900a: 24–5; Gil 1992: 475).

Despite these vicissitudes, some kind of monastic life seems to have continued in Dair Mar Saba almost to the time of the Frankish conquest. A surviving Georgian manuscript was produced there by Macarius at the time of Abbot Solomon in 864, and another in 906 (Bagatti 1971d: 151–2; Gil 1992: 451); and a monk from Magnesia in Caria, named Lazarus, is known to have been there up to the time of the persecution by al-Ḥākim in 1009 (Gil 1992: 444).

The first Western pilgrim to mention the monastery after the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem, Saewulf in 1102–3, evidently did not visit it, and his directions to it are in any case hopelessly inaccurate. His account, however, gives us some idea of the depredations that it had recently suffered:

Almost three miles west of the church of the Holy Cross is a most beautiful and great monastery in honour of St Sabas, who was one of the seventy-two disciples of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Hitherto more than 300 Greek monks served God and the saint there, practising a cenobitic life; but most of the brothers have been killed by the Saracens, while certain others are serving faithfully in another monastery of the same saint within the walls of the city beside the Tower of David. The first monastery has in truth been left in complete desolation. (ch. vi, 21 (CCCM, cxxxix, 71))

Saewulf was followed by the Russian Orthodox abbot Daniel, who spent sixteen months in the monastery of St Sabas in Jerusalem (**q.v.**) (ch. 18; cf. xv (trans. Ryan, 121; cf. 131)). Daniel correctly locates Dair Mar Saba to the south of Jerusalem, in the ravine of the valley of Jehoshaphat (or Kidron); he also appears to have visited it, sometime between 1106 and 1108:

On the cliffs on both sides of this terrible ravine stand cells fixed to the rocks like stars in the sky. There are three churches here, and among the cells to the west there is a wonderful cave beneath a rocky cliff, and in this cave there is the church of the Holy Mother of God [**no. 217**], and this cave God showed to St Saba by a fiery column when he was living alone in that ravine. And the first cell of St Saba when he was living alone is here, about half a verst from the present-day Laura and from here God showed him by means of a fiery column the holy place where now stands the Laura of St Saba, and it is a wonderful place and quite indescribable. And between the three churches is the tomb of St Saba, about four fathoms from the great church [**no. 216**], and there is a beautifully executed chapel over the tomb. And here lie many holy fathers, their bodies as if still alive: the bishop St John the Silent [454–559].

St John Damascene and St Theodore of Edessa and Michael his nephew lie here (*var.*: in the Laura of St Saba, and Cosmas of Majumas (also lies here)), and St Aphroditian and many other saints, their bodies as if still alive and exhaling an ineffable perfume. And I saw the well of St Saba in that ravine opposite his cell . . . (ch. xxxviii (trans. Ryan, 140); cf. Vailhé 1900a: 168–9)

It would seem that by the time of Daniel's visit the monastery had been recolonized, most probably by monks from Jerusalem. The identity of the third church that he mentions, however, is uncertain; nor is it clear in what state the main church was at this time.

In 1136, a Gospel Book was made at Dair Mar Saba (Vikan 1973: 141–2 (no. 37), fig. 65); and in 1158 the Cypriot, St Neophytos, was a guest there (*Typikon*, iv (ed. Warren, 12)).

Vailhé lists three twelfth-century abbots of St Sabas, one named Arsenius and two (possibly the same person) named Basil (1900a: 176 (nos. 19–21)). To these may be added Abbot Miletus (or Meletios), who in 1163–4 issued a charter selling to Nicolas, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, three *khuraib* (*vastinae*), namely *Kafarrus* (Kh. Kafr Rush, 160.142), *Vetus Betor* (Bait 'Ur al-Fauqa, 160.143) and *Deirfres* (Kh. ad-Duraish?, 154.144), which Queen Melisende (1131–62) had given the monks of St Sabas to enable them to distribute twenty-four loaves of bread as alms each Saturday; with the 480 bezants raised from the sale, the monks immediately acquired from King Amalric the village of *Thora* (unidentified), which was of more use to them (Bresc-Bautier, 259–60, no. 133; *RRH*, 106–7, no. 409; cf. Bresc-Bautier, 261–6, no. 135 (1164); 283–8, no. 146 (1168); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250–5, no. 95 (1168); *RRH*, 115, no. 444 (1168); cf. Mayer 1977: 406–9). Abbot Daniel (1106–8) also mentions that the monastery possessed a village east of Bethlehem near the Shepherds' Field (**no. 232**), possibly Bait Sahur (Grid ref., 170.123: ch. I (trans. Ryan, 144; de Khitrowo, 41)). Apart from these references, however, we are poorly informed about the monastery's possessions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The tradition that prohibited the admission of women to the monastery also extended after death; for in 1173, when the Russian princess and abbess Euphrosina lay dying in Jerusalem and asked to be allowed to be interred there, she was politely advised by the abbot and community to apply instead to the monastery of St Theodosius (**no. 221**) ('Pèlerinage . . . de l'abbesse Euphrosine' (trans. de Khitrowo, 34)).

A fuller description of the monastery is given in 1185 by the Greek, John Phocas, who locates it in the Kidron Valley, 11 miles below the pool of Siloam:

There the valley widens into a great dry chasm, in which are to be seen the *laura*, the church, and the tomb of the saint. In front of the *laura*, on both sides of the ravine, are grottos and small towers, inhabited by those who have despised the world and its luxuries for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake, who endure its unendurable heat, and by means of a quenchable fire quench that which is unquenchable. Upon the spot where stands the church [**no. 216**] and the tomb of the divinely inspired holy father Saba, the ravine divides into three parts, and becomes of great depth. The saint built towers along the edge of it, and in the midst of these great towers built the church, and all around it wrought these, the newest of ascetic cells, as is recorded in the account of his marvellous life.

The church is full of delightful things, being very large, long, full of light, with its pavement adorned with marbles, which though of small cost and brought from the wilderness, are nevertheless colourfully worked. In front of the church is a paved court, and in the middle of it is the tomb of our great father Saba, rising about a span above the ground, and adorned with a slab of the whitest marble. Close by and round about this, and also beneath the earth, may be seen the sepulchres of those holy fathers whose light has shone in the wilderness, and among them those of the ancient poets, Sts Cosmas and John [Damascene].

Near by are nearly forty inspired men, eminent beyond all others, of whom six converse directly with God. Their names are: Stephen, Theodore, and Paul; the fourth comes from the great city [Constantinople]; the fifth is an Iberian [i.e. Georgian]; and the sixth, celebrated among mankind for his spiritual insight, is the stylite John. (ch. xvi (PG, cxxxiii, 948; trans. adapted here from PPTS, v, 23–4))

The story of another twelfth-century stylite at Dair Mar Saba, the Georgian monk Gabriel, is related by St Neophytos. After living as a recluse for eleven years, this man sought admittance to the monastery sometime in the 1160s, and having spent some years there was permitted to live the life of a stylite. However, after a while he began to experience hallucinations, in which the Devil and two demons appeared to him in the guise of St Sabas, accompanied by Simon the Stylite and Stephen Trichinas. They led him astray, inducing him to renounce the Virgin Mary and to worship the Devil instead of Christ. Matters finally came to a head when Gabriel descended from his column and attempted to murder a solitary, named David. The abbot, whose name was Sabas, therefore sent him to recuperate in the monastery of St Euthymius (**nos. 204–5**), the usual reformatory for delinquent monks from St Sabas, where he remained until the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187. On his return to St Sabas, however, Gabriel fell into the hands of the 'barbarians', who took him away to Damascus. At this point Neophytos loses sight of him; but a marginal note, apparently in his hand, adds that the cure was finally completed, for in 1205 Gabriel resumed his life as a silentiary in the region of Antioch

(Neophytos, *Narratio de Monacho Palaestinesi* (1187–), v–xxii (ed. Delehaye, 164–73; cf. 280–2)).

Neophytos's account of the monk Gabriel gives the only indication that we have of the fate of the monastery in 1187. Whatever may have happened at Dair Mar Saba itself, however, the monastery's continuity as an institution would have been secured by the other houses which belonged to it, notably those in Jerusalem (q.v.) and in Acre (q.v.), where around 1230 the monks were given the former church of St George by Sava, son of the Serbian ruler Stephen Nemanja (Jacoby 1993: 83–8; cf. Chitty 1966: 181).

An anonymous Greek pilgrim text from sometime after 1187 describes the church of Dair Mar Saba as covered by a blue-green dome, presumably of copper (Anon. Graecus (1187–) (PG, cxxxiii, 989)). References in Arabic geographical texts of this period, however, have proved difficult to interpret. Although Ibn Battūta (1325–54) explicitly refers to the laura founded by St Sabas as the 'new *Sīq*', to distinguish it from St Chariton's, known as the 'old *Sīq*' (Marmardji 1951: 73–4), the word *sīq*, derived from the Greek *seikos*, is used by other writers as a generic term meaning the same as laura, or *lavra* (Kohlberg and Kedar 1988: 125). Mujir al-Dīn, for example, describes how in September 1269 Sultan Baybars destroyed the cells of a monastery of 300 monks called *Dayr al-Sīq*, situated half a *barīd* from Jerusalem, to prevent its being used by the Franks as a base for attacking the city (Mujir al-Dīn 1494–5: 238). His account bears certain similarities to the story of the destruction of Dair Mar Saba told at about the same time by Felix Faber. According to Brother Felix, when Jerusalem fell for the last time to the Muslims the sultan came down to Dair Mar Saba

and, after waging a long war, conquered the monks, broke into their monastery, and sent them to heaven by divers torments; but he did not touch the church, though he destroyed all the cells and the ways leading up to the caves, and brought about the piteous desolation that now is. Howbeit, he left there certain monks who had taken oaths of fealty to him. (1480–3: II, 162; cf. Vailhé 1900a: 169)

While Felix's account appears to support the identification of Mujir al-Dīn's *Dayr al-Sīq* with Dair Mar Saba, however, the monastery that Ibn Fadlallāh al-'Umārī knew by that name and which he found still occupied around 1347, seems more likely to have been elsewhere. Probably it was the monastery of Choziba (see Vol. I, nos. 77–80), or less possibly St Theoctistus (no. 220) or Jabal Quruntul (Vol. I, nos. 104–7) (Marmardji 1951: 74; cf. Kohlberg and Kedar 1988: 125–6).

From 1334, Dair Mar Saba also possessed the monastery of St John Chrysostom in Cyprus (Papadopoulos-

Karameos 1891b: II, 717; Vailhé 1900a: 172–3; Gunnis 1936: 294–6). We hear little of the monastery itself (cf. Vailhé 1900a: 169–70), however, until the end of the fourteenth century, when the Russian archimandrite Grethenios found twenty-five monks living there and provides a full description:

A large ravine joins the torrent [Kidron] from the west; it is there that St Sabas built his convent. Only one altar remains from the great church [no. 216], whose purple paintings may be seen. Near this church, stairs lead up into the cells, among others that of St John the Damascene. At the bottom of the gorge, immediately in front of the altar, there is a little spring that a stag disclosed miraculously to St Sabas. In front of the great church is the tomb of St Sabas . . . ; a vault covers it, sustained by six columns. As for the tomb of St Sabas, it came only just up to my knee, is whitened with lime, has the form of a donkey's back, and is covered by a picture on cloth of the saint in his coffin. Down below, to the right of the church, was a hospital, now abandoned, with columns in the middle; beside the hospital, two staircases lead upwards. In the middle is seen the cell of St Sabas, which is a church [for the service] of the dead; if one enters and draws up the plank, one cannot go down again. In front is the wall, at the head of the tomb of the holy father Sabas. Going up a little, by stone steps, one comes to the great Iberian [i.e. Georgian] church [no. 217], built to the south, and painted. The accursed barbarians once burnt 40 holy men in this cave. The tower, above the convent of St Sabas, is large and at present without a monk; one enters it by a door situated in a cavern below. Behind many cells, to the left, the winter rain water is kept in a cistern and lasts all summer; and two cisterns below the church serve the animals. To the north of the large enclosure, in the small ravine, there used to be a church and a small convent, [now] deserted, where were received the young men who remained there under the direction of venerable old men until such time as they could grow a beard. (c.1400: 188–9; cf. Vailhé 1900a: 170)

The deacon Zozimos from the convent of St Sergius in Moscow stayed at Dair Mar Saba between 1419 and 1421, and received hospitality there from the thirty resident monks (1421: 215; Vailhé 1900a: 170). Daniel, archbishop of Smyrna, also visited in 1481 and described the church as measuring twenty by seven paces, with the saint's tomb where it is today (Vailhé 1900a: 170). Felix Faber also found the church unharmed, but the body of St Sabas had by then been removed to Venice. The number of Greek monks in residence had fallen to only six, and much of the monastery was occupied by large numbers of local Bedouin (1480–3: II, 154–62).

A *firmān* ordering the repair of the church of St Sabas was issued by Sultan Sulaymān II in 1533 (Papadopoulos-Karameos 1891a: IV, 473, no. 63; Vailhé 1900a: 172).

A description of the monastery written in 1547 by a

Russian monk of St Sabas, named Sophronius, mentions twenty churches, of which only four were then in use, besides 14,000 cells, most of them deserted:

The tomb of St Sabas is raised ten steps above the ground, and is situated west of the former entrance into the great church [no. 216]; it is surmounted by a small round aedicule, four sagenes high and two wide; every Sunday and on all the Lord's feast days the abbot comes with the monks to recite there the office of the saint. The aedicule is paved with marble. The relics of Saint Sabas no longer lie there, for they were stolen in order to be transported to Venice while the monastery was deserted. (1547: 273-4)

According to Sophronius this period of desertion had lasted a century and came to an end in 1540, when the abbot Joachim came from Mount Sinai and introduced some fifty Greek monks into the monastery (1547: 273). Sophronius's account of the monastery's recent history, however, is contradicted by other sources (cf. Vailhé 1900a: 170-1), which identify the monks who reoccupied the monastery and its dependency, the monastery of St Michael in Jerusalem (q.v.), as Serbs and Bulgars. Furthermore, this take-over must have occurred before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, for the Byzantine emperor played a part in the subsequent dispute between the Serbian archimandrite and the Greek patriarch, which resulted in the Serbs being released from the patriarch's authority. This state of affairs lasted only as long as the Serbs' finances. In 1623 they attempted to sell Dair Mar Saba to the Armenians, but in 1625 were forced to sell it back to the patriarch, Theophanes, for 54,000 piastres (Vailhé 1900a: 171-2, citing: Dositheos 1715: 1189 (xii, 1, 9); Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891a: ii, 411 n.1; iii, 51-2; 1891b: ii, 421-3).

During this period the perennial problem of security was both exacerbated and alleviated by the Ottoman authorities. In 1566, for example, the arrival of a new governor of Jerusalem resulted in the execution of some twenty monks because of a misunderstanding (Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 519; Vailhé 1900a: 173). In 1605-6, Sultan Aḥmad I authorized the repair of the whole laura and the construction of a new tower (that of St Simeon) outside it to the south (Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891a: iv, 473-4, nos. 69-70; Vailhé 1900a: 173); another *firmān* regarding the repair of this tower was issued on 23 July 1613 (Heyd 1960: 179, no. 120).

The building of this tower is recorded by Francesco Quaresmi, who gives its purpose as being to supplement the great tower in allowing the monks to see any approaching Arabs from all sides (1626a: ii, 518-19). He continues:

In the same monastery are two churches, one larger, the other

smaller. The first [no. 216] is fair and agreeable enough, decorated with various pictures, forty-five paces long, about fourteen wide, and proportionately high. The other [no. 217] is less than the preceding one in size and beauty, and is called the church of St Nicolas; St Sabas inhabited it with other monks.

In the same place, in a cubicle or chapel, albeit completely closed and walled up, the monks residing there told me that there lie the bodies of 600 monks killed by the infidels for the faith of Christ . . .

Not far from this smaller church is a round chapel, in which is the tomb, in the form of an altar, where the body of St Sabas was buried; but in truth it is now said to have been translated to Venice, where it is honoured by the faithful with great devotion. (Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 518; 1626b: 340)

At this time no monks were living outside the confines of the monastery, and their number varied from twenty to forty or more; some monks, including the abbot, would be residing at any one time in St Michael's in Jerusalem (1626a: ii, 519).

Fr P. Nau visited Dair Mar Saba around 1668 and gives a colourful description, which includes some details on the main church:

The monastery is built on the slope of the mountain. One sees, quite close to, a small church covered by a dome, which is ruined and on which there are various paintings which time and the infidels have almost all destroyed . . . The church is a single nave, forty-five paces long by fourteen wide; it is beautiful and decorated from bottom to top with paintings representing various saints. The Mahometans who are image-breakers, have struck them with a thousand blows and have disfigured a great number.

A refectory now adjoined the church at the same level, with a pilgrim hospice above; and lower down there was a new apartment for the patriarch of Jerusalem (Nau 1679; Vailhé 1900a: 173-5). The work on the hospice and walls had been carried out by Patriarch Nectarios in 1667 (Vailhé 1900a: 175).

Soon afterwards, the monastery was occupied again by the Bedouin. In 1688, Patriarch Dositheos (1669-1709) received permission to remove them and to restore the monastery. The subsequent works included repairs to the walls and cisterns, the building of new accommodation, the replacing of the marble covering the tomb of St Sabas and the courtyard in front of the church, the restoration of the great tower, and the rebuilding and reconsecration of the main church (Dositheos 1715: 1236; Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891a: iii, 71-2; Vailhé 1900a: 175; Abel 1929: 308).

The early nineteenth century saw the continuance of bad relations with the neighbouring Bedouin, who in 1800 broke into the monastery but failed to get into the church. Further incursions, usually with the purpose of

extorting money, are reported in 1821, 1823, 1828 and 1832; and in 1833 the monks were forced to feed 185 locals and their families during a famine (Vailhé 1900a: 175–6). On his visit to the monastery in April or May 1834, Lord Curzon was ambushed by Bedouin, who had taken over the monastery tower as a stronghold (1897: 131–6). Of the buildings he writes:

The church is rather large and is very solidly built. There are many ancient frescos painted on the walls, and various early Greek pictures are hung round about: many of these are representations of the most famous saints . . . (1897: 138)

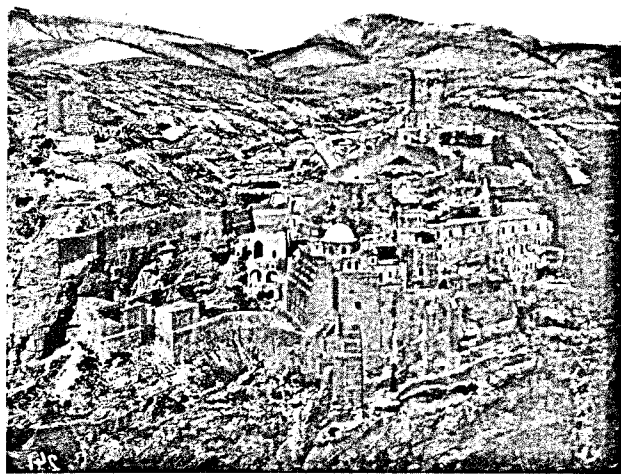
In one part of the church, a rickety ladder led to a small square room some 10 feet above ground level, located inside one of the external buttresses; this contained a thousand or so manuscripts in Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian. Other books were stored in the apse of the church and in the great tower; of the latter Curzon was allowed to purchase three, and a further seven on later visits (1897: 138–9, 140).

Soon after Curzon's visit, on 13 May 1834, a severe earthquake caused damage to the monastery, splitting the great tower. Repairs were carried out with Russian help in 1840, concentrating in particular on the stairs to the great tower and to the cell of John Damascene, the pilgrim hospice and the narthex of the church (Neophytos of Cyprus 1821–41: 42 n.; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 219; Abel 1929: 309; Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 272–3).

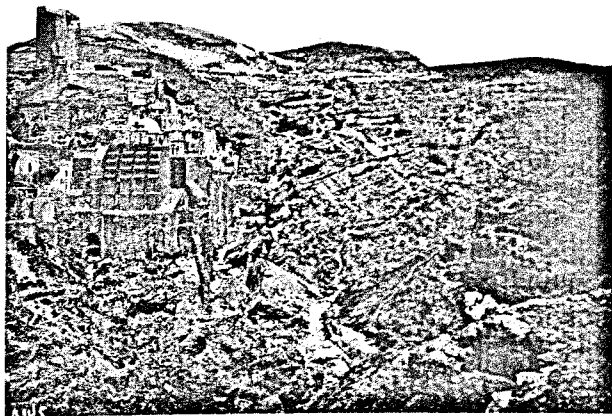
The officers of the Survey of Western Palestine visited the monastery in the 1870s and again in April 1882:

In the courtyard is an octagonal chapel enclosing the tomb of St. Saba beneath a dome. This chapel is covered with modern frescoes. The church [no. 216] east of this is in five bays, measuring 70 feet [21.35 m] by 30 feet [9.15 m], with an apse and dome; between the pilasters are two tiers of frescoes on the walls. There is a fine screen of wood, gilt and carved. Wooden and metal boards serve for bells in the north corridor. The refectory is newly built, and painted with very poor and gaudy frescoes. On the south a rock-cut gallery leads to the cave of St. Saba, which is small and quite dark, with a smaller cave or cupboard at the further end. West of the tomb of St. Saba is a rock cave, which is called his original chapel [no. 217]. The skulls of monks, martyred by the Arabs, are here shown behind a wire screen. At a higher level to the north is a chapel with the tomb of St. John of Damascus (eighth century). The frescoes and paintings on wood on the apse screen of this chapel appear to be of some antiquity. There are many other small buildings, caves, cells, and kitchens. (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 219–20)

By this time what remained of the library had been removed to the Monastery of the Cross (no. 145), near Jerusalem (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 220). The



CXLIII Monastery of St Sabas: monastery and church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216), as photographed from the east by H. Phillips for the SWP on 18 March 1867.



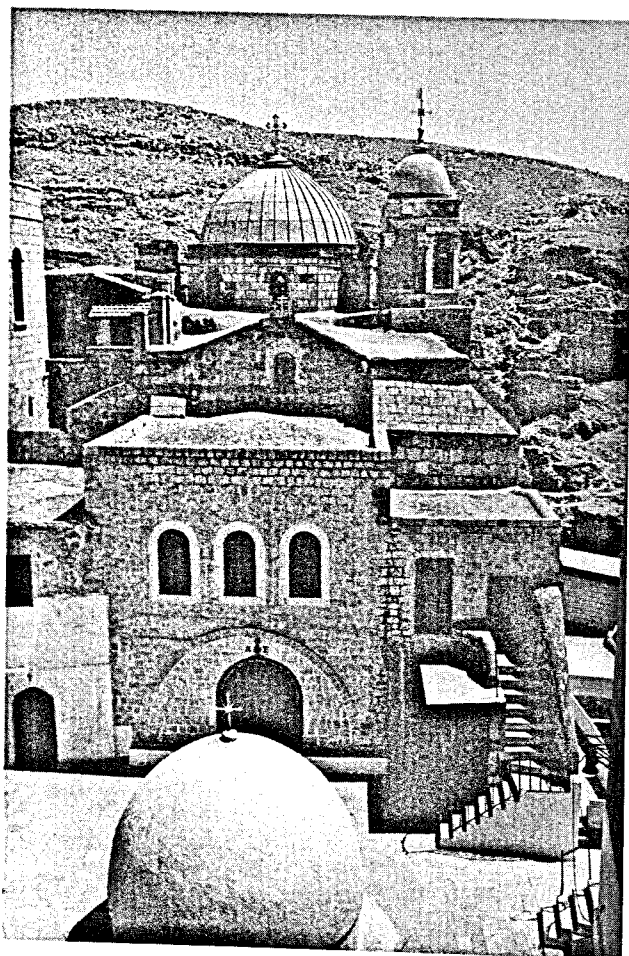
CXLIV Monastery of St Sabas: monastery and church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216), photographed from the south-east by H. Phillips for the SWP on 18 March 1867.

monastery was also described by Vailhé towards the end of the century (1899d: 333).

Significant repairs were carried out to the church and tomb of St Sabas following damage by earthquake in 1927.

Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216)

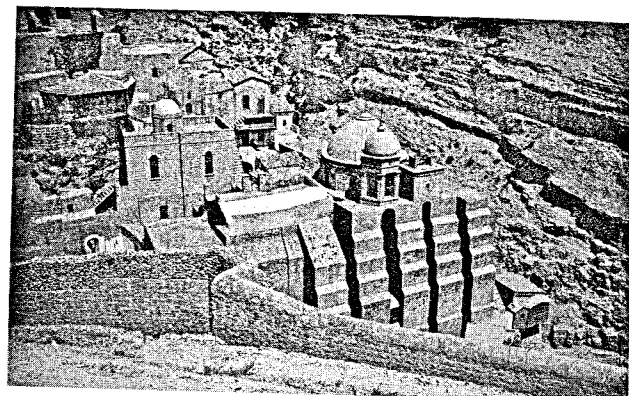
By the 1870s, when the earliest surviving photographs of Dair Mar Saba were taken (e.g. Bonfils in 1877 (Schiller 1980: 180); SWP, see pls. CXLIII–CXLIV), the



CXLV Monastery of St Sabas, church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216): from the west.

character of the sixth-century church had been altered and disguised by numerous rebuildings and additions, notably those by Patriarch Dositheos from 1688 and those in 1840. Further repairs were carried out in the 1920s, when the dome seems to have been virtually rebuilt. As a result of the rebuildings, it is now difficult to tell how much of the Byzantine and medieval church may lie behind the massive external buttresses that sustain the southern and eastern sides of the building, and the modern plaster and wall paintings that cover the interior wall surfaces (pls. CXLV–CXLVI).

The church has a single nave, divided internally by small rectangular pilasters into six bays, with a deep semi-circular apse on the east and a relatively recent narthex added to the west (fig. 69). Internally the building measures some 9 m in width and 32 m in length, including the apse. A dome on a low drum supported on pendentives covers the second and third bays from the east. Apart from the wall paintings, which



CXLVI Monastery of St Sabas, church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216): from the south.

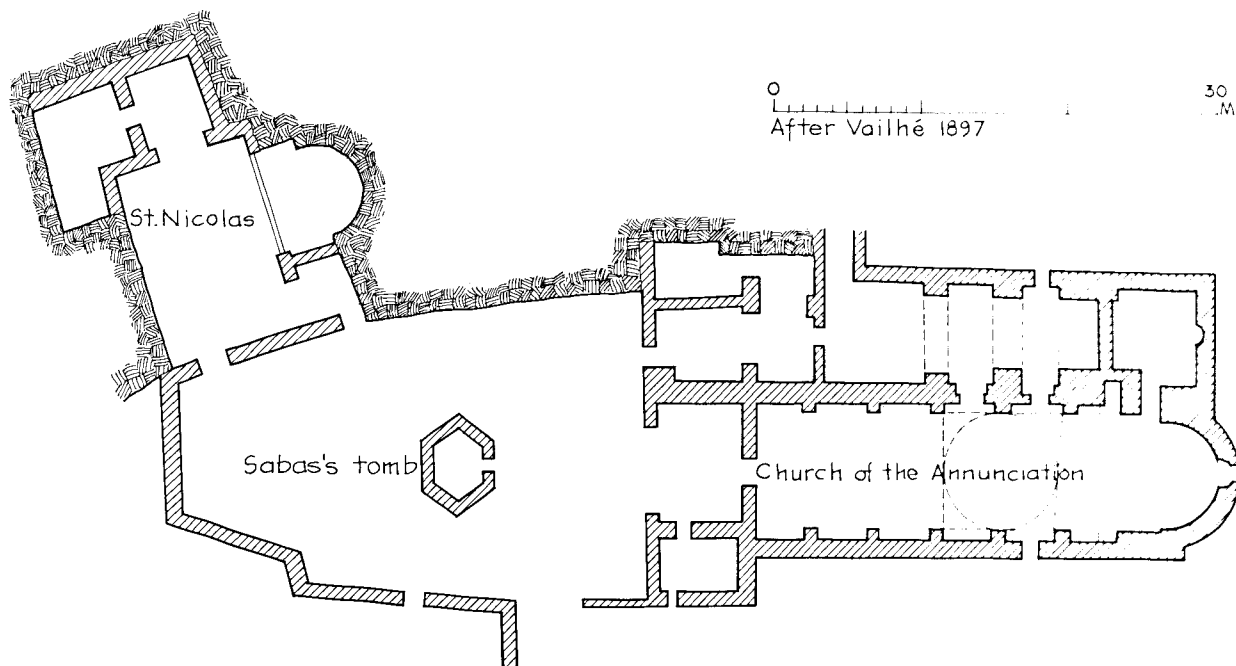
are all modern though quite possibly painted over earlier ones, the architecture is stark, with plain cornices and no capitals or sculptural decoration.

The photographs from the 1870s show a low-pitched gable wall above the arch of the apse, pierced by three rounded-arched windows, and the dome carried on an octagonal drum with a rounded or pointed arch set in each facet. A low-pitched gable still survives at the west end, though the roof behind it is now quite flat. The south and east walls of the church were built on the cliff edge. The north side is flanked by a passage or narthex, terminating at the east end in a sacristy communicating with the presbytery; and on the west there extends a paved court with, at its centre, the octagonal aedicule, rebuilt in 1929, covering the tomb of St Sabas.

It seems possible that the church's masonry dome, mentioned for the first time in a source dating after 1187 (Anon. Graecus (PG, CXXXIII, 989)), dates from a medieval rebuilding and that the shell of the church, excluding the internal and external buttresses, is essentially early sixth-century. Without a more detailed examination of the structure, however, it is impossible to tell for certain.

Cave-Church of the Holy Mother of God (later known as St Nicolas) (no. 217)

The 'God-built' cave-church that was consecrated in 490 and has remained in use to the present day lies on the north-west side of the courtyard in front of the main church. Although Cyril of Scythopolis indicates that it was in origin a natural cave, its plan appears to have been subsequently regularized by artificial means. It consists of a roughly rectangular nave, measuring some 13 by 13.5 m, with a semi-circular apse some 6 m wide facing east-north-east. An inner chamber contains the



69 Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), churches of the Annunciation (no. 216) and St Nicolas (no. 217): plans.

skulls of monks supposedly martyred in 614, though other traditions attach more recent dates to them (Vailhé 1899d: 333).

Decoration and Furnishings

The wall paintings and icons in the main church are mentioned by Grethenios around 1400, Francesco Quaresmi in 1626, P. Nau in 1668, and Lord Curzon in 1834; they had evidently been repainted by the time of the SWP's visit in 1882. The pavement composed of local stone that was seen by John Phocas in 1185 may possibly have been only recently laid.

Relics

The body of St Sabas, removed to Venice in the Middle Ages (Faber 1483–4: I, 107; II, 155), was returned to the monastery in 1965, where it now resides in a glass coffin inside the main church.

Associated Buildings

The chapel attached to the cell of St John Damascene appears to be nineteenth century (cf. Vailhé 1899d: 333–4). The other structures of the monastery still await detailed survey and analysis.

One building of late fifth- to early sixth-century date that seems to have been extensively rebuilt in the

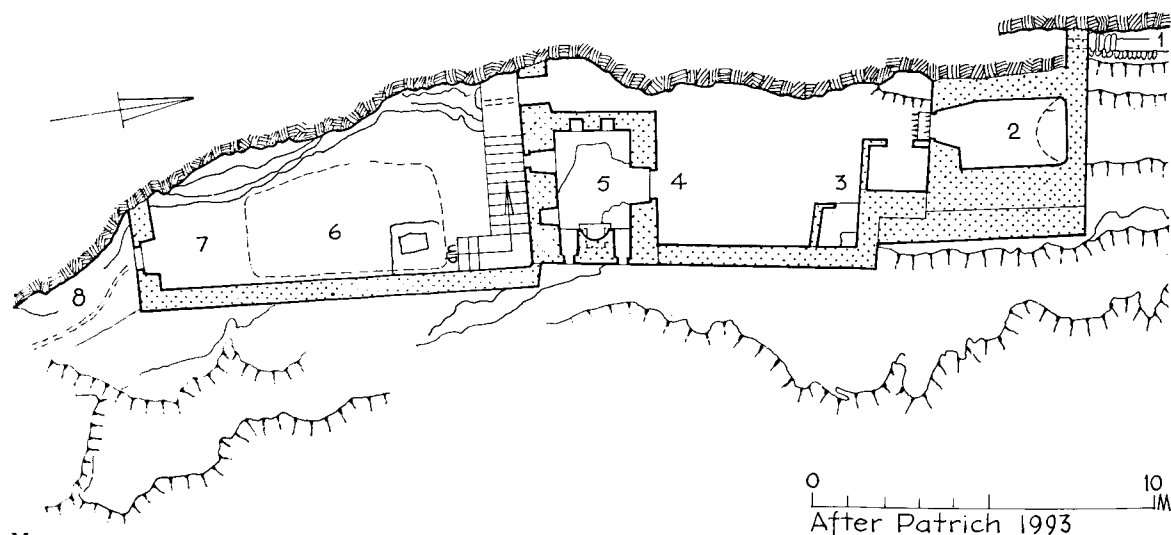
twelfth century is the great tower that dominates the monastery (cf. Festugière 1963). This is built in well-dressed masonry, the blocks being drafted with thick borders on which a number of masonry marks are visible. Most of those visible from ground level consist of three intersecting strokes forming a triangle, similar to those on the church of St James Intercisus in Jerusalem (q.v.) (cf. Vincent 1900: 455; de Sandoli 1974: 153–4, no. 209, fig. 52). Other marks include: two parallel strokes with an oblique stroke cutting them; the letter *gamma* (Γ: 6–19), a cross (+: 32–16), and three sides of a square (24–8). The north and south walls of the tower each have two arrow-slits, one above the other.

Remains of the original *laura* extend some 500 m south and 1.5 km north along the wadi. Of some forty-five hermitages surveyed by the Archaeological Survey of Israel in 1982–3, a dozen were found to contain chapels (Patrich 1983; 1988b; 1993a; 1993b). Some of these caves were evidently inhabited in the twelfth century; two containing wall paintings of that period are described below (nos. 218–19).

Visited 25.5.79, 4.9.81, 12.11.81, 4.4.83.

Sources

Anon. Graecus (1187–) (PG, cxxxiii, 989); Bresc-Bautier, 259–60, no. 133 (1163–4); 261–6, no. 135 (1164); 283–8, no. 146 (1168); Daniel (1106–8), xxxviii (trans. Ryan, 140; de Khitrowo, 33–5); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 250–5, no. 95



70 Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), hermitage of St Sophia (no. 218): plan.

(1168); Neophytos, *Narratio de Monacho Palaestinesi* (1187-), v-xxii (ed. Delehaye, 164-73; cf. 280-2); Neophytos, *Typikon*, iv (ed. Warren, 12) (1158); 'Pèlerinage ... de l'abbesse Euphrosine' (1173) (trans. de Khitrowo, 34); Phocas (1185), xv; xvi; xxi (PG, cxxxiii, 945; 948; 952; PPTS, v, 22; 23-4; 26); RRH, 106-7, no. 409 (1163-4); 115, no. 444 (1168); Saewulf (1102-3), vi, 21 (CCCM, cxxxix, 71; IHC, ii, 23; trans. Wilkinson, 71).

Abel 1929; Adorno 1470-1: 290; Baedeker 1876b: 168-70; Bagatti 1962a: 75-6, plan p. 23; 1971d: 98-9, 105, 137, 149-52, fig. 24; Baldi 1973: 139-40; Bartlett 1847: 224-8; Baumstark 1920; Bell 1907: pl. p. 15; Benvenisti 1970: 31, 365; Chitty 1928: 137-9; 1966: 105-8, 110-12, 118, 124-30, 143-4, 150-1, 156, 158-9, 163, 173, 179-81, figs. 7, 14, 16-17; Compagnoni 1978: 53-63, pls. XLVIII-LIV; Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 219-20; Constantinides 1993: 332, 333-4; Delehaye 1907: 280-2; Dositheos 1715: 1189, 1236; Ellenblum 1992: 183; Faber 1480-3: ii, 154-62; Festugière 1963; de Forbin 1819: 101-3; Frances 1963; Gil 1992: 443-4, 451, 457-8, 459, 465-6, 474-5; Grethenios c.1400: 188-9; Gröber 1925: 147, 149, 151, 156; Guérin 1868: iii, 92-101; Hamilton 1980: 155, 166, 170-1, 319; Har-El 1971: 210-13; Heyd 1960: 179, no. 120 (1613); Hirschfeld 1990: 31-4 (no. 16), figs. 35-7; 1993a: 151-2, fig. p. 152; Hoade 1946: 393-6; 1978: 425; Hunt 1991: 353; Ignatius of Smolensk 1405: 152; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 58-60; Johns 1937: 22 (16); Jotischky 1995: 51, 74-5, 78, 85; Kohlberg and Kedar 1988: 125-6; Mamalades 1961: 66-7; Mann 1969; Marti 1880: 33-4; Meinardus 1966c: 46-9; Meistermann 1936: 460-2; Modestos 1977; Moore 1961: 43; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 242-4; Nau 1679; Neophytos of Cyprus 1821-41: 20, 30, 42 n.; Norris 1950: 35-6; Ory 135; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 240-2 (nos. 53-5), fig.; Palestine 1929: 205; 1948: 192; Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891a: i, 237, 296; ii, 266, 268, 303, 338, 411 n.1, 423; iii, 2-4, 7, 39, 51, 64, 66, 71-2, 84, 89, 221, 230, 262, 284, 330, 460, 468, 471-3, 475, 490, 499, 507; iv, 16, 22-4, 32, 37, 42, 104-5, 190, 317, 327, 340, 349, 415-16, 434-5,

460, 464, 473-4; 1891b: ii, 421-3; Patrich 1983; 1988; 1989; 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; Perera 1553b: 43, 70; Phokides 1927; Pococke 1743: ii, 34; Posniakov 1561: 333n; Prag 1989: 321-3; Quaresmi 1626a: ii, 518-20; 1626b: 338-40; Rey 1883: 391; Roberts 1842b: iii, 70-1, pl. 76; v, 6-13, pls. 102-4; Röhrich 1901: pl. 3; Roger 1664: 177, 179; Schiller 1979: 271-4 (photos. 1862-93); 1980: 180 (photo 1877); Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 392; Sophronius 1547: 273-4; Thomson 1876: 607-8; Tobler 1853: ii, 837-55; Vailh 1897; 1899c; 1899d; 1900a; 1900b: 274-6; Vikar 1973: 141-2 (no. 37), fig. 65; Vryonis 1981: 41; Wilkinson 1977: 169; Wilson 1880a: i, 147-53, pls.; 1880b: iii, 27-33, pls; Wylie c.1883: 112; Zozimos 1421: 215.

No. 218 Hermitage Chapel of St Sophia 1816.1240

History

St Sabas's mother Sophia is traditionally supposed to have become a nun in the convent of St Paula in Bethlehem. After her death, her remains were buried according to one tradition in the cave cemetery of the monastery of St Theodosius (no. 221); but another tradition relates that they were translated to a dependency of the monastery of St Sabas, females being forbidden to enter the monastery itself (Meinardus 1980: 50).

Description

The chapel of St Sophia forms part of a hermitage lying 350 m north of the monastery, on the west side of the Kidron Gorge. The buildings are laid out north-south beneath an overhanging cliff face on the west (fig. 70). An entrance on the south leads into an outer court,

from which stairs lead up past the chapel into an inner court, with the hermit's cell at the far end, a barrel-vaulted chamber measuring some 2 by 4 m.

The chapel is entered from the inner court through a door in its north wall. Internally it measures 2.2 by 2.7 m. On the east, an apse, 0.45 m high and 0.8 m wide, is flanked by small rectangular windows overlooking the wadi. There is another window in the south wall, and two rounded niches in the west wall.

Decoration and Furnishing

The interior is decorated with two to three layers of wall paintings, the oldest being eleventh to twelfth century (Patrīch 1993b: 241). These covered all four walls, but are now partly damaged or obscured by later over-painting. The earlier scheme includes: on the east wall above the apse, the Resurrection (or *anastasis*); on the south wall the Dormition (or *koimēsis*) of the Holy Virgin; on the west wall the Crucifixion; and on the western part of the north wall two saints or bishops (Meinardus 1980: 52–5).

The floor was formerly paved with plain white mosaic, traces of which now survive only towards the corners (Patrīch 1993b: 241; Meinardus 1980: 55).

Epigraphy

An inscription painted on the west end of the south wall records the translation of the bones of St Sophia to this chapel, which the monks built specially for them, in 657 (Meinardus 1980: 55, fig. 2; Patrīch 1993b: 241).

Not visited.

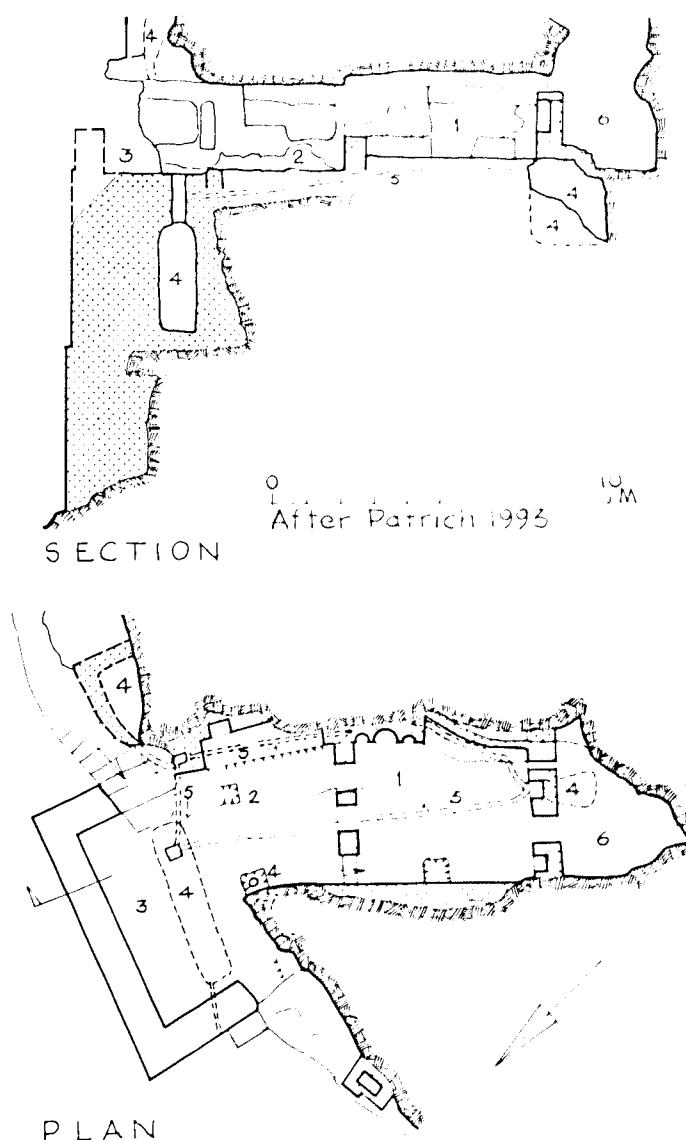
Sources

Har-El 1971: 214–15; Hirschfeld 1990: 32; Hoade 1978: 427; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 254 (no. 70); Mader 1937: 211; Meinardus 1966b: 342–8, figs. 1–2; 1980: 50–6, figs. 1–2; Patrīch 1993b: 241–2, figs.; Prag 1989: 323–4.

No. 219 Hermitage Chapel attributed to St Arcadius 1816.1233

Description

The hermitage attributed to the fifth-century saint, Arcadius, the son of Xenophon (cf. Patrīch 1993b: 240; Meinardus 1980: 59), lies some 200 m south of the monastery. It consists of a natural cave which runs back into a north-facing cliff, some 9 m above the accessible ground surface and 15 m above the wadi bed (fig. 71). In front of it is built a masonry tower-like structure,



71 Monastery of St Sabas (Dair Mar Saba), hermitage of St Arcadius (no. 219): plan and section. Key: 1, chapel; 2, living area; 3, terrace; 4, cisterns; 5, water channels; 6, inner chamber.

containing a cistern and forming a kind of balcony. The cave, some 14 m deep and 5 m wide, is divided internally by cross-walls into three compartments: an outer living cell, a chapel and an inner storage area.

The chapel measured some 4 by 5 m, the natural sides of the cave being straightened where necessary with masonry additions. Towards the north end of the east wall is a rounded altar recess (0.65 m wide), set between smaller rounded niches (0.4 m wide) serving as *prothesis* and *diakonikon*; these are constructed in stone and mud, covered with white plaster. Below them is a

tomb, 2 m long and 0.8 m wide. The interior of the cave was also plastered (Meinardus 1980: 62, fig. 6; Patrich 1993b: 240–1, fig.).

Decoration

Fragmentary remains of paintings of saints, datable to the eleventh or twelfth century, have been identified on the eastern and western walls of the chapel. On the east wall were apparently Sts Sabas, Theodosius and Basil; and another three unidentified saints were depicted on the south wall to the east of the door. Other paintings on the ceiling appear to be of nineteenth-century date (Meinardus 1980: 62–4; Patrich 1993b: 241).

Not visited.

Sources

Hirschfeld 1990: 32; Hoade 1978: 427–8; Mader 1937: 211; Meinardus 1966: 350–6; 1980: 58–64, figs. 4–6; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 253 (no. 69), fig.; Patrich 1993b: 240–1, fig.

ST THEOCTISTUS, Monastery of

Dair Mukallik, Magharat al-Mukallik

No. 220 Monastery Church 1870.1317

History

The foundation of the monastery of Theoctistus is described by Cyril of Scythopolis in his *Life of St Euthymius*. Euthymius and Theoctistus settled in a cave in the Wadi Mukallik in 411, and were later joined by others. The cave containing Euthymius's cell became the church, and a *coenobium* was established on the rock terrace below it. This expanded as a result of the conversion of the Arab shaykh Peter Aspebet and his brother-in-law Maris, or Marinus, who eventually succeeded Theoctistus as superior (466–8). Meanwhile, shortly after 421, Euthymius left the Wadi Mukallik to seek solitude in the plain, where his own laura (**nos. 204–5**), established by 428, became a *coenobium* after his death in 473 (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, VIII–XVI (ed. Schwartz, 15–27; trans. Festugière,

67–81); Chitty 1928: 134–5; 1966: 83–5; Kühnel 1988: 183–4).

Until 485, the two houses remained under a common administration (Chitty 1928: 136–7). At the time of the Persian invasion (613–14), the monastery of Theoctistus seems to have been abandoned, though it was occupied intermittently by hermits during the following centuries. In the late eighth century these included an Egyptian hermit named Christopher, who is mentioned in the *Life of St Stephen the Sabaite* (Chitty 1928: 137; cf. Meinardus 1980: 33; Kühnel 1988: 184).

In 1106–8, the Russian abbot Daniel, speaking of the monastery of St Euthymius (**no. 204–5**), writes:

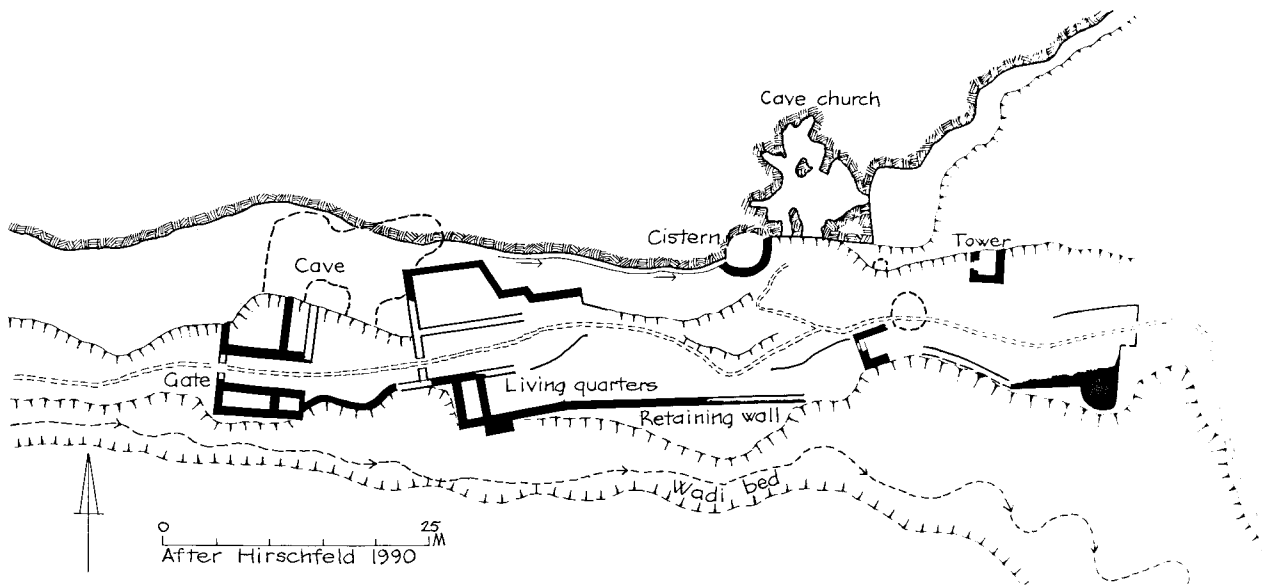
and near by stood the monastery of St Theoctistus at the foot of the mountain to the south of the monastery of St Euthymius; but all this is now destroyed by the pagans. (ch. xxxix (trans. Ryan, 141))

The monastery is not mentioned in any Western sources in this period, though R. Röhrich has suggested identifying it with the *casale* of *Micheel*, which together with another called *Delescu* (possibly Dair as-Suq: Grid ref. 174.127) lay on the right-hand side of the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan and was granted to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat in or before 1114 by Pisellus, viscount of Jerusalem (Köhler, *Chartes*, 9, no. 5; *RRH Ad*, 5, no. 76a (cf. n.1); cf. Delaborde, 46, no. 18 (1130); *RRH*, 33, no. 134 (1130)). An alternative site, however, is Tall Muhallal, which lies on the edge of the plain of Jericho between the road and the Wadi Mukallik (Grid ref. 1924.1321; cf. Palestine 1948: 191).

The site of Dair Mukallik was investigated in the 1870s by the Survey of Western Palestine (Drake 1874: 72–3; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 198–9), and later by T. Fast (1913). The cave-church was subsequently planned and photographed by the Rev. D.J. Chitty in a series of visits between March and July 1927 (Chitty 1928: 139–52, pls. I–VII). More recently surveys of the paintings have been made by G. Kühnel (1984a; 1988: 181–91, figs. 125–30, pls. LXII–LXXI) and of the epigraphy by J. Patrich and L. di Segni (1987). The monastery below the cave-church was resurveyed by Y. Hirschfeld in 1987 (Hirschfeld 1989a: 99–100, figs. 85–6; 1990: 12–13, figs. 11–13; 1992a: 34–6, figs. 13–14).

Description

The monastery lies 6.5 km east of that of St Euthymius, on the northern side of the Wadi Mukallik (fig. 72). In view of the difficulty of access, the following description of the cave-church is based largely on that of the Rev. Chitty (1928: 139–46).



72 Monastery of St Theoctistus (Dair Mukallik): site plan showing location of cave-church (no. 220).

The entrance to the cave is located in a sheer rock cliff, 7 m above the nearest accessible point below and 9 m below the summit. Although access would have been difficult from the start, it seems that during the period of occupation of the monastery and as late as the twelfth century it was facilitated by a masonry structure built against the cliff; but this and parts of the cliff itself have since fallen away (Chitty 1928: 139–40).

Access to the cave is from an external ledge on the south, in which there is the mouth to a cistern (see fig. 73.1). A passage (2) leads north into the rock, with two branches diverging to the west. This is separated from the church itself (3) by a partition wall, which did not reach the ceiling and appears to have had a door at its north end, where the wall is missing. The church has an east-facing apse, partly natural rock and partly built, 2.45 m wide and 3.5 m high. In the masonry section of the apse on the north-east side is an apsed recess, 40 cm above the floor and 1.9 m high, which may have been either a table of *prothesis* or a window but was subsequently blocked and painted over. A solid plastered screen extended in front of the apse, defining the presbytery, and surviving 46 cm high on the north; the evidence of its points of abutment against the sides of the apse, however, shows that it was originally 0.91–1.07 m high and capped by a cornice. No remains of an altar survive. The ceiling on the western side of the church is higher than the rest; and there is a suggestion that there may have been an upper floor. North of the apse the ceiling is lower. On the east is a window, and on the north a cupboard in a niche. The south side of the cave church was closed by a wall, which overlay an

earlier mosaic. At its west end was a door, 0.53 m wide, opening on to the external ledge.

On the north side of the church is a small chamber (4), partly rock-cut but with a masonry wall closing its west side. This was entered through a low square-headed doorway from the church. On the west side of the entrance passage is a still smaller chamber (5) with a low wall containing a door on the east side and another in the rock on the north. A vertical shaft or funnel (6) in the roof of the passage originally gave access to another cave at a higher level.

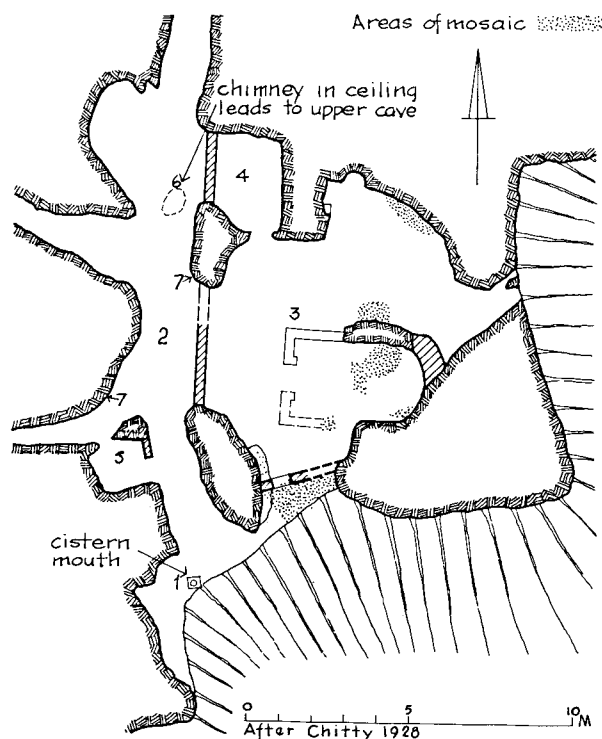
Later investigators note the entrances to two rock-cut burial rooms (7) opening from the passage, and three other graves below the floor on the north side of the church (Kühnel 1988: 185, fig. 128; Meinardus 1980: fig. p. 34).

An upper level of caves is also visible in the cliff-face, below a rock overhang. The surviving remains include two rounded-arched niches decorated with paintings, which are interpreted as the altar table and table of *prothesis* of another chapel. This would presumably have been accessible from the masonry structure that was formerly built against the cliff face (Chitty 1928: 142–3; Kühnel (G) 1988: 186, pls. LXII, LXVIII–LXXI).

Decoration and Furnishings

Remains of floor mosaics surviving in the church appear to date from the earliest phase, as they are overlain by later features such as the south wall (Chitty 1928: 141, 144, 145, figs. 12–13).

The wall paintings in the church and passage are



73 Monastery of St Theoctistus (Dair Mukallik), cave-church (no. 220): plan.

described and discussed by Chitty (1928: 146–51, figs. 3–9) and Kühnel; the latter has also now redated them to the later twelfth century, though noting that earlier paintings often survive beneath them (1988: 185–91, pls. LXIII–LXXI, figs. 129–30). The apse in the church was decorated with a representation of the Ascension, with the enthroned Christ being borne aloft by four flying angels above the heads of twelve apostles and two other figures, probably the Virgin Mary and St Theoctistus. Here the apostles are painted over an earlier similar representation. On the wall to the right of the apse, Christ is shown flanked by the archangels Michael and Gabriel and by the desert saints Sabas and Gerasimus.

The larger niche at the higher level contains a representation of the crucified Christ, flanked by Mary and John, with on the right side the turbaned John of Damascus and on the left another, unidentified saint. The smaller *prothesis* niche to the left contains a representation of St Mary *Platytera*, illustrating the mystery of the Incarnation. In the spandrel between the two niches is a medallion containing the head of Christ-Emmanuel; and a saint, possibly Euthymius, is shown to the left. On the left side wall of the chapel are fragmentary remains of unfinished paintings of four saints.

Associated Buildings

The monastery occupies a rocky shelf on the north side of Wadi Mukallik gorge, extending some 100 m in length and 2–15 m in width and enlarged by retaining walls (fig. 72). The main gate was in a wall built across the western side of the shelf, and consisted of a two-storey gatehouse with a gate flanked by two rooms. There was also a smaller gatehouse at the eastern end. At the east end of the site a two-storey medieval tower, measuring 3 m square with groin-vaulted floors, was built against the foot of the cliff (Hirschfeld 1989a: 99–100, figs. 85–6; 1990: 12–13, figs. 11, 13; 1992a: 34–6, figs. 13–14; Chitty 1928: 140, fig. 1).

Remains of other cells, including a cave-chapel, exist higher up the wadi, though they do not appear to have been in use in the Crusader period (Chitty 1928: 140; Patrich 1985; 1988).

Epigraphy

Eight legible *graffiti* of pilgrims are recorded among the inscriptions in the cave church (Patrich and di Segni 1987). The name of the Romanian monk Teofan is also painted on the west wall of the church, with the date 1 September 1884 (Chitty 1928: 151; Kühnel 1988: 186, fig. 130).

Discussion

Although the only written reference to the monastery of St Theoctistus in the twelfth century, that by Abbot Daniel in 1106–8, states that it was destroyed, the evidence of the wall paintings demonstrates that by the latter part of the century it had been reoccupied by a Greek Orthodox community. As G. Kühnel remarks, however, it is unlikely that the monks remained long after 1187; and indeed the fact that the decoration of the upper chapel was left incomplete may suggest a sudden abandonment (1988: 191).

Not visited.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), xxxix (trans. Ryan, 141; de Khitrowo, 35).

Bagatti 1971d: 105; Blomme and Nodet 1979; Chitty 1928: 1929a; 1929b; 1966: 83–5, 94–5, 106, pl. 2; Compagnoni 1978: 35–43, pl. xxxiv; Conder and Kitchen 1881: III, 198–9; Drake 1874: 72–3; Fast 1913; Féderlin 1894; Folda 1977: 261n.; Furrer 1880: 234; Génier 1909; Gil 1992: 447; Hirschfeld 1989a: 99–100, figs. 85–6; 1990: 12–13 (no. 4), figs. 11–13; 1992a: 12, 34–6, 49, 69, 74, 76, 80, 81, 89.

113, 117–18, 121–4, 128, 133, 134, 139, 148, 169, 173, 191, 196, 199, 204, 211–12, figs. 13–14, 58; 1993: 151, fig.; Hoade 1978: 431; Kühnel (B) 1994: 159; Kühnel (G) 1984a; 1988: 181–91, figs. 125–30, pls. LXII–LXXI; Leclercq 1929: 1986–8; Liguori 1936: 36–8; Mader 1937: 44–6; Mamalades 1961: 64–5; Mann 1974; Marti 1880: 17–19; Meinardus 1965: 247–50; 1980: 31–5; Ovadiah 1970: 47–8 (no. 34), pl. 17; Palestine 1929: 32; 1948: 190; Patrich 1985; 1987; 1988a: 68, fig. 28; Patrich and di Segni 1987; Prag 1989: 311; Sion 1993: 50, fig. 58; Tobler 1853: II, 970; Vailhé 1898b; 1900b: 285–6; Wilson 1880a: I, 179; 1880b: III, 59.

ST THEODOSIUS, Monastery of

Dair Dawsi, Dair Ibn 'Ubaid; Cr. monasterium S. Theodosii Cenobiarchae de Berria/de Laberia; Gk. monē tou hosiou . . . Theodosiou tou Koinobiarchou; Med. Ar. Dayr al-Dawākīs

No. 221 Monastery Church of St Mary 1768.1254

History

Theodosius (414–529) arrived in Palestine from Cappadocia in 450, and after serving in the monasteries of the Tower of David and the Kathisma (al-Qadismu, **no. 178**), he retired in 479 to a cave east of Bethlehem that was supposed to have been the one in which the Three Wise Men had hidden as they returned to their own country (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Theodosii*, I–II (ed. Schwartz, 236–7; trans. Festugière, 57–9); Theodore of Petra, *Vita S. Theodosii*, IV–VII (ed. Usener, 12–20; trans. Festugière, 108–13); Chitty 1966: 93–4, 108–9; Hirschfeld 1990: 26). By the time of his death, the monastery that developed there had expanded to number 400 monks. In addition to the main church, there were subsidiary chapels in which the Armenians and Bessi (Slavs) respectively would perform the office and liturgy of the catechumens in their own tongue, and a 'monastery within a monastery' for ascetics who had become vexed by devils (Theodore of Petra, *Vita S. Theodosii*, XIII–XVIII (ed. Usener, 33–6, 40–8; trans. Festugière, 120–1, 124–9); Chitty 1966: 109; Hoade 1978: 421, 423).

In 492, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Sallust, appointed Theodosius as archimandrite with diocesan responsi-

bility for all the *coenobia* of the Judaeian wilderness (Cyril, *Vita S. Theodosii*, IV (ed. Schwartz, 238–9; trans. Festugière, 60); Chitty 1966: 109–10; Hirschfeld 1992a: 14); for this reason the monastery came to be known in later times as 'the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch'. When Theodosius died, on 11 January 529, he had been preceded by 693 monks (Theodore of Petra, *Vita S. Theodosii*, XVIII (ed. Usener, 46; trans. Festugière, 128); Hirschfeld 1992: 135). He was laid to rest in the cave of the Wise Men (Weigand 1920: 168–9).

Theodosius was succeeded by Sophronius, an Armenian whose nephew, Mamas, made a substantial gift of money that enabled him to enlarge the monastery and build a new church of the Virgin Mary before his death in 542 (Cyril, *Vita S. Theodosii*, V (ed. Schwartz, 240–41; trans. Festugière, 61–2); Hirschfeld 1992: 102; Weigand 1920: 169; Hoade 1978: 423). A later abbot, Modestus, was *locum tenens* for the exiled patriarch, Zacharias, after the Persian occupation of Palestine in 614, and was responsible for the subsequent rebuilding of Jerusalem's churches (cf. Gil 1992: 6–7). He was succeeded by another Sophronius, who had earlier served at the monastery and in 619 (or possibly 634) returned from the West with the body of John Moschus, which he laid to rest in the cave of the Wise Men (Chitty 1966: 160; Gil 1992: 7). As patriarch it was Sophronius who surrendered Jerusalem to the Arabs in 638, dying on 11 March of the same year (Gil 1992: 51–2).

Seventy monks are recorded at the monastery in the early years of the ninth century by the *Commematorium de Casis Dei* (c.808). Somewhat curiously, the only tomb to be mentioned is that of Theodosius's disciple, Basil. The same source also states, however, that Saracen brigands had burnt the monastery, killing many monks while others fled, and that two churches dependent on the monastery had also been destroyed (ch. xxxii (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 303; trans. Wilkinson, 137); Vailhé 1900a: 23; Gil 1992: 474). According to Theophanes it was abandoned in 809 (ann. 6301 (ed. de Boor, 484); Gil 1992: 474–5), but if so it cannot have remained so for long, for a number of manuscripts are known to have been produced there between the ninth and twelfth centuries, one of them being dated 1025 (Papadopoulos-Kerameos 1891b: II, 16, 19; Weigand 1920: 169).

In 1106–8, the monastery was visited by the Russian Abbot Daniel:

This monastery was (*var.*: is) on a hill and surrounded by a wall and could be seen from Jerusalem. There is a great cave here in the middle of the monastery and in this cave the Magi passed the night when they were avoiding Herod. Now St Theodosius lies here and many holy fathers; in the same cave

lie the mother of St Saba and the mother of St Theodosius. (ch. xxxvii (trans. Ryan, 139))

Daniel's use of the past tense in his description of all but the cave may perhaps be indicative of destruction or abandonment of the buildings, though this is not explicitly stated.

The renown of the monastery as a burial place for holy women, as well as men, is also underlined by the Life of St Euphrosina, daughter of George Vseslavich, prince of Polotsk, who undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1173 and died there in the so-called Russian convent near to the church of the Holy Virgin; the latter was probably the church of the *Spoudē* that is also described by Daniel (ch. xiii (trans. Ryan, 130); see Vol. III, Jerusalem, q.v.). The Life tells us that when Euphrosina knew that death was approaching,

She sent to the laura of St Sabas to beg the archimandrite and the confraternity to give her a place in which to be buried within their convent. They refused, saying, 'Our holy father Sabas commanded us never to bury any woman in his convent. There is the convent of the Holy Virgin of Theodosius, where many holy women lie. There are buried the mother of St Sabas, the mother of St Theodosius, and the mothers of Sts Anargyres, Theodosia, and many others; it is there that it would be appropriate for the pious Euphrosina to be buried too'. After hearing this, the saint praised God that her body would lie with the relics of the holy women and she sent a messenger to the convent of St Theodosius. The monks indicated a place of burial in the narthex of the church and the tomb of the saint was prepared. And she was sick for twenty-four days and, as her end was approaching, she called a priest, received the sacrament of the Eucharist and while praying gave up her holy soul into the hands of God on the 23rd of May. She was interred with dignity in the convent of St Theodosius, in the narthex of the church of the Holy Virgin. ('Pèlerinage . . . de l'abbesse Euphrosine' (trans. de Khitrowo, 34–5))

Subsequently it seems that her body was translated to Kiev (de Khitrowo 1895: 32).

In 1185, the Greek pilgrim John Phocas came to the monastery of St Theodosius the Coenobiarch:

This monastery is encircled by various towers, and about an arrow-shot in front of it is the vaulted chamber (*kamara*) in which, as we read in his Life [Theodore of Petra, *Vita S. Theodosii*, xii (ed. Usener, 30–2; trans. Festugière, 118–19); cf. Chitty 1966: 109], extinguished coals were lighted in the saint's hand. In the midst of the monastery, on a rising ground, stands the church, which has a circular roof; and beneath it is a cave, in which is the tomb of the saint, and adjoining it different chambers, in which lie the relics of great saints. When you descend the steps into this cave you will find on the side of it the mouth of another cave, into which the saint's pupil, Basil, entered and, at the saint's bidding, chose his own tomb, as we are told in the Lives of the Fathers [Theodore of Petra, *Vita S. Theodosii*, viii–ix (ed. Usener, 22–4; trans. Festugière, 113–15)], lay dead therein and afterwards

for forty days at the time of service was seen singing hymns together with the saint and the brethren. (ch. xvii (PG, cxxxiii, 948–9; trans. adapted here from PPTS, v, 24–5))

At a later point Phocas also mentions that the cave of the Wise Men lay within the monastery (ch. xxviii (PG, cxxxiii, 960; PPTS, v, 33)).

An indication of the monastery's possessions in the twelfth century is given by two acts issued by Pope Honorius III between 1216 and 1218 (on its earlier endowments, see Hirschfeld 1992a: 103–4). The first, addressed to 'Nicolas, abbot of the monastery of St Theodosius the Cenobiarch of *Laberia*' (or *Berria*) on 25 October 1216 and reissued on 29 January 1218, confirmed the monastery's privileges and possessions, which included, besides various commercial and agricultural properties: churches in Jerusalem (q.v.) and Jubail, and another near Jaffa (no. 252); hospitals in Jerusalem (q.v.), Ascalon (no. 20) and Jaffa (no. 120); two ships operating from Jaffa; and numerous possessions in Cyprus (*Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 1–17, no. 1; *RRH*, 243, no. 909; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, 13, no. 72 (1216); 175–6, no. 1037 (1218)). The second act, issued on 12 January 1218, absolved the monastery from the payment of tithes (*Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 40–1, no. 22; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, no. 1009)).

In the fourteenth century the monastery appears to have been still flourishing (Perdicas of Ephesus c.1350: 969; Weigand 1920: 170). In his *Masālik al-Absār*, published in 1347, the Damascene writer Ibn Faḍlallāh, otherwise known as al-'Umārī, refers to it by the name of *Dayr al-Dawākīs* and describes it as:

a monastery of good construction, very famous among the Christians. I do not know its founder; I have not even found mention of his name, nor the reason why it bears this name. But it has a pious foundation which yields many serviceable revenues to the monks who live in it. I have been there many times during my travels. Its monks welcomed me, offering me what they have to hand. (Marmardji 1950: 73)

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was better informed about the monastery's history, though he gives no description (Marmardji 1951: 73–4). A Slav pilgrim of c.1360 also mentions the tombs of the mothers of St Sabas and St Antony lying near that of St Theodosius (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 392).

By the turn of the century, however, the monastery was in ruins (Grethenios c.1400: 188). A fifteenth-century Cretan source relates that it was in the hands of Muslims, who were stalling cattle in it, while in 1481 Daniel of Smyrna describes the monastery as ruined and the vaulting of the church overthrown (Weigand 1920: 170).

The Muslim Arabs, who continued to occupy the ruins until the final decade of the nineteenth century, were of the Ibn 'Ubaid tribe, from which the site acquired its name, Dair Ibn 'Ubaid (Guérin 1868: III, 88–9; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 109, 111; Weigand 1920: 170). When Guérin visited the site, he thought that he could make out the remains of two churches:

The first, which is today transformed into a threshing floor, was paved with large cubes of mosaic, as is proved by the numerous examples still scattered on the ground. This building was, for the rest, almost completely razed. Rectangular in plan, it was aligned east–west.

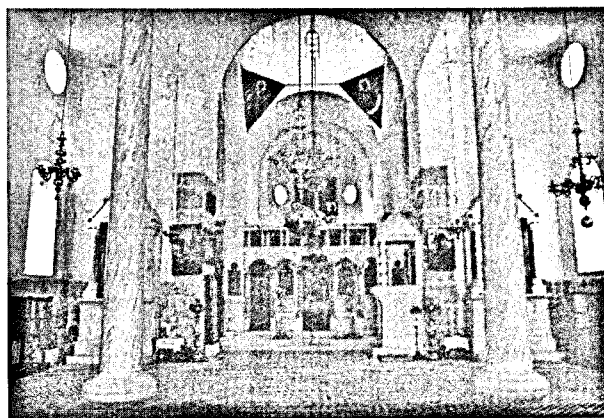
The second church, also utterly ruined though less completely destroyed, enclosed a crypt, now half-buried under piles of rubbish. This crypt, if one must believe an extremely old tradition, would originally have been a natural cave in which the Wise Men took refuge . . . (1868: III, 89)

The site was planned by Conrad Schick in 1877, who identified only one church, of trefoil plan, overlying the main inner part of the cave complex (Marti 1880: 34–7, pl. II). In 1881, however, Photios Alexandrides, a monk of the monastery of the Holy Cross (no. 145), obtained part of the Bedouin village, including the cave of the Wise Men, and installed two monks from the monastery of St Sabas (no. 216–17) as guardians. In due course, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate purchased the entire site, and on 11 January 1896 the foundation stone of a new monastery was laid by Patriarch Gerasimus I (Weigand 1920: 170). Unfortunately no attempt was made to study or record the remains of the earlier buildings as these works proceeded, though some Western visitors, including Fr Germer-Durand (1896: 1897), Fr H. Vincent (Vincent and Abel 1914b: 28–9, fig. 4) and Conrad Schick (1899: 36–7, photo.), did manage to observe and record something of what was being destroyed (cf. Weigand 1920: 171–2; Séjourné 1897: 131). Work on the church seems to have halted at or before the First World War, and it was apparently at this time, to judge from his photographs, that E. Weigand visited the site, though the printing of his article discussing the church was delayed until 1920.

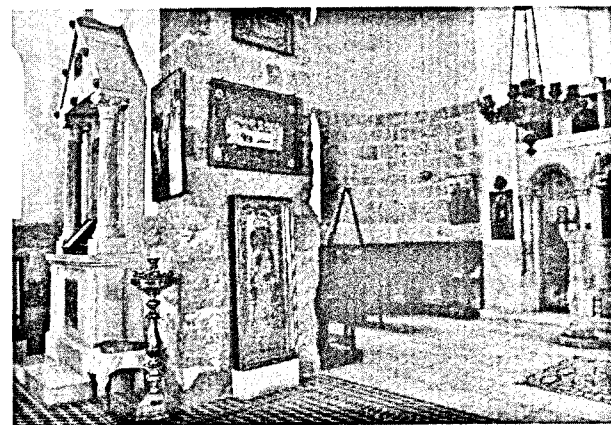
The church was completed in 1952 and on 28 October 1955 was consecrated by Archbishop Bartholomew Kyriakidos of Madaba (see epigraphy below); a bell-tower was added by Patriarch Benedictos (1957–80) (Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 57–8).

Description and Discussion

The present church consists of a rectangular nave, measuring internally some 12.1 by 11.4 m, to which there is attached an eastern limb laid out to a trefoil plan



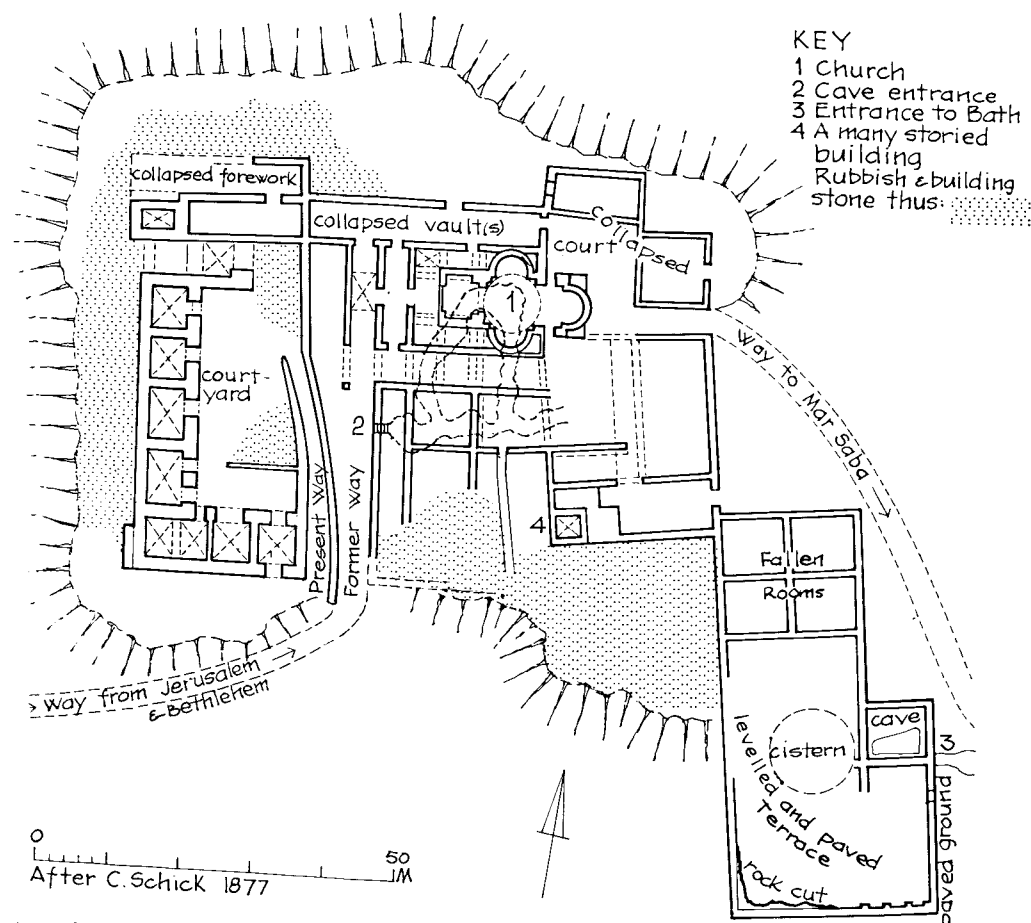
CXLVII Monastery of St Theodosius, church of St Mary (no. 221): interior looking east.



CXLVIII Monastery of St Theodosius, church of St Mary (no. 221): north side of trefoil-plan east end.

(pls. CXLVII–CXLVIII), the main east-facing apse being flanked to north and south by rectangular sacristies (for the plan, see Weigand 1920: fig. 2). Here and there remains of ancient masonry may be seen in the lower courses of the building, surviving up to four courses in some places. However, although this serves to demonstrate that the church rests on the foundations of an earlier structure, it remains uncertain precisely to what extend the present ground plan is a faithful restoration of the original.

Descriptions and plans of the building made before reconstruction started in 1896 may be expected to offer some help, though interpretation of this evidence is problematical. The starting point for any discussion must be the plan made by Conrad Schick in 1877 (Marti 1880: pl. II; here reproduced as fig. 74). This shows the whole site as it appeared before any clearance had taken place; all visible masonry is shown, but without regard



74 Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan after C. Schick (1877), showing the location of the church (no. 221).

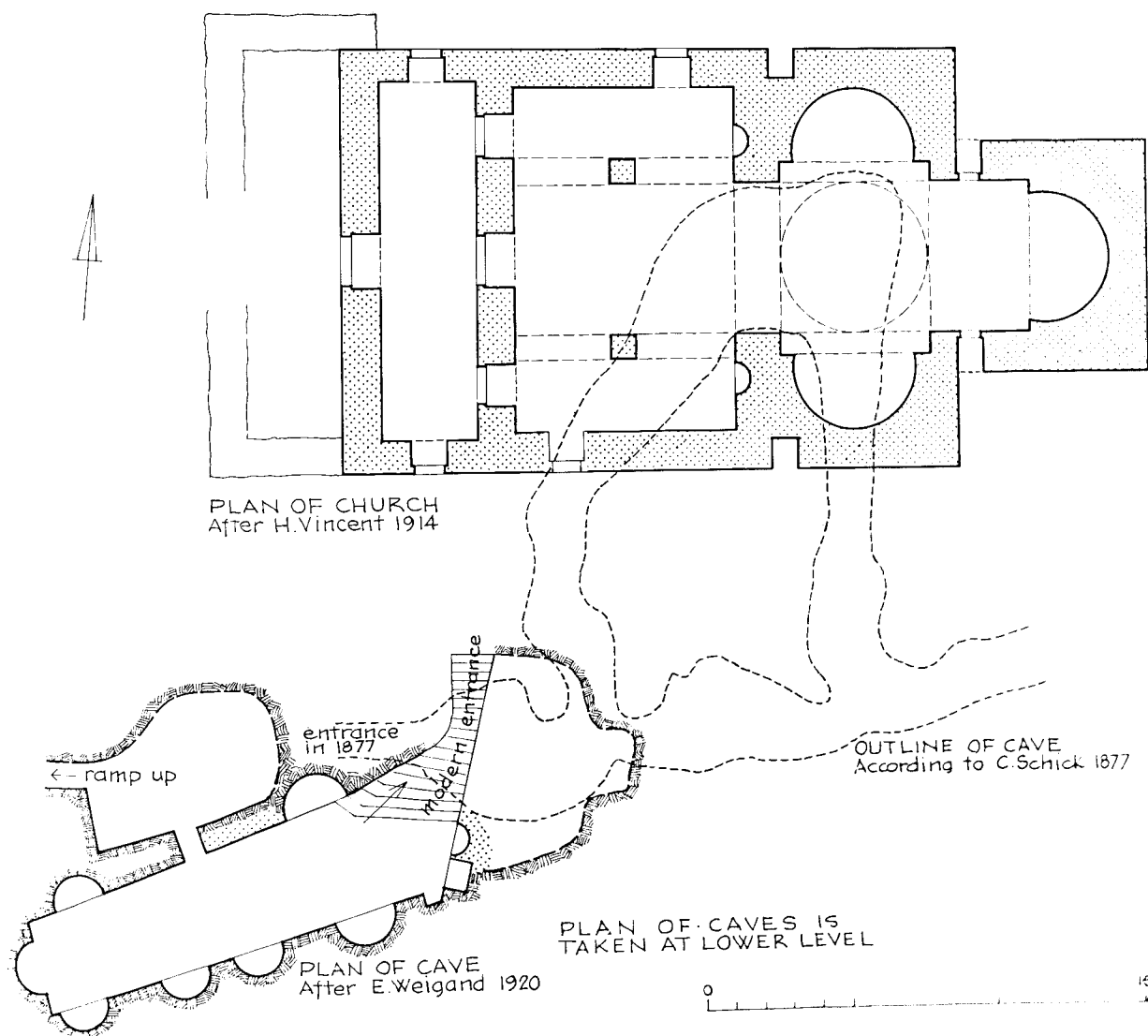
to date or period. Despite the fact that it is published at a relatively small size and with a faulty scale, the plan of the church is easily recognizable. However, for the reasons just advanced, we must assume that the church is represented here, albeit in ruins, in the form that it would have had at the time of its final abandonment around 1400.

The date of H. Vincent's survey is not known. However, it appears to have been carried out after some of the features recorded by Schick had been cleared away by the Greeks, but before work on the new building had advanced very far. The resulting drawing was published in 1914 in Fr Vincent and Fr Abel's book on the church of Bethlehem (Vincent and Abel 1914b: 28-9, fig. 4). Little further description was given in the text, and none appears to have been published elsewhere. None the less, the fact that the drawing is annotated with precise measurements, where these were recorded (albeit the principal longitudinal one had to be paced out), suggests that the plan is as accurate as it was possible to produce under what were probably far from ideal surveying conditions. Indeed, in so far as it

has been possible to check the measurements, they have been found to be perfectly correct. Vincent dates the church whose remains he recorded to the fifth century, though Weigand (1920: 176) and others (Monneret de Villard 1925: I, 59; Ovadia 1970: 46-7, no. 3; V. Corbo, cited in Compagnoni 1978: 111-12) are more likely to be correct in regarding them as belonging to the church of the Theotokos, erected by Sophronius between 529 and 543.

Weigand evidently carried out his survey before the publication of Vincent's plan, which he dismisses for no good reason (1920: 171 n.1), but at a time when the building of the new church had reached almost to the external wall-heads. His published plan and description (1920: 174-6, fig. 2) are therefore in effect a plan and description of the rebuilt church, not of the ancient one, and his naïve assumption that the modern Greek builders faithfully replicated what they found may be shown to be false simply by comparing his plan with those of Schick and Vincent.

We may therefore conclude that while Vincent's plan is likely to be more reliable than the other two, it



75 Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan of the sixth-century church (no. 221) and cave complex.

represents the foundations of the sixth-century church that was revealed when all the later additions had been removed. Weigand's plan adds nothing to our understanding of either the sixth-century or the medieval church; but Schick's contains important information regarding the modifications made to the sixth-century church before its final abandonment around 1400.

The sixth-century church recorded by Vincent had overall dimensions of 27.5 by 14.2 m (see fig. 75). A single door on the west opened into a narthex, 3.2 m wide, running the width of the building and with doors 1 m wide at its north and south ends. From it three doors opened eastward into the nave, which measured internally 7.62 m east-west by 11.38 m north-south. This was divided internally into a central nave, 5 m

wide, and two aisles, 2.28 m (north) and 2.4 m (south) wide respectively, by two rectangular piers (0.85 by 0.94/0.96 m), which probably represented the responds for masonry arcades supporting a clearstorey; the roof of the nave and aisles is most likely to have been of timber, though a light form of vaulting cannot be excluded. Each aisle terminated on the east with a semi-circular niche, 1 m wide, set curiously off-centre. The north aisle also had a door (1 m wide) in its east bay, and the south one a door inserted in a secondary period in its west bay.

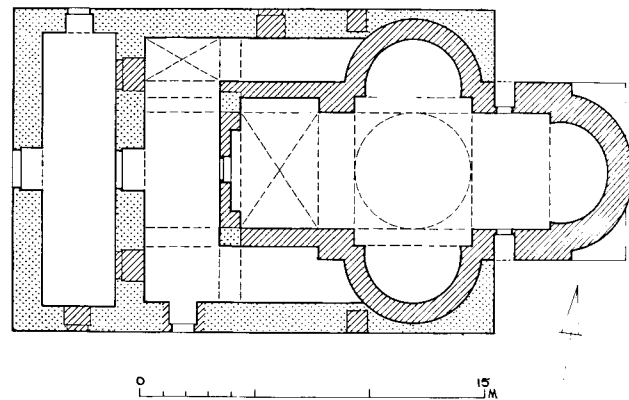
The central nave led directly into the trefoil-planned eastern limb of the church. This consisted of a space 10.15 m long and 5 m wide, which terminated on the east with a semi-circular apse, 4.28 m wide and 2.6 m deep, and was flanked to north and south by recessed

semi-circular transepts, 4.2 m wide and 2.6 m deep. The crossing area, being almost exactly square, seems likely to have been covered by a dome, probably of masonry and supported on pendentives. Since the semi-domes of the apse and transepts would also doubtless have been of masonry, it seems quite possible that the rest of the roofing of the eastern limb would have been in masonry too. This would also help to explain the heavy external buttressing enclosing the hemi-cycles of the apse and transepts. Two narrow doors (some 0.7 m wide, widening into a passage 0.8 m wide) in the north and south walls of the presbytery respectively, just in front of the apse, may possibly, as Weigand argues (1920: 171 n.1), have opened into sacristies (*prothesis* and *diaconicon*). However, although these have been restored in the modern building, there is no evidence for them in the drawings of either Vincent or Schick.

How long the building that Vincent recorded survived unaltered it is not possible to say. The church planned by Schick, however, shows significant differences which seem likely to have been the result of subsequent reconstruction, over and within the remains of the earlier building. These differences may be highlighted by overlaying Vincent's plan with that of Schick (see fig. 76).

Because of the somewhat schematic nature of Schick's plan, the accuracy of the details produced by such an exercise cannot be guaranteed. None the less, it is clear that the plan of the eastern limb of the later church was virtually identical to that of the sixth-century church, though to what extent the standing structure had survived unaltered cannot of course be known. Although Schick indicates a dome over the crossing, it seems unlikely, to judge from Guérin's description (1868: III, 89), that it was still standing in 1877. More significant is Schick's representation of the nave, which was now reduced in size to take in no more than the eastern bay of the earlier church's central nave. Outside this, Schick indicates what appear to be a number of transverse arches and vaults, enclosing the space between the new nave wall and the wall of the earlier church.

The plan of the later church as represented by Schick is so like that of the twelfth-century church of al-Khidr in at-Taiyiba (no. 250), which was similarly built within the shell of an earlier, sixth-century church, that we should have little hesitation in attributing it too to the twelfth century. In both cases, the resultant plan consisted of a single-naved church of three bays, the central bay being square, covered by a dome and flanked to north and south by semi-circular transepts, while the other bays were narrower and the east end terminated in a semi-circular apse. Round about both churches, other rooms and enclosed spaces were adapted, making



76 Monastery of St Theodosius (Dair Dausi): plan of the twelfth-century church (no. 221), hypothetical reconstruction.

use of the foundations or standing walls of the earlier buildings; some of these may perhaps have represented the narthex and 'various chambers' adjoining the church that Phocas indicates were used for burials in the twelfth century (see above).

Decoration and Furnishing

In three places traces of earlier flooring may be viewed beneath the floor of the present church. In the nave the floor was of crude mosaic, consisting of largish white cubes laid in a disorderly fashion with an occasional irregular piece of coloured marble; such flooring is typical of the twelfth century. In the area of the crossing, just in front of the modern *iconostasis*, there is also exposed an area of *opus sectile* paving, though it is not certain whether the pieces are in their original positions.

Crypt

The description of the monastery by John Phocas in 1185 suggests that the cave in which St Theodosius was buried lay beneath the church and that at least one other burial cave led off from it. Although he mentions the steps leading down into the cave, however, he does not specify where they were. Conrad Schick indicates on his plan of 1877 a major cavern beneath the crossing of the church, which might well correspond to the principal cave mentioned by Phocas (see figs. 74–5). It could be reached through either of two alternative subterranean galleries, which ran south and south-west from it to join another gallery running east–west and entered from a point some 9 m south of the west front of the sixth-century narthex.

Weigand, who had difficulty in believing that anyone

could have entered the cave before the rubbish that partially filled it had been removed, dismissed Schick's plan as based on little or no evidence, pointing out that in his time (c.1914) there was in any case a cistern under the church (1920: 172). The objection is self-evidently fatuous, displaying once again Weigand's ill-founded faith in the competence of the Greek rebuilders of 1896 onwards to conserve things as they found them. Weigand's own plan of the cave demonstrates that after excavating the complex, or perhaps only part of it, the Greeks had in fact walled off the part of it shown on Schick's plan. At the same time, to the west of the entrance, they opened up another gallery that had not been known to Schick (Germer-Durand 1896; 1897). This they identified as the cave of the Wise Men, containing the tomb of St Theodosius. This is the cave shown to visitors today (for full description, see Weigand 1920: 172–4, fig. 1).

The cave is entered down a flight of modern steps from the north-east. It is partly rock-cut, partly built, and extends for 13.6 by 3.6/3.8 m. The east wall is masonry, containing an altar recess and a rounded niche or *prothesis*. Seven tombs are set around the other sides in rounded niches, covered by *arcosolia*. Proceeding clockwise from the altar, these are identified as those of: St Theodosius; St Sophronius; John Moschus (Weigand says St Kopsis), whose niche at one time bore a fragmentary painting of a nimbed male figure holding a book in his left hand, surmounted by a small holy figure; Eulogia, the mother of Theodosius; St Sophia, the mother of St Sabas; and Xenophon and his wife. Other tombs lie beneath the flagged floor, and in an adjoining tomb chamber accessible on the south. To the north, a door leads into another smaller cave, from which a ramped passage ascends to the surface towards the west. Three of the tombs (Theodosius, Moschus and Sophia) contain marble sarcophagi, datable perhaps to the sixth century or later, that were found in the cave when it was excavated (Germer-Durand 1897: 76–7; Weigand 1920: 209–14, figs. 4–6). Weigand's plan shows the natural cave extending a little way east of the modern blocking wall, though it is clear that he did not enter it. Without further investigation of the rest of the caves, it is difficult to tell on what basis the present identification of the tombs has been made, nor how this cave relates to the remainder of what seems to have been an extensive subterranean complex.

Secondary Church (?)

Guérin claimed to have seen the remains of two churches (1868: III, 89), though from his description it

is hard to tell which was the authenticated trefoil-planned one, let alone where or what the other might have been. Weigand recorded above the cave that he surveyed some remains of ancient walls, including what might possibly have been an apse set immediately above the altar in the cave beneath (1920: 173–4, fig. 1). It might seem tempting to identify this with either Theodosius's church that was replaced by Sophronius's, or as a cemetery chapel associated with the burial cave below it (e.g. Hirschfeld 1992a: fig. 25, which shows a chapel over the cave, but in the wrong position). The remains visible today, however, bear no resemblance to a church; and even if a church had existed in such a position, it would have disappeared by the time that the structures shown on Schick's plan came to be built. If there ever was a church or chapel here, which may be doubted, it is therefore unlikely that it existed at the time of the Crusader Kingdom.

Associated Buildings

As has been remarked above, the plan of the monastery made by Schick represents a palimpsest of structures of different periods, ranging from the sixth century to the late nineteenth. As the masonry is undifferentiated as to character or period, it is almost impossible to interpret the plan, save for saying that the heavy vaulted structures set around a courtyard to the west of the church seem likely to be medieval or later, while most of the other buildings, having thinner walls intended no doubt to support timber floors and roofs, are more likely to be fifth or sixth century.

Some 800 m south-east of the monastery stands a masonry-built cistern, measuring 30 by 14 m, and 8.5 m deep, with a capacity of 4,000 m³ (Guérin 1868: III, 91; Hirschfeld 1989a: 101–3, figs. 89–90; 1992a: 159–61, fig. 85).

Epigraphy

An inscription above the west door of the church records the dedication of the rebuilt structure by Archbishop Bartholomew Kyriakidos of Madaba on 28 October 1955.

Visited 25.5.79, 4.9.81, 21.10.81.

Sources

Anon Graecus (1187–) (PG, cxxxiii, 989); Daniel (1106–8), xxxvii (trans. Ryan, 139; de Khitrowo, 33); Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, i, 13, no. 72 (1216); no. 1009 (1218); 175–6, no. 1037 (1218)); 'Pèlerinage ... de

l'abbesse Euphrosine' (1173) (trans. de Khitrowo, 34–5); Phocas (1185), xvii, xxviii (PG, cxxxiii, 948–9, 960; *PPTS*, v, 24–5, 33; trans. Wilkinson, 327–8, 334); *Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, iii, 1–17, no. 1 (1216, 1218); 40–1, no. 22 (1218); *RRH*, 243, no. 909 (1216, 1218).

Bagatti 1969c; 1971d: 101–2, 105, fig. 25; Baldi 1973: 139; Benvenisti 1970: 365–6; Charbel 1975; Chitty 1966: 93–4, 109–10, 125, 144, 150, 155, 160, 165–6; Compagnoni 1978: 109–15, pls. ciii–cvi; Conder and Kitchener 1881: iii, 109, 111; Crowfoot 1941: 72; Germer-Durand 1896; 1897; Gil 1992: 6–7, 433, 446, 474–5; Grethenios c.1400: 188; Guérin 1868: iii, 88–91; Hamilton 1980: 166–7; Hirschfeld 1989a: 101–2, figs. 89–90; 1990: 26–8 (no. 14), figs. 30–2; 1992a: 13–15, 33, 49, 59–60, 73, 78, 85, 102, 112, 131, 135, 159–61, 248–9, figs. 12, 25, 84; 1993: 151, fig.; Hoade 1946: 396–7; 1978: 423–4; Ignatius of Smolensk 1405: 152; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 57–8, pl.; Koikylides 1901; Marmardji 1951: 73–4; Marti 1880: 34–7, pl. ii; Meinardus 1966c: 49; Meistermann 1936: 462–3; Monneret de Villard 1925: i, 59; Moore 1961: 43, 45; Ovadia 1970: 46–7 (no. 32), pl. 16; Palestine 1929: 87; 1948: 171; Prag 1989: 321; Pringle 1982b: 11, 28 (no. 14), fig. 1.10; Rey 1883: 279; Richard 1982: 91; Röhricht 1887b: 238; Schick 1899: 36–7, photo.; Séjourné 1897: 131; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 392; Tobler 1853: ii, 978; Vailhé 1900b: 286–9; Vincent and Abel 1914b: 28–9, fig. 4; Weigand 1920; Wilkinson 1977: 155.

as-SALT

No. 222 Church of St George (?) 218.160

An Armenian church of St George is supposed to have existed in as-Salt at the time of the Crusades in the twelfth century.

Sources

Aghavnouni 1931: 438–9; Sanjian 1965: 13 n.63.

Khirbat SANDAHANNA

Kh. Mar Hanna; Hebr. *Mareshah*

Tall Sandahanna, lying some 2 km south of Bait Jibrin, is identified as the site of Mareshah, a city of Judah (Joshua 15.44; 1 Chron. 2.42) that was finally

destroyed by the Parthians in 40 BC and never rebuilt. In the fourth century AD, Eusebius describes it as in ruins (*Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 130, lines 10–11)). Excavations undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1900 identified three main phases: one Iron Age, followed by two Hellenistic (see Kloner 1977). Traces of later settlement, however, exist north and west of the tell, and may be connected with the expansion of Eleutheropolis (Bait Jibrin) in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. Among these are the remains of a Byzantine church, partially rebuilt in the Middle Ages, which is known locally as Kh. Mar Hanna or Kh. Sandahanna.

No. 223 Church of St Anne 1411.1115

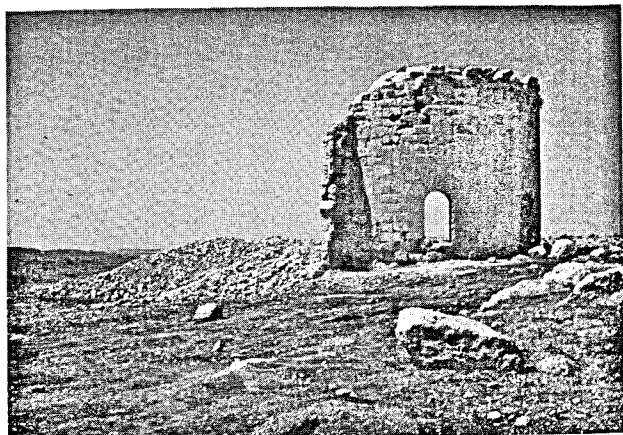
History

In June 1192, King Richard I's army, proceeding from Kh. Kassaba (*Cannetum Sturnellorum*, Grid ref. 127.100; Johns 1937: 25; Palestine 1948: 143; Israel 1964: 1454) towards Bait Jibrin (*Ybelin Hospitalariorum*; see Vol. i, pp. 95–101), made camp 'near the valley where St Anne, the mother of Mary the Mother of God, is said to have been born'; here the soldiers were attacked by a vicious swarm of flies (*Itin. Ric.*, v, 44 (RS, xxxviii, 360–1)). The writer was evidently sceptical of the tradition linking the place with St Anne, and rightly so; however, his evidence lends support to the idea that the Arabic place-name Kh. Sandahanna would have been derived from the dedication of the ruined church surviving there, which was evidently to St Anne and not to St John (*Mār Hanna*), as some have suggested (e.g. Enlart 1925: ii, 115).

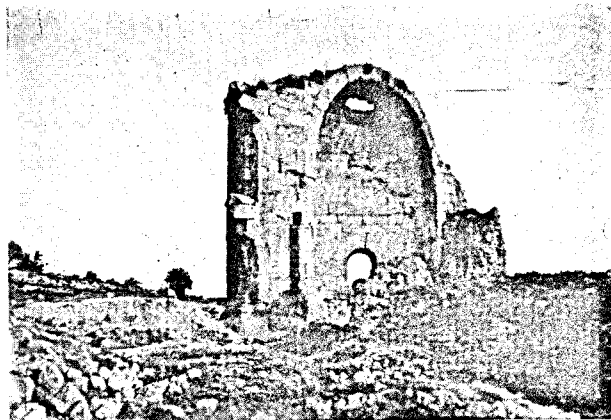
This church was seen and described by V. Guérin in the 1860s (1868: ii, 320–2), by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873–4 (1896: ii, 447–51, figs) and by the Survey of Western Palestine in March 1875 (Conder and Kitchen-er 1881: iii, 275–7).

Description

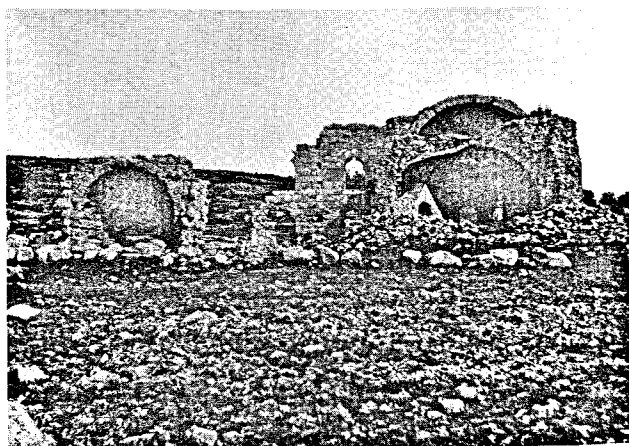
The remains of the church are still evident, lying in a military area some 500 m north-west of the tell (pl. cxlix). As at 'Amwas (Vol. i, no. 10), the medieval builders here made use of the surviving apse of a Byzantine church, whose nave had evidently collapsed several centuries earlier. The principal Byzantine apse is indeed still intact, but the medieval parts of the building have now collapsed completely, burying their foundations under rubble. One cause of the destruction may be identified in a circular limekiln lying just north of the surviving apse, which in its time would no doubt have



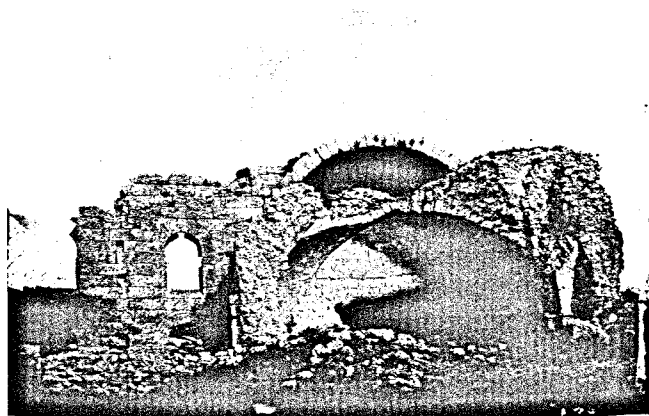
CXLIX Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223):
Byzantine apse from the south-east.



CLII Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223):
Byzantine apse and remains of medieval nave as
photographed from the north-west in the early part
of this century.



CLI Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223):
remains of the Byzantine and medieval churches, as
photographed from the west by Lieut. H.H. Kitchener for
the SWP in March 1875.



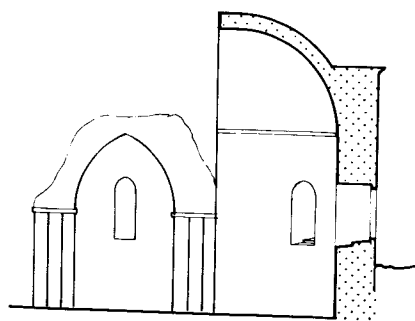
CLII Kh. Sandahanna, church of St Anne (no. 223): remains
of the Byzantine and medieval churches, as
photographed from the west by Sgt. H. Phillips for the
SWP in 1866.

accounted for much of the limestone and marble missing from the building. The shrapnel and bullet holes which pock-mark the standing remains are the result of more recent military activity.

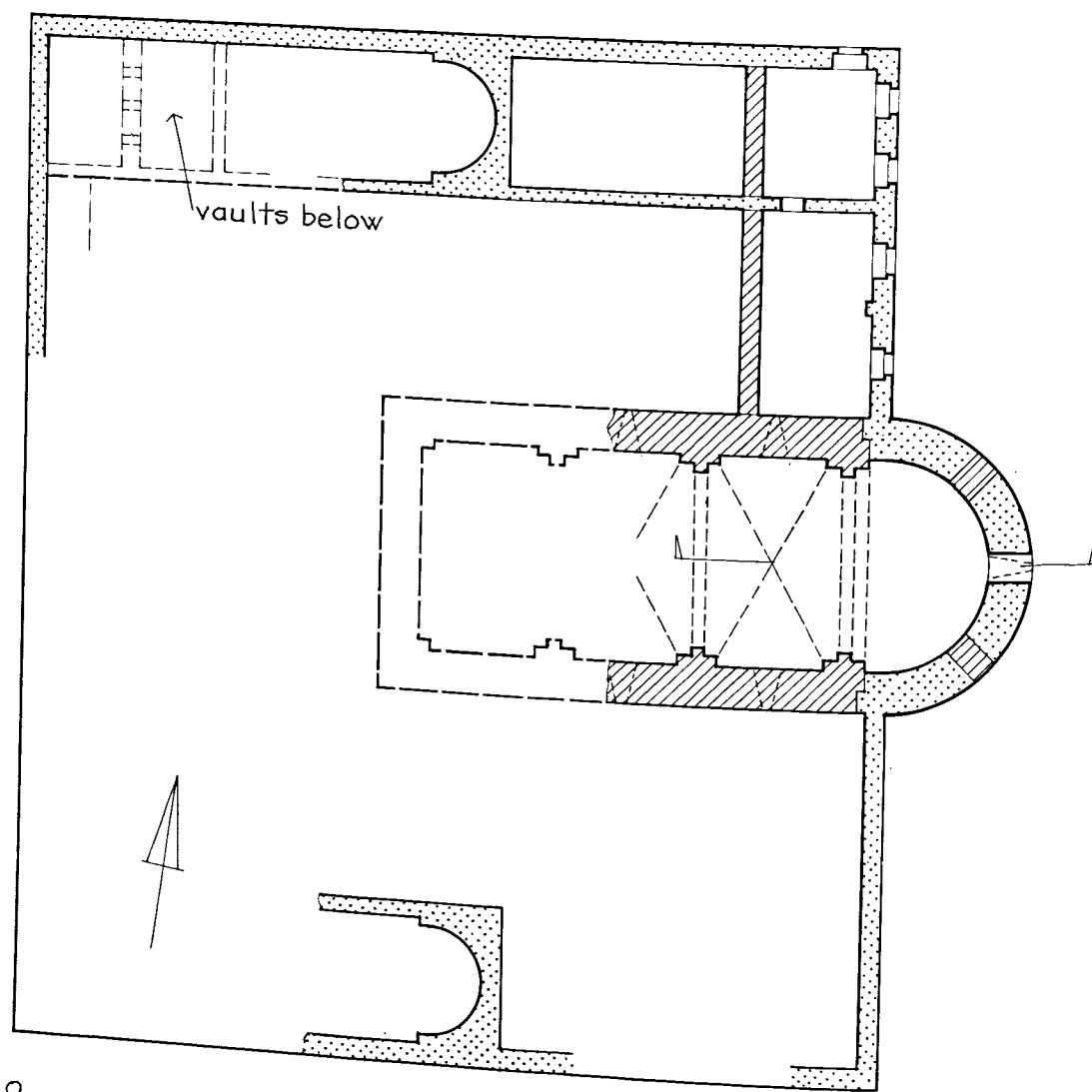
As recorded by Clermont-Ganneau and the SWP the Byzantine church appears to have consisted of a five-aisled basilica, with a large central projecting eastern apse and with apsed chapels and other rooms flanking it on the north and south (see fig. 77; pls. CL–CLII). The part of the east wall that survived north of the apse contained two tiers of rounded-arched windows, one to each aisle. Because the ground falls away to the west, the western part of the north range was carried on a series of vaults. Overall the building would have measured some 48 m north–south by 41.5 m east–west, with the apse projecting a further 7.4 m. The central nave would have been roughly twice the widths of the other four (cf. Ovadia 1970: 135–7, no. 138). Although no remains of the colonnades or stylobates are now visible, in the 1870s part of the plinth and base for a column with a diameter of 76 cm was recorded (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 450–1, fig.; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 276, fig.).

The standing parts of the Byzantine church were built in finely cut ashlar with courses 46.5 m high. Much of the interior surface was covered with small square mortice holes, evidently intended to hold marble veneer in position. The apse vault has been roughened internally, probably to take the plaster base for a mosaic.

The medieval church occupied no more than part of the central nave, including the apse of the Byzantine church (pls. CL–CLII). The apse was 9.76 m wide and 5.54 m deep, with walls 1.89 m thick. The rounded



SECTION



0 20 M
After Clermont-Ganneau 1896
and Conder and Kitchener 1881

semi-dome is constructed, like the rest of the structure, in finely cut ashlars; it springs from a cornice, and still stands some 13 m high. Originally it was lit by three rounded-arched windows, but in the medieval alteration the side windows appear to have been blocked and the central one narrowed to a splayed slit; although all the blocking material has now been removed, the form of the splay may still be seen on the soffit. Below and to the right of the central window, a small recess (47 by 33 cm and 22 cm deep) was inserted in the apse wall.

Remains of two bays of the nave were standing in the 1870s (see pls. CL–CLI). They were built in smaller masonry than the Byzantine phase, with courses 40.6 m high, and with a rubble wall-core. Diagonal tooling characteristic of masonry of the Frankish period was noted on the pilasters. The bays were covered by groin-vaults carried on T-shaped pilasters, with what appears to have been a cyma-recta impost moulding. The pilasters were 1.27 m wide and projected 0.84 m; the width of the first bay, measuring between the pilasters, was 4.85 m and in its south wall there remained a pointed-arched window. Today the rubble from the collapsed medieval church extends some 23 m from the chord of the apse, suggesting that the medieval nave would probably have been three bays long.

Although the junction between the medieval nave and the Byzantine apse is reasonably clear on plan (though fig. 77 follows Clermont-Ganneau at this point, rather than the SWP), it is less certain how the two parts were married together in elevation. The main difficulty is that while the internal height of the apse is some 12.6 m the maximum internal height of the medieval nave appears to have been only about 7.5 m. One can only assume that the gap, some 4 m high, between the roof of the nave and the intrados of the apse was simply filled by a blocking wall, quite possibly containing an opening for light.

Visited 31.8.79.

Sources

Bagatti 1972: 122–3, fig. 4; 1983: 125; Benvenisti 1970: 345–6; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 447–51, figs; Conder 1875a: 141–2; 1901; Conder and Kitchen 1881: III, 275–8, figs.; Enlart 1925: II, 115; Guérin 1868: II, 320–2, 328; Hoade 1978: 617; Israel 1964: 1474; Johns 1937: 33 (k4); Langé 1965: figs. 80–1; Meistermann 1936: 717; Ovadia 1970: 135–7 (no. 138), pl. 56; Palestine 1929: 161; 1948: 176; Robinson 1841: II, 361; Vilnay 1978: 280, fig.; Vincent and Abel 1914b: 85 n., fig. 32.

SAREPTA

Sarafand, Ras al-Qantara; Cr. Sarphen, Sarfente, Saffera, Sarphet, Serphent, Sarepta Sidoniorum, Sarepta Sydoniae; Gr. Saraphtha; Ar. Sarafand

The abandoned town of Sarepta, on the coast between Tyre and Sidon, is identified as Zarephath, where the prophet Elijah took residence with a widow, saving her from famine and reviving her sick son (1 Kings 17.8–24; cf. Luke 4.25–6). The town was occupied by the Crusaders in 1099 (William of Tyre, VII, 22 (CCCM, LXIII, 372); Bartholomew of Nangis, XXVII (IHC, I, 146); Fulcher of Chartres, I, 25, 10 (RHC Occ, III, 353; trans. Ryan, 114)), and subsequently became part of the lordship of Sidon. It was taken by Saladin in late July 1187 (*de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 236); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 39, 99); Prawer 1975a: I, 665), but under the terms of the treaty of Jaffa, in August 1192, Saladin ceded Sarepta (*Sarfent*) to Reginald of Sidon, while retaining half of the remainder of his lordship (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 293); Prawer 1975a: II, 99n.). Sarepta is recorded as being in Christian hands in 1211–12 (Wilbrand of Oldenburg, I, 3, 4 (ed. Laurent, 165; IHC, III, 202); Prawer 1975a: II, 180), though the neighbouring population included Muslims and Druzes (James of Vitry, *Lettres*, II, 304–14 (ed. Huygens, 91–2); Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Adler, 29–30, trans. 18)). It would have fallen to the Mamluks sometime between the 1260s and 1291.

Although in Byzantine times Sarepta had had its own bishop, by 1139 the see was incorporated into that of Sidon, which was in turn subject to the archbishop of Tyre (William of Tyre, XIII, 2; XIV, 14 (CCCM, LXIII, 588, 649; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 4–5, 68); cf. John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXII (RHC Lois, I, 416); Hamilton 1980: 139–40).

The site of the ancient town lies spread out along the coast. Wilbrand of Oldenburg describes it in 1211–12 as 'a small town, not well fortified, lying beside the sea on the borders between Tyre and Sidon' (ch. I, 3, 1–4 (ed. Laurent, 165; IHC, III, 202)). Later in the thirteenth century, however, the settlement appears to have moved to higher ground inland, where the village of Sarafand now stands (Abel 1967: II, 449; Dussaud 1927: 42). The site of the medieval castle may possibly be represented by the promontory of Ras al-Qantara (al-Idrisi (1154), in Marmardji 1951: 104; Abel 1967: II, 449; Guide Bleu 1932: 420; cf. Prawer 1975a: I, 306). In 1283 Burchard of Mount Sion found scarcely eight houses standing, though the remaining ruins showed

that the town had formerly been extensive (ch. II, 9 (ed. Laurent, 26; *IHC*, iv, 132)).

According to the Chronicle of William of Sandwich, published by Philip Ribot in 1370, a Carmelite priory was established in Sarepta sometime in the thirteenth century (cf. de Sainte-Marie 1949: 1077–8; Rey 1883: 520; Guide Bleu 1932: 420). The reliability of this source, however, is highly suspect (cf. de Sainte-Marie 1944: 196–7; Kedar 1983a: 70; Jotischky 1995: 147), and, as elsewhere, appears to represent merely an embroidery on a passage from James of Vitry (*Hist. Or.*, I, 44 (*IHC*, III, 316)).

No. 224 Chapel of St Elias (?) 177.318

History

In his letter to Eustochium (AD 404), Jerome describes how Paula 'went on to the shore at Sarepta and worshipped the Lord and Saviour in the turret [*turricula*, i.e. upper chamber] of Elijah' (*Epist.*, xviii, 8, 1 (CSEL, LV, 313; trans. Wilkinson, 47)). By the sixth century there existed a church of St Elias, apparently incorporating Elijah's chamber and containing the widow's marble vessel (Theodosius (518), xxiii (CCSL, CLXXV, 122–3; ed. Wilkinson, 191; trans., 70); Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570), II (CCSL, CLXXV, 129; trans. Wilkinson, 79); cf. Wilkinson 1977: 169; Augustinović 1972: 37).

A number of twelfth-century pilgrim texts recall the miracles wrought by Elijah in Sarepta, but without mentioning the existence of any church (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), I (*IHC*, II, 110–12; PPTS, v, 51); Fretellus (1137), xxvi (ed. Boeren, 19); Anon. vi (1148), 4 (*IHC*, III, 56); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 993); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 102); Theodoric (1169–72), LI (CCCM, cxxxix, 196; PPTS, v, 72); cf. Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227), III (*IHC*, IV, 380–2); Albert of Stade (c.1251–2), x (*IHC*, IV, 4); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), XI (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234); Philip of Savona (1283), LXV (*IHC*, IV, 252)). In 1185, however, the Greek John Phocas writes:

After Sidon comes the village of Sarepta (*Saraphtha*) on the sea shore, and a church of the Prophet Elijah is being built in the middle of the town at the house of the widow who entertained him. (ch. VII (PG, cxxxiii, 932–3; trans. Wilkinson, 318))

Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited Sarepta in 1211–12, saw the remains of a small church (*ecclesiuncula*), which had been built in the place outside the town where Elijah had first spoken to the widow (ch. I, 3, 5–6 (ed. Laurent, 165; *IHC*, III, 202)). A few years later, in 1217, James of Vitry, bishop of Acre, visited

Sarepta with an armed escort from Tyre and preached to the local Christians. He also visited 'a modest chapel lying derelict in the fields outside the town, where Elijah came to the widow collecting wood in Sarepta' (*Lettres*, II, 304–14 (ed. Huygens, 91–2)). In his History, he specifies that this chapel was located next to the gate of the town (*Hist. Or.*, I, 44 (*IHC*, III, 316; PPTS, XI, 19)).

Burchard of Mount Sion also places the chapel at the place where Elijah met the widow, which he locates outside the south gate of the town; however, he goes on to say that in the same place he was shown the chamber (*cenaculum*) in which Elijah stayed (ch. II, 9 (ed. Laurent, 26; PPTS, XII, 13; *IHC*, IV, 132)). Marino Sanudo (c.1321) simply repeats the accounts of both James of Vitry and Burchard of Mount Sion (ch. III, 6, 18; III, 14, 3 (ed. Bongars, 165, 249)), while James of Verona also locates the chapel in front of the south gate (1335: 301).

The explanation for the element of apparent confusion in the location of the chapel in these accounts is probably that the building lay within the area of the ancient town, which in the twelfth century was still occupied, but outside the area occupied in the thirteenth century. It seems likely that the medieval chapel stood on the site of its Byzantine predecessor, though this cannot at present be verified. By the seventeenth century, the site was apparently occupied in turn by 'a small mosque which bears the name of St Elias' (Goujon 1670: 56). This survives today as the Maqām al-Khidr (Stanley 1912: 206; Augustinović 1972: 39, fig. 28).

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), II, 9 (ed. Laurent, 26; PPTS, XII, 13; *IHC*, IV, 132); James of Vitry, *Lettres*, II, 311–14 (ed. Huygens, 92) (1217); *Hist. Or.* (1217–40), I, 44 (*IHC*, III, 316; PPTS, XI, 19); Phocas (1185), VII (PG, cxxxiii, 932–3; PPTS, v, 10; trans. Wilkinson, 318); Sanudo (c.1321), III, 6, 18; III, 14, 3 (ed. Bongars, 165, 249); Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211–12), I, 3, 1–7 (ed. Laurent, 165; *IHC*, III, 202).

Abel 1967: II, 449; Augustinović 1950; 1972: 37–9, figs. 27–8; Dussaud 1927: 42; Goujon 1670: 56; Guide Bleu 1932: 420; Hamilton 1980: 140, 297; James of Verona 1335: 301; Pirie-Gordon 1919: 54–5; Poloner 1422a: 265–6; 1422b: 32; le Quien 1740: III, 1338; Rey 1883: 520; Roberts 1842b: II, 46–7, pl. 41; Stanley 1912: 206; Suriano 1485: 175; Thomson 1876: 160–1; von Troilo 1676: 60.

SEBASTE

Sabastiya, Samaria; Cr. Le Sabast, Sabasta, Sabastia, Sabat, Samaria, Sebaste, Sebastea, Sebastia; Med. Rus. Sebastopolis

Sebaste lies some 10 km north-west of Nablus on the east side of the main road north through the hills of Samaria to Janin and the Galilee, and just north of a natural route leading east–west from the Jordan valley to the coastal plain. The modern village, called Sabastiya, occupies the eastern slopes of a rounded oval-shaped hill, over which extend the remains of the ancient city of Samaria, capital of Israel's northern kingdom from 876 to 721 BC (fig. 78). Around 25 BC, Herod the Great founded a new city on the site, naming it Sebaste after the emperor Augustus (Sebastos). This was raised to the status of a *colonia* by Septimius Severus around AD 196, and although it had declined to no more than a small town by the fourth century, the site has been continuously occupied down to the present day. The Roman city was surrounded by a stone wall with projecting rectangular and rounded towers, enclosing some 64 ha. Excavations in 1908–10 and 1931–5 revealed on the hilltop the podium of Herod's temple of Augustus, overlying the walls of a vast acropolis of the Israelite and Hellenistic periods. East of this lay the forum, while to the north stood the theatre, the temple of Kore (Persephone) and the stadium. A colonnaded street ran from the west gate to the site of the present village on the east (Abel 1967: II, 443–6; Avi-Yonah 1976: 94; Avigad 1978; 1993; Hamilton 1936; 1944; 1961; Petrozzi 1973: 269–309).

No. 225 Cathedral Church of St John the Baptist 1685.1870

History

According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, XVIII, 5, 2 (116–19) (Loeb, IX, 80–4)), John the Baptist's execution under Herod Antipas took place at Machaerus, east of the Jordan (cf. Matthew 14.1–12; Mark 6.17–29; Luke 3.19–20, 9.7–9). In subsequent centuries, however, the tradition developed that his body, recovered by his disciples, had been buried in Sebaste alongside those of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah (the latter being confused with King Ahab's steward (1 Kings 18.3)); some also considered Sebaste to have been the place of John's execution (e.g. Theodosius, II (CCSL, CLXXV, 115; ELS, 232, no. 302; trans. Wilkinson, 63)). The cult of John the Baptist was already well established at Sebaste

by 361–2 in the reign of Julian the Apostate, when his body and those of Elisha and Obadiah were taken out and burnt, the ashes being subsequently salvaged by monks from Jerusalem (Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.*, VII, 4 (ed. Bidez, 80); Rufinus, II, 28 (PL, XXI, 536–7); ELS, 231 n.1; Wilkinson 1977: 169). The tombs containing what remained of them were visited in the church at Sebaste by Egeria around 384 (Peter the Deacon, section v6 (CCSL, CLXXV, 99; trans. Wilkinson, 201)) and by Paula in 404 (Jerome, *Epist.*, CVIII, 13, 4 (CSEL, LV, 322–3; trans. Wilkinson, 51–2); cf. *Epist.*, XLVI, 13 (CSEL, LIV, 343); *Commen. in Abdiam* (PL, XXV, 1099); *Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 155, lines 20–21); ELS, 231–1, nos. 298–300).

By the mid fifth century, Sebaste was the seat of a bishop, dependent on the archbishop of Caesarea (Tobler and Molinier, I, 324). A description of the martyrrium as it appeared around the time of the council of Chalcedon (AD 451) is given by John Rufus, writing in 512:

This place was in effect a particular chapel of the church (temple), enclosed by grilles, because there are two caskets covered with gold and silver, in front of which lamps are always burning; one is that of St John the Baptist and the other that of the prophet Elisha; a throne, covered by a cloth, on which nobody used to sit, is also placed in that spot. (*Plerophoriae*, XXIX (PO, VIII, 70; ELS, 232, no. 301))

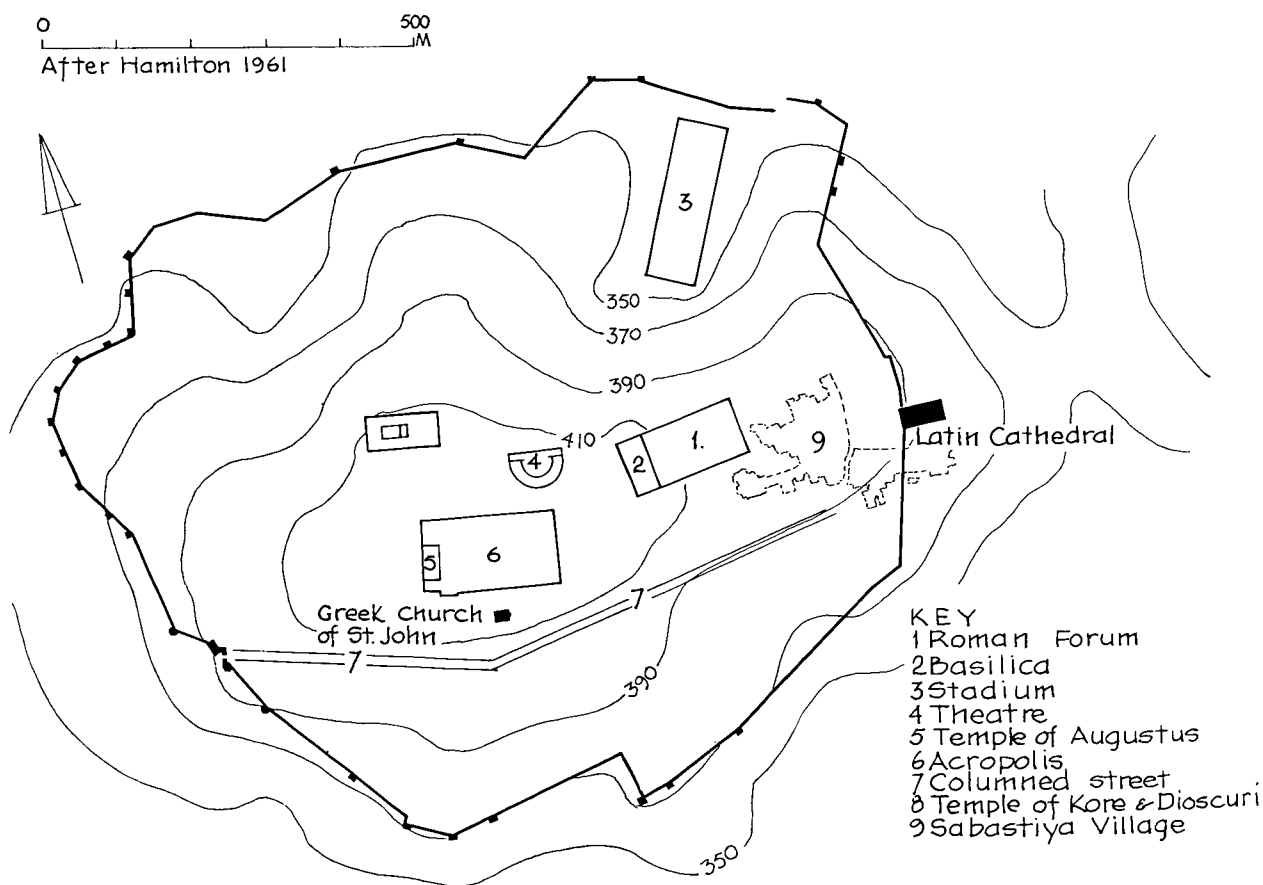
The tomb of Elisha is mentioned by the Piacenza Pilgrim in 570 (ch. VIII (CCSL, CLXXV, 133; ELS, 233, no. 303; trans. Wilkinson, 81)), and the tombs of John, Elisha and Obadiah were seen by St Willibald in 723 (Hugoburg, XXVII (ed. Tobler, 38; ELS, 233, no. 304; trans. Wilkinson, 132)). Sometime later in the same century, a representation of the church was made in the mosaic pavement laid in the church of St Stephen at Umm ar-Rasas in Transjordan (Piccirillo and Alliata 1994: 180, pl. XII). Around 808, however, the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* records:

At *Sebastia*, where the body of St John lies buried, there used to be a great church, but it has now fallen to the ground. All that is left is the place of the glorious Baptist's tomb, which has not been entirely destroyed . . .

The bishop, Basil, and his twenty-five clergy were by this time apparently serving in a second church (no. 226), located on the supposed site of John the Baptist's prison (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; ELS, 233, no. 305; trans. Wilkinson, 138).

Within a few years of the establishment of the Crusader Kingdom, two centuries later, abbot Daniel (1106–8) found a Latin religious community established in the ruined larger church at Sebaste (*Sebastopolis*):

there is a small enclosed place here which was the prison of Saint John the Baptizer of Christ and in this prison John the



78 Sebaste (Sabastiya): map showing the location of the cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225) and of the Greek church of St John the Baptist (no. 226).

Precursor of Christ was beheaded by King Herod. The tomb of John the Precursor is here and there is a fine church dedicated to him, and there is a very rich Frankish monastery. (ch. LXXIII (trans. Ryan, 156; de Khitrowo, 58; ELS, 233–4, no. 307))

The status of this religious establishment is unknown, for at this date there is no mention of any bishop. As Daniel implies, however, the church was already receiving endowments. One early gift, made probably between 1105–10 and 1123 by Eustace Garnier, the first lord of Caesarea, was the village of St John of Sebaste (*casale Sancti Johannis Sebaste*) in the lordship of Caesarea, mentioned in 1144–5 (Bresc-Bautier, 150–1, no. 59; RRH, 60, no. 237); and at the time of Patriarch William (1130–45), the possessions which the church had acquired in southern Italy were unified with those of the abbey of St Mary of Mount Sion (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 286, no. 113; RRH, 153–4, no. 574).

A Latin bishop of Sebaste, named Baldwin, is first mentioned in March 1129 (Bresc-Bautier, 92–3, no. 30; RRH, 30, no. 121; Hamilton 1980: 68). Like his Byzan-

tine predecessors, he was a suffragan of the archbishop of Caesarea (John of Ibelin, CCLXIII (RHC Lois, I, 416); *Tractatus de Locis* (ed. Thomas, 149); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 55 (IHC, III, 326; PPTS, XI, 33–4); Thietmar, XXIX, 17–18 (ed. Laurent, 53); cf. Tobler and Molinier, I, 324; ELS, 232 n.1). The relative wealth of the see is indicated by the military service that it owed, amounting to 100 sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXXII (RHC Lois, I, 426–7)). Soon after the installation of the new bishop, Pope Innocent II (1130–43) also took the church under his protection (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 290–2, no. 117 (1179)).

Following Abbot Daniel's visit, early twelfth-century pilgrims are singularly uninformative about the state of John the Baptist's church and tomb at Sebaste. Most Western accounts simply retell the story of his burial and of the emperor Julian burning his body, with the exception of his finger, which was taken (in the sixth century) by St Thecla to Maurienne in Savoy, and of his head, which had been translated from Machaerus first to Alexandria and then by way of Constantinople to Aquileia.

taine (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxxi (IHC, II, 96; PPTS, v, 32–3); Fretellus (1137), xlii (ed. Boeren, 27); Eugesippus (1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 996); Anon. vi (c.1148), 7 (IHC, III, 64; PPTS, vi, 58); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 83)).

Around 1140–3, the Muslim, Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, visited Sebaste (Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 100); he gives an account of his experience in his *Kitāb al-ʿAsa*, or ‘Book of Sticks’:

I paid a visit to the tomb of John the son of Zechariah – God’s blessing on both of them! – in the village of Sabastiya in the province of Nablus. After saying my prayers, I came out into an enclosed space in front of the place where the tomb is. I found a half-closed gate, opened it and entered a church. Inside were about ten old men, their bare heads as white as combed cotton. They were facing the east, and had on their chests staffs ending with cross-bars turned up like the rear part of a saddle, on which they were leaning. And with them one receives hospitality. The sight of their piety touched my heart, but at the same time it displeased and saddened me, for I had never seen such zeal and devotion among the Muslims. (ed. Derenbourg, 189, 528–9; Ital. trans. Gabrieli, 83–4; text adapted here from Costello’s English translation, 83–4)

Although Gabrieli suggests that these staves may have been motifs embroidered on to the men’s breasts, it seems more probable, as Fr Bagatti suggests, that they were staffs of the kind that Orthodox monks are accustomed to lean on while standing for long periods during the liturgy (1979: 65; Wild 1994: 25). The men seen by Usāmah, however, would in all likelihood have been Latin canons rather than Orthodox monks. The account also indicates, as Nurith Kenaan-Kedar has observed, that the Baptist’s tomb and church still occupied separate parts of the enclosure (1992: 100).

Soon after Usāmah’s visit, the condition of the church at Sebaste was to be radically altered; for in 1145, the burnt remains of the Baptist, together with those of Elisha, Obadiah and, as it seemed, many prophets and patriarchs, were miraculously found in the silver reliquary in which they had been placed centuries before. The discovery was made known to the church’s hierarchy in the West by Patriarch William, who at the same time appealed for financial assistance to rebuild the church, offering forty days’ remission of penance to contributors who also visited the shrine on the three feasts commemorating the Birth, Beheading and Invention (of the Relics) of John the Baptist (de Lincy and Bruel, 492–3, no. 1; RRH, 59, no. 235; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 100–1; Kedar 1994: 444–5). Work began on the new church soon afterwards, but around 1169–70 Ranier’s successor, Ralph, issued a new appeal because of the lack of funds for completing the building. Among the additional inducements offered to contributors on

this occasion were relics of John the Baptist, Elisha and Obadiah, which were taken to the West by certain canons of the church, and the Patriarch’s agreement to grant a year’s remission of penance for each gift equivalent to the daily wages of two workmen (Estournet, 242–4, no. 6; Kedar, ‘Raising funds’, 454–5; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 102; Kedar 1994: 447–8).

By this time there is independent evidence of relics from Sebaste reaching the West. A letter written by Frederick of La Roche, bishop of Acre, to the abbot of Florennes sometime between 1153 and 1161, for example, relates how he had gone to Sebaste in person to obtain some relics from Bishop Ranier, which he sent to Florennes and to the collegiate church of St John the Evangelist in Liège through the intermediary of a certain Bovo (Berlière, ‘Frédéric de Laroche’: ‘Une lettre’, 124–5; cf. Berlière 1906; 1907; 1908). Around 1169, Bishop Ranier and Prior Ralph also authenticated relics that were given to the abbot of Craon (de Brousillon, I, 100–5, no. 142; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 102 n.16; Kedar 1994: 446–7).

The response to Bishop Ralph’s appeal may be judged from the donations of money, churches and property that are set out in a confirmation of privileges granted to the church of Sebaste by Pope Alexander III in April 1179 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 290–2, no. 117; cf. RRH, 59, no. 235 n.2). Further details of these gifts have been traced by Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, who observes that three of the principal donors, Archbishop William of Sens, Count Henry (the Liberal) of Champagne and Duchess Elizabeth (widow successively of Duke Roger of Apulia, and of William Gouët who was buried in Sebaste in 1169), were children of Tibald IV of Champagne, while another, King Louis VII, who had visited Sebaste during the Second Crusade (1148–9), was the husband of their sister, Adela (Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 102–4; Kedar 1994: 450–2).

The discovery of the relics is mentioned by an Icelandic pilgrim to the Holy Land soon after the event (Nicolas Bergsson of Thverá (1145–53), IV, 1 (trans. Hill, 216; Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, 204)). The existence of the tombs and relics is also noted by other Western and Frankish sources, though without any description of them (*S. Theotonii Vita* (–1160), III, 13 (IHC, II, 37); Anon. VII (c.1160) (IHC, III, 82); Anon. II (c.1170), 1 (IHC, III, 10); William of Tyre, VIII, 1 (CCCM, LXIII, 382); Michelant and Raynaud, 171 (1261), 186 (–1265), 197 (1268)). Another Muslim visitor in the 1170s was al-Harawī, who saw in Sebaste the tombs of John the Baptist, his mother (Elizabeth) and Elisha (trans. Sourdél-Thomine, 59–60).

The account of the pilgrim Theodoric (1169–72)

seems to imply that, following their discovery, the relics of John the Baptist were displayed in the church itself. After recounting how the body had been interred by John's disciples in Sebaste and his head taken to Constantinople, he writes:

Moreover, a piece of his arm is held there [in Sebaste] in great veneration. He was buried, however, in the crypt between the prophets Elisha and Obadiah, in the cave in which the same prophet once fed seventy prophets [1 Kings 18.4], who are also buried there. One enters it down thirty-five steps. (ch. XLIII (CCCM, cxxxix, 188–9; PPTS, v, 62–3))

In September 1184, Saladin appeared before Sebaste with an army; but the bishop succeeded in negotiating the sparing of the town and church, including all those who had taken refuge in it, in return for the release of eighty Muslim prisoners (Ralph of Diss (RS, LXVIII.ii, 28); Roger of Wendover (RS, LXXXIV.i, 133); Abū'l-Fidā' (RHC Or, I, 53); cf. Matthew Paris, *Hist. min.* (RS, XLIV.i, 430–1); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, I, 667)).

The following year, Sebaste was visited by the Greek John Phocas, who confirms that the relics of John the Baptist and Elisha were no longer in the underground tomb:

In the middle of this city is the prison into which he was thrown because of his accusations against Herodias, and there also his head was cut off. This Prison is underground, and has twenty steps leading down to it. In the centre of it is an altar containing the spot where he was beheaded by the guard. On the right of the altar is a coffin in which is preserved the body of Saint Zacharias, the father of the Forerunner. And on the left side is a second coffin in which lies the body of Saint Elisabeth his mother. And in the walls on either side of the Prison rest the remains of several other saints and of the disciples of the Forerunner. Above the Prison is a church in which lie two coffins carved in white marble. The one on the right contains the dust of the body of the venerable Forerunner after it was burned, and the other the body of the Prophet Elisha. Above this, in the church, the left hand of the Forerunner is displayed in a gold vessel, and this itself is completely encased in gold. (ch. XII (PG, cxxxiii, 940; ELS, 235–6, no. 312; trans. Wilkinson, 322); cf. PPTS, v, 15–16)

The bishop's house evidently lay close by the cathedral. It was there that Balian of Ibelin, lord of Nablus, spent the night of 30 April 1187 in discussion with the bishop, before continuing north after Mass the next morning. The delay saved his life, for he thus fortuitously arrived too late to participate in the battle at the Springs of Cresson on 1 May, in which some 140 Frankish knights were killed (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 148–9, 151); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, xxvii (ed. Morgan, 40); Runciman 1951: II, 451–2).

In July 1187, Sebaste was taken and sacked by Saladin's nephew, Ḥusām al-Dīn Muḥammad (Ibn

al-Athīr (RHC Or, I, 690); Prawer 1975a: I, 661; Lyons and Jackson 1982: 268; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 104). 'Imād al-Dīn's account of this event appears in two versions. The longer version, preserved by Abū Shāmā, records that Ḥusām al-Dīn

made a halt at Sabastiya, where lies the tomb of Zechariah. Since the time that the Muslims had abandoned this tomb, the priests had converted it into a church. It was one of their principal sanctuaries, one of their more venerated tombs. They had covered it with hangings, embellished it with ornaments of silver and gold, and established there a pilgrimage at a fixed time. A community of monks resided there and only permitted those who brought rich offerings to visit it. Ḥusām al-Dīn entered it and took possession of all that it contained, leaving there only what was necessary for a mosque; then he gave access to the Muslims and established the site of the *mihrāb* for the direction of prayers. (RHC Or, IV, 302)

The shorter version reads:

There he found the sanctuary of Zechariah which the Christian priests had taken as a church and had decorated again with images and precious objects. Ḥusām al-Dīn had the gold objects withdrawn from their hiding places, took all the reserves and objects, re-established the sanctuary and made it once more into a mosque; as a pious Muslim, he had a *minbar* placed there . . . (trans. Massé, 35)

The author of the *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* adds that the Muslims maltreated the bishop until he showed them where the treasures of the church were located; they then stripped and beat him, before allowing him safe conduct to Acre (RS, LXVI, 233; IHC, III, 112–14).

The mosque, containing the tombs of John the Baptist, his father Zechariah and other prophets, is recorded by Yāqūt around 1225 (trans. Le Strange, 523; Marmardji, 92). The fate of the exiled bishop and chapter after 1187 is less certain. In December 1188, Pope Clement III took the brothers of Sebaste who were serving as canons of the church of Nemours under his protection (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 334, no. 156; de Lincy and Bruel, 494–5, no. 3; RRH, 59, no. 235 n.2); and in 1189 Philip Augustus did likewise and renewed his father, Louis VII's grant of an annual 20 *livres* to the church in Sebaste itself (de Lincy and Bruel, 495–6, no. 4–5; RRH, 59, no. 235 n.2; cf. Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 105 n.35). A bishop of Sebaste also participated in the election of Patriarch Soffred in 1203 (Hamilton 1980: 243, 246–7). Since the diocese remained in Muslim hands, it may be assumed that the bishop would have been normally resident in Acre. However, there is no record of any pro-cathedral ever being established there. Indeed, when Hugh of Nissun was invested with the administration of the see between 1253 and 1256, he was permitted to retain in plurality a canonry of the Holy Sepulchre, of which he later became prior (Innocent IV,

Reg. (ed. Berger, nos. 6350, 6490); Alexander IV, *Reg.* (ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, I, 346-8, nos. 1151-3)). The succession to the see of Sebaste appears to have lapsed on his death around 1268 (Hamilton 1980: 266-7, 271, 275, 298; cf. Petrozzi 1973: 129-30).

Although the cathedral had been made into a mosque, Christians were still permitted access to the tomb of John the Baptist. Burchard of Mount Sion describes this, in 1283, as 'made of marble after the fashion of the Lord's Sepulchre, where the same saint had been buried between Elisha and Obadiah' (ch. VII, 17 (ed. Laurent, 52-3; *IHC*, IV, 162-4; *PPTS*, XII, 50; *ELS*, 237-8, no. 317.1)); this description suggests that some kind of aedicule stood over the entrance to the burial cave. William of Boldensele speaks of the remains of the church in terms which could imply that it was in ruins (1333: 41; Baldi 1955a: 239, no. 319; Kanaan-Kedar 1992: 99); however, no such indication is given in the account of James of Verona, who visited and prayed in it (1335: 269-70; Baldi 1955a: 239, no. 320), nor in that of Nicolas of Poggibonsi. The latter relates that the monument in which John was buried stood above ground in the centre of the former church, now a mosque. He was also aware that after the burning of his body, John's [left] hand had remained in Sebaste, while his head, together with the stone on which it had been cut off, had gone to Alexandria, where Nicolas himself saw it in the church of St John; John's finger, however, was in the possession of King Hugh [IV] of Cyprus (Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 71, 83-4, 99-100; Baldi 1955a: 240, no. 322.1). Nicolas also relates that the relics in Sebaste were subsequently (presumably after 1187) translated to the Greek monastery of St John beside the Jordan (1346-50: 71; cf. no. 209). A late twelfth-century gold reliquary, set with pearls and precious stones and encasing the Baptist's right hand, was also venerated in the church of St John of Pera in Constantinople until 1453, and in 1484 was given by Sultan Bazid II to the grand master of the Hospital in Rhodes, Pierre d'Aubusson (Azzopardi 1989: 12, 14, 70-71).

Less ambiguous indications of destruction are to be found in the accounts of John Mandeville (c.1356-66: 182), albeit based largely on Boldensele, and of Giorgio Gucci, who records seeing

a big church, in great part in ruins and fallen; but a good deal of it is still visible, a great number of columns standing and other things, by which it can be seen that the church was magnificent and beautiful.

The pilgrims were permitted to enter the tomb, which was underground, in the middle of the church (1384: 138-9).

John Poloner's description of the marble tomb follows that of Burchard of Mount Sion (1422a: 273; 1422b: 30; Baldi 1955a: 240-1, no. 323). Towards the end of the fifteenth century, however, Francesco Suriano saw in addition to the tomb of John, at which he worshipped, in the church itself

two tombs of the finest marble, the most beautiful, I believe, in the world. One is where was buried Eliseus and the other the prophet Joel; although the martyrology says Abdias [Obadiah], yet on the tomb is incised Joel. This church is built like a fortress similar to that of Bethlehem, and in it lives the *Machademo*, that is, the Governor. (1485a: 142; 1485b: 156; Baldi 1955a: 241-2, no. 325.2)

These tombs were no doubt the marble sarcophagi that John Phocas had seen in the body of the church in 1185; the second inscription would therefore probably have been not *Ioel*, but *Io[hann]es*. Fr B. Morosini, though mentioning no inscriptions, speaks of the sarcophagi as 'two very fine square tombs of marble, very white with festoons and leaves', suggesting that they may perhaps have been Roman in date (1514; Bagatti 1949: 156 n.3).

In the sixteenth century Fr Pantaleone d'Aveiro visited the church with two Greek monks. He records that the local Christians kept lamps burning beside the three tombs, that of Elisha being of fine marble (1564b: fol. 216v.; Baldi 1955a: 242, no. 327). Boniface of Ragusa locates the chapel containing 'the most elegant alabaster tomb of John' in the south-eastern part of the church (1577: 87; Baldi 1955a: 242, no. 326).

Pietro della Valle was also taken by local Arab Orthodox Christians to see the church, 'which is still largely intact, very large and beautiful; inside which they made me see a chapel, which is underground, decorated above with a dome inside the church, exactly like the Holy House of Loreto; but to go into the chapel one descends many steps . . . This underground chapel was the prison of St John the Baptist' (1616a: 583-4; Baldi 1955a: 243, no. 328); the dome above was presumably the Muslim structure which still stands in the nave. The church and underground tomb are also described by Francesco Quaresmi (1626a: II, 609; 1612b: 384; Baldi 1955a: 243, no. 329) and Evliya Çelebi (1648-50: 37-9); the inscriptions identifying the sarcophagi could still be read in 1666, despite being half obliterated (Brémond 1679: 227; cf. Bagatti 1979: 67).

In 1679, Domenico Laffi saw in the church 'capitals of artful workmanship' and also, apparently, part of the principal apse, which he describes as

remains of a cupola, beneath which it is thought was the high altar, decorated it seems with marble columns and with pictures in mosaic; this at present is divided down the middle.



CLIII Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): as photographed from the south-west by Sgt H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.



CLIV Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): as photographed from the north-west by Sgt H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.

the Greeks officiating on one side and the Muslims on the other. (1683: 143; cf. de Thévenot 1687: I, 215–16; Bagatti 1979: 67)

The small mosque built over John the Baptist's prison is mentioned by Henry Maundrell (1697a: 432; 1697b: 78–9); and around 1690–3 the Muslim, al-Nabulusi, records that after descending into the cave one finds 'a small grille inside which, it is said, are located John (Yahyā) and his father Zechariah' (Marmardji 1951: 92).

In the early nineteenth century the church's principal apse was still standing, its rounded projecting exterior being recorded in a drawing by Louis de Laborde (1837; cf. Enlart 1925: pl. 145, fig. 458; Hamilton 1944: fig. 15; 1961: fig. 15). David Roberts also saw it in April 1839, but in working up his drawings for publication he represented it as a classical rotunda (Roberts 1842b: IV, 11, 13, 18–19, 23–5, pls. 81, 83). Other nineteenth-century visitors to the church included E. Robinson in 1838 (1841: II, 305), M. de Vogüé (1860: 358–62, pl. xxvi), V. Guérin (1874: I, 188–209), the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine in July 1872 and June 1875 (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 160, 211–15, figs., pl.; see also here pls. CLIII–CLV), C. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873–4 (1896: II, 331–2), and M. Van Berchem around 1890 (Ory 1975: 228; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: pl. 7a–b).

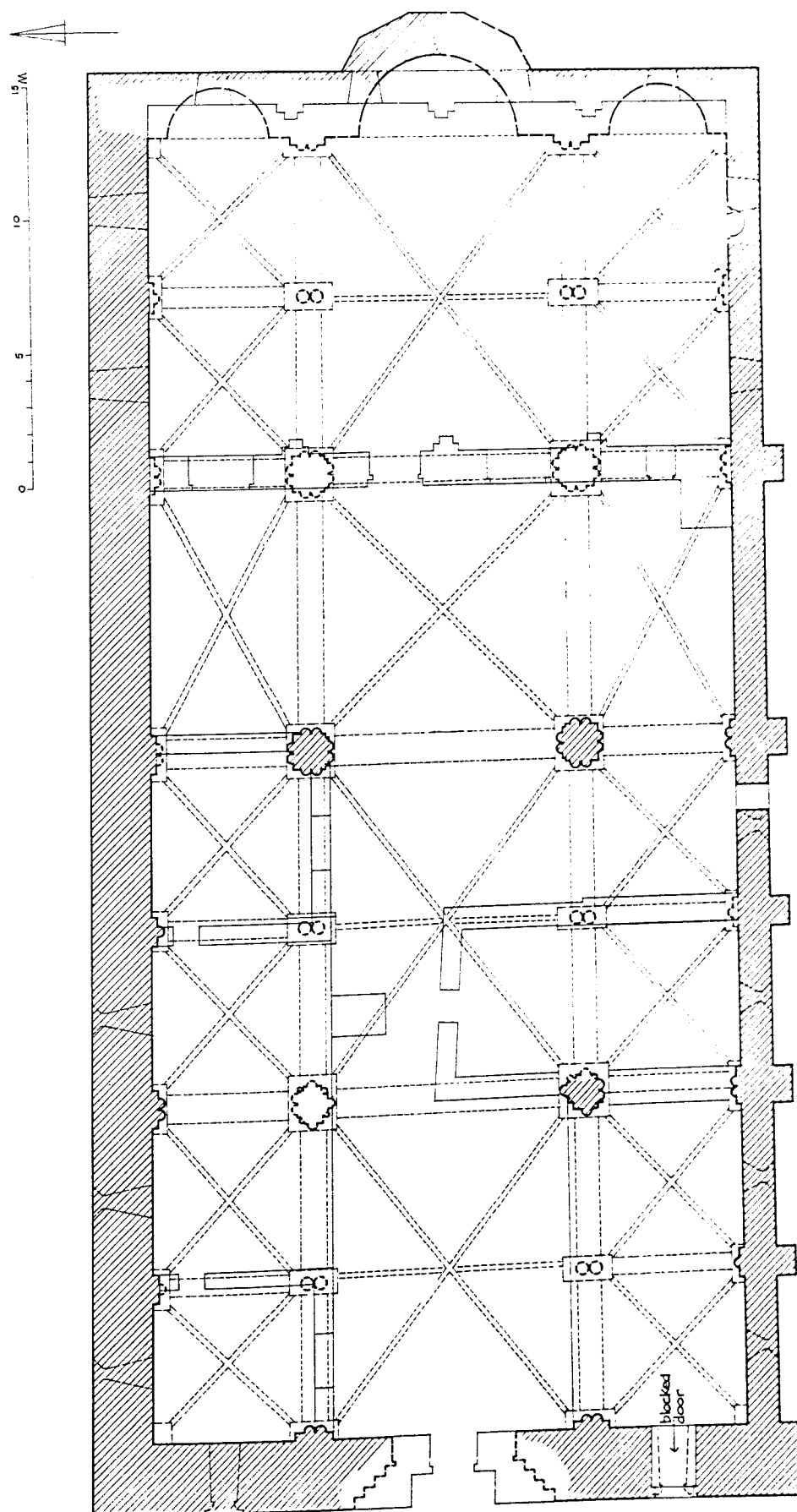
In c.1892 the mosque that hitherto had taken up the two western bays of the south aisle was removed and a new one built across the eastern two bays of the church; this entailed the demolition of what remained of the apse (Dalman 1906: 42). The works also included demolition of the remaining unstable portions of vaulting that may

be seen in earlier photographs (Kenaan-Kedar 1992: pl. 7b; see also pl. CLV) and the stabilization of what remained.

Camille Enlart saw the church in 1922, after the new mosque had been built; thus, although he succeeded in accurately recording the nave, his restoration of the east end is a bay short with the apse projecting too far (1925: pl. 12, fig. 23; cf. Petrozzi 1973: fig. 111; Bagatti 1979: fig. 22). Excavations around the north and east sides of the building by R.W. Hamilton, however, demonstrated not only that the Crusader church overlay its Byzantine predecessor, but also that the plan of the east end made by the Survey of Western Palestine in the 1870s should be preferred to those of either Enlart or de Vogüé (Hamilton 1944: 35–9, fig. 22).

Description

The Crusader cathedral, occupying the foundations of its Byzantine predecessor, lies on the eastern flank of the hill, just outside the walls of the Roman city, in an area that had once been part of its cemetery (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 332f.; Hamilton 1939; 1944: 59–61, fig. 24; Avigad 1978: 1049; Petrozzi 1973: 305–9, figs. 116–18) (see fig. 78). The cathedral's location there in the fourth century was evidently due to the identification of one of the tombs in the cemetery as that of Elisha and Obadiah, in which John the Baptist's body had also been laid to rest. This tomb lies beneath the central nave of the Crusader church, in a position corresponding to the fifth bay. It is reached down a narrow flight of twenty-one steps from a small domed cap-house located below the north nave arcade



79 Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): plan.

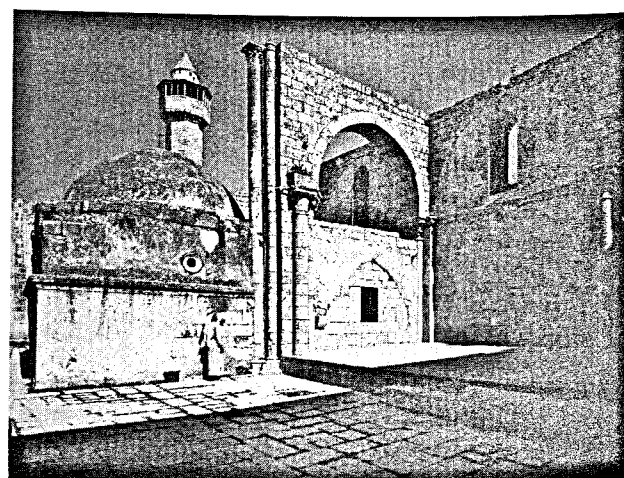
(pl. CLVI). In Roman times the passage had been closed, two steps before the bottom, by a pivoted basalt four-panelled door (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 331–2). The tomb is masonry built, consisting of a barrel-vaulted chamber lying north–south, with two (or possibly three) rows of three loculi in the south wall, *arcosolia* on the east and west, and a vaulted extension to the south-east (Guérin 1874: 189; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 213, 214–15, fig.; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 332). Its date appears to be second or third century AD (Hamilton 1944: 40).

The Crusader church is faced inside and out with finely cut and dressed ashlar. Some bossed stones are also evident in the outer face of the north wall; but here the purpose may have been defensive, since this was an external wall in the sense that unlike the other three sides it was not enclosed by other structures. *Spolia* employed in the church include late Roman and Byzantine capitals of provincial Corinthian type, which are reused in the transept (and later mosque) and at the west end of the north nave arcade, and some large antique columns which might also have come from the Byzantine church. Although nothing of the original vaulting survives other than two transverse arches of the south aisle, most of the north, south and west walls stand entire to the height of the aisle vaulting, and two piers of the south nave arcade to the springing of the nave vault.

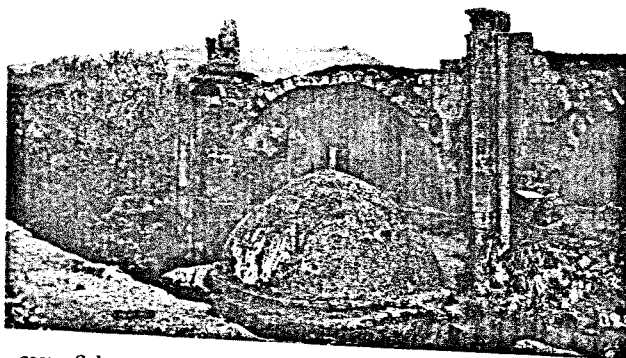
In addition to the late nineteenth-century mosque, which occupies the two eastern bays of the former church, other post-twelfth-century additions include a series of vaulted buildings in the north aisle, the domed



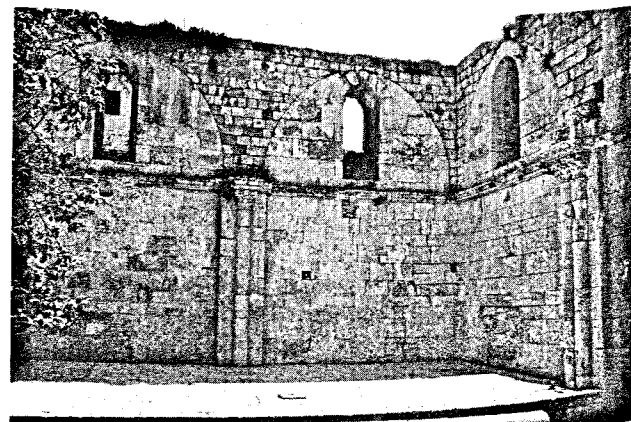
CLVI Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): nave, looking west from the roof of the mosque.



CLVII Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): south side of the nave, looking east.



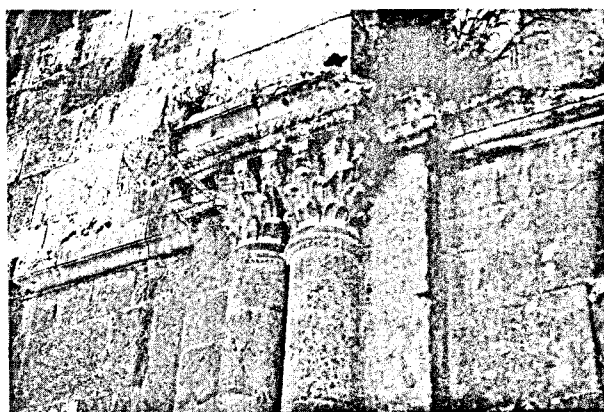
CLV Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): interior of the nave, looking south-east, as photographed by Sgt H. Phillips for the SWP in 1866.



CLVIII Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): two western bays of the south aisle.



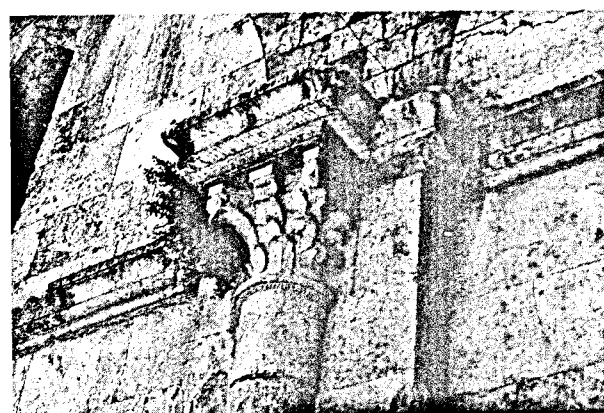
a Western respond of south nave arcade.



b Western respond of north nave arcade.



c Central pier of south nave arcade, from south-west, showing spring of aisle rib.



d South side of south aisle, central respond of the western double bay.



e Base of central pier of south nave arcade, from north-west.



f Byzantine capital reused on north-east pilaster of north transept.

Muslim sanctuary (*qubba*) above the underground tomb in the fifth bay of the nave, and a vaulted annexe to this in the corresponding bay of the south aisle (pl. CLVI). Except within the *qubba* the paving inside the church is higher than that of the twelfth century, with the result that most of the bases of the piers and columns are now covered up.

The overall plan of the church, evidently derived from the Byzantine one, represents an elongated rectangle, measuring internally 48.2 by 22.6 m (fig. 79). The walls vary in thickness from 3 m on the west, to 2.45 m on the north and 1.2 m on the south. The *chevet* was flat externally, except for the shallow projection of the central apse, which appears to have been rounded on a polygonal base (see below). Although the eastern part of the interior has been destroyed by the late nineteenth-century mosque, the SWP found evidence for three semi-circular apses (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 211–12). The SWP's plan and the surviving evidence also indicate that the interior was divided into three aisles and seven bays, the third bay being the same width as the nave and forming an inscribed transept which rose above the side aisles. The width of the nave was 8.6 m, and that of the aisles 5.36 m.

The vaulting of the nave and choir appears to have been carried on composite piers alternating with paired antique columns (pls. CLVII–CLIX). The pairing of the bays in this way suggests that the vaulting would have consisted of sexpartite rib-vaulting in the nave and choir, and of quadripartite vaulting in the transept. The crossing, being precisely square, could conceivably have been capped by a dome or a lantern; or it might simply have been rib-vaulted like the rest of the transept. It may be noted, however, that the south-west crossing pier, which survives almost to full height, shows that the arch spanning the transept sprang from a higher level than that over the nave.

When the crossing piers (and presumably those of the choir) were built, it is possible that rib-vaulting was not envisaged, for their plan is square, with a pair of engaged columns on each face corresponding to the transverse arches over the nave and transept, but no provision for diagonal ribs. Three figured corbels, surviving *ex situ*, which support bases for triple-shafted pilasters or ribs (pls. CLIXa–c), might thus be interpreted, as Enlart has suggested, as later insertions into the corners of the transept and choir to support the ribs (1925: II, 344–5, pl. 148, figs. 469–71; cf. Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 113–19). An earlier change of design may also be seen in the construction of the two western crossing piers, which have indentations some 10–14 cm square on the corners of their sides facing into the nave,

which do not continue above a height of about 4 m. Enlart also recorded in the transept an attic base with *griffes* (1925: II, 345, fig. 465).

The central pier of the south nave arcade west of the crossing differs from those of the crossing by having on the face towards the nave a single engaged column, rising to a bulbous thick-leafed capital from which the transverse rib of the nave vault would have sprung (pl. CLVII). This column is flanked by smaller rounded shafts, corresponding to the diagonal ribs of the nave vault; their heavily moulded water-holding bases are also diagonally angled (Enlart 1925: II, 345, fig. 465) (see pl. CLIXe). Of the clearstorey nothing certain is known.

On its south side, facing the aisle, the same nave pier has paired engaged columns, which still support a plain transverse arch; these are flanked by smaller rounded shafts corresponding to the diagonal ribs (pl. CLIXc). The responds for the transverse arches in the aisles are rectangular pilasters with paired or single engaged columns, depending on whether they were matching a nave pier or one of the alternating pairs of columns. The profiles of the diagonal ribs appear to have been square or rectangular, with chamfered arrises. The aisle vaulting sprang from a moulded cornice, which appears to have continued around the whole building. Its profile is essentially cyma-recta, but varies considerably: in the transept the abacus is thicker than the curving section below, while to the west of this the moulding projects further and has two quirked rolls at the bottom. Where the cornice forms the impost for the aisle pilasters and across the west face of the nave the rolls are enriched with varieties of cable moulding on the upper roll and egg and dart on the lower (pls. CLIXa,b,d; cf. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, fig. p. 212; Enlart 1925: II, 345, fig. 465). The south aisle was lit by amply proportioned pointed-arched openings with stepped internal sills and a modest splay on the exterior; in the north wall, however, which was thicker, the windows have a double splay.

Of the blocked door in the south transept noted by Enlart (1925: II, 342) there appears to be no trace, though there is one in the adjoining fourth bay of the south aisle.

From the west the church presents a plain exterior, with a simple pointed-arched door flanked by the windows into the aisles (pl. CLXI). It is clear, however, that the door is a later construction (though predating the 1890s restoration), probably replacing a more elaborate portal that was defaced or robbed for reuse after 1187. Enlart found a fragment of moulded plinth that may have come from it lying in the *parvis*



a Rib-receiver: beard puller.



b Rib-receiver: bull's head.



c Rib-receiver: figure with snakes.



d Corbel.

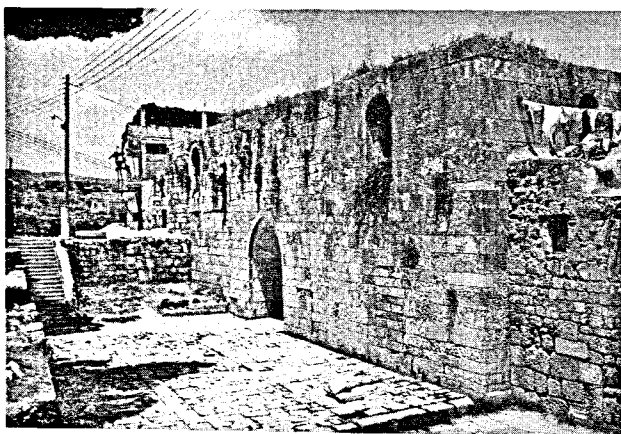


e Rebate stop.

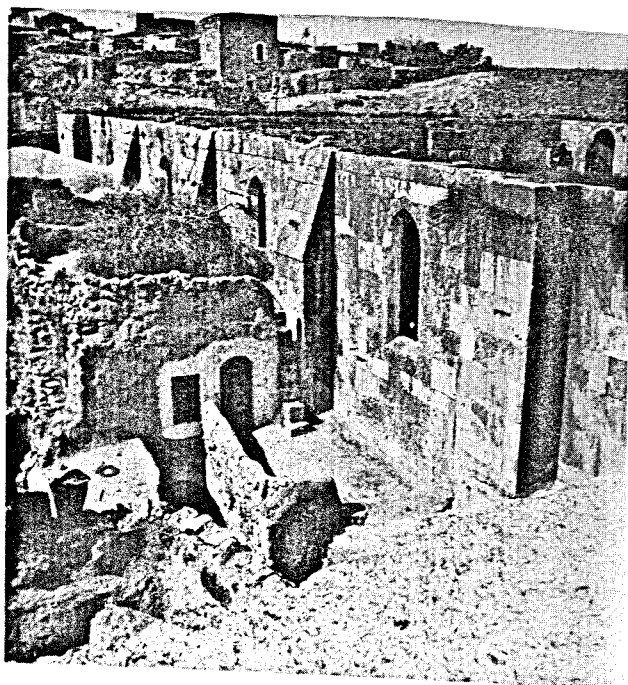


f Rebate stop.

CLX Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): architectural sculpture).



CLXI Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): west front and forecourt, from south-west.

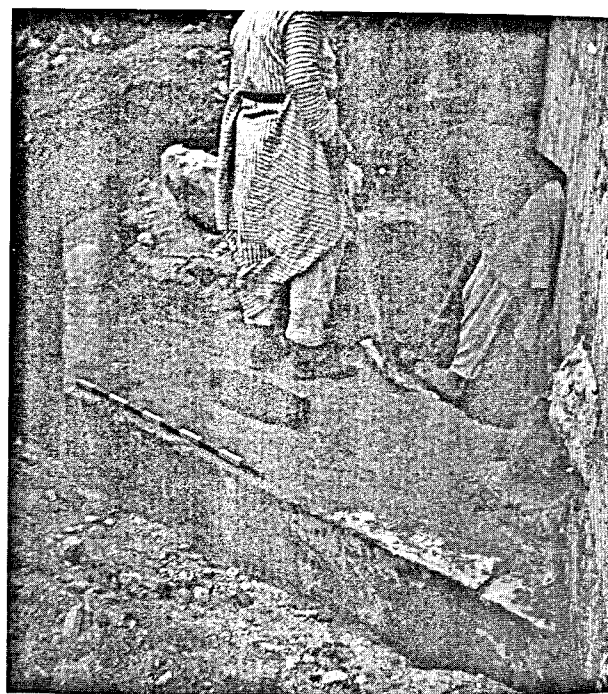


CLXII Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): south wall, looking west.

(1925: II, 345–6, fig. 466). The trace of a walled-up doorway into the south aisle may also be seen, though it appears that there was no corresponding one on the north.

The south wall, being thinner than the others, was strengthened externally by rectangular buttresses, chamfered at the top (pl. CLXII); their heights confirm that the transept was higher than the aisles, which therefore evidently had no galleries.

The eastern elevation is now destroyed, but is known



CLXIII Sebaste (Sabastiya), cathedral church of St John the Baptist (no. 225): the apse under excavation c.1944.

from its surviving foundations and from de Laborde's illustration of the 1830s to have been plain except for a projecting central apse, which de Vogüé evidently mistook for the south apse (1860: 360, 362). The apse's foundations have been planned by the officers of the SWP, who also recorded a moulding (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, fig. p. 212), and, following excavation (pl. CLXIII), by R.W. Hamilton (1944: fig. 22). They were five-sided and projected only a little more than 2 m. However, de Laborde's engraving suggests that the superstructure was rounded and was built out on a tabular course supported where necessary on corbels. This was carried in turn two superimposed orders of six rounded pilasters, each with bases and capitals, dividing the exterior into seven compartments. The horizontal moulding separating the orders formed in the five central compartments the springing for an arcade of rounded arches, which in the east, north-east and south-east compartments enclosed round-headed windows. The upper order of pilasters came to rest beneath a projecting eaves cornice, which was also supported by intermediate corbels, two to a compartment and apparently decorated.

A small oculus with tracery forming a quatrefoil is built into the east side of the *qubba* in the nave; though evidently Frankish, its original location is uncertain.

Decoration and Furnishings

Four capitals from the church were removed to the Museum of Istanbul in 1897. Three are of marble, with a rounded front and back but with undecorated flattened or incut sides. The decoration on the backs is vegetal, while the fronts are figured with scenes representing, respectively: Herod's feast, the dance of Salome, and the upper part of a figure holding a book and appearing to give a blessing, set between two figures, behind one of which is a lion. The fourth capital is yellow limestone and rectangular, representing the martyrdom of a saint (Mendel 1912: II, 585-92, nos. 794-7; Deschamps 1930a: 108-10, figs. 10-11; Walsh 1969; Boase 1977: 101-2, pl. xviii b-c; Folda 1977: 274). Boase relates these to another two Crusader capitals found in Damascus, one in the al-Hanābila mosque and the other now in the Louvre in Paris (1967: 88-9; 1977: 102 n.29). Like Walsh (1969: 20), he suggests that they came from the destroyed west door. However, the marble ones seem more likely to have come from a columned screen or aedicule of some kind, possibly that described by Burchard of Mount Sion (1283) as 'made of marble after the fashion of the Lord's Sepulchre' (cf. Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 113).

The three corbels (pls. CLxa-c) representing respectively a beard-puller, a bull, and a figure holding snakes and supporting triple-shafted ribs or pilasters are discussed by Kenaan-Kedar, who relates them to the type of rib-receiver that originated in the Île-de-France, spreading eastward and westward through France in the 1150s and 1160s (1992: 113-20, figs. 9-14, pl. 9; cf. Enlart 1925: II, 344-5, figs. 469-70). A plain rectangular corbel (pl. CLxd) decorated with a human face may have come from the eaves cornice of the apse or possibly some other part of the exterior (Enlart 1925: II, 346, pl. 148, fig. 468). Two other heads form stops for rebates (pls. CLxe-f).

The inside of the *qubba's* west wall is faced with three large fragments of a marble chancel-screen, 0.88 m high and together totalling some 4.8 m in length. They are decorated with circles raised in relief, each containing a cross, the transverse arms of which have in each case been chiselled away, no doubt in deference to Muslim sensibilities (Enlart 1925: II, 348; pl. 168, fig. 527). Although their date is evidently Byzantine, it appears likely that these would have been reused in the Crusader church. The base and plinth for a colonnette such as might have flanked a doorway may also be seen lying in the paved area of the mosque.

The description of the church by Laffi in the late seventeenth century suggests that the semi-dome of the

principal apse may have been decorated with mosaic (see above).

Associated Buildings

The base of a rectangular tower, built of reused masonry including antique column fragments and pieces of basrelief, may still be seen projecting from the north-west angle of the church; nineteenth-century photographs show this standing as high as the rest of the church, and remains of another mid-way along the north side (pls. CLIII-CLIV). Guérin considered the former to have been a bell-tower (1874: I, 194). However, it is clearly secondary to the church (*pace* Wilson, in Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 214), and seems more likely to represent an attempt at fortifying the cathedral complex in the 1180s or later (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 348).

To the south of the church, remains of structures and cisterns have been noted among the modern village houses, but have yet to be adequately planned. It seems likely that this was the location of the canons' cloister, and probably also of the bishop's house. To the east of the *chevet* at least two levels of vaults survive, terraced into the slope, the upper one containing an olive-press and having a row of slits in its eastern side (PEF: C.N. Johns, Field Notebook 1941-2 (21 May 1942); Guérin 1874: I, 194-5; Enlart 1925: II, 349-50). Some paving and the moulded plinth of a colonnade survive in the area of the *parvis* in front of the church on the west (Hamilton 1944: 37).

Epigraphy

The group of masonry marks recorded on the building has a low correlation with the assemblages from other Crusader buildings (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 213, fig.; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 26; II, 331; de Sandoli 1974: 274, no. 369 *bis*; Pringle 1981a: 185ff.).

The seal used by Bishops Ranier (c.1129-69) and Ralph (c.1175-87) depicted the figure of a bishop on the obverse and John baptizing Christ on the reverse (de Brouillon, 103 n.3, no. 142; Estournet, 242; Kenaan-Kedar 1992: 104 n.31).

The two (possibly Roman) sarcophagi that stood in the church and were said to contain the ashes of John the Baptist and Elisha seem from the description of Suriano to have been inscribed *Eliseus* and *Jo[hann]es* respectively (1485a: 142; 1485b: 156; cf. Brémond 1679: 227) (see above).

Movable Objects

The Franciscan Museum in Jerusalem contains a circular lead pilgrimage token showing on one side the baptism of Christ and on the other a mounted figure possibly representing St George. Although found in Sebaste (in 1973), however, it cannot be certain that this was the site commemorated (Bagatti 1979: 68, pl. 19.1).

Discussion

The church seen by Daniel in 1106–8 had probably only been built after the Crusader conquest. Usāmah's description (1140–3) indicates that it and the Baptist's tomb were separate structures within a walled enclosure. Soon after the discovery of relics in 1145, however, it seems that a more ambitious project was begun to rebuild the cathedral on its Byzantine foundations, enclosing within it the underground tomb. After the initial marking out had been done, construction would probably have begun from the east. Indeed, the apse, with its semi-circular arcade and window-heads, seems stylistically earlier than the rest of the building; and its similarity to the first-phase apse of the cathedral of Beirut, dated to 1112–47 (see Vol. 1, no. 42), of which it represents a more developed version, would accord with a dating from c.1145 onwards.

It is not possible to tell how far this campaign of work progressed, because whatever remained of the first two bays was destroyed when the mosque was built in c.1892. What is clear, however, is that, as built, the ground plan of the church was consistent from east to west, with the choir and nave being carried on piers alternating with paired columns. The only stylistic change that may be detected between the eastern and western parts of the building occurs in the crossing and transept, where, as Enlart observed, the introduction of rib-vaulting at a late stage in the construction necessitated the insertion of rib-bearing corbels into the structure at an upper level. By the time that construction had reached the middle of the nave, such vaulting was already catered for in the design of the piers.

The close relationship between the architecture of the cathedral of Sebaste and that of Sens, already noted by Enlart, has been catalogued and discussed more fully by Kenaan-Kedar, who also provides a convincing explanation for the connection in the person of Archbishop William of Sens, who, together with his relations, was a prominent benefactor of the church of Sebaste in the 1170s (1992: 105–11, 120). The masons responsible for the alternating piers and double columns at Sebaste

and its system of vaulting may also have had a direct influence on the nearby church at Jacob's Well (cf. Enlart 1925: II, 343), which existed by 1169–72 (Vol. 1, no. 108), and possibly on some of the churches in Nablus (e.g. nos. 161 and 167).

There is no way of confirming or disproving the suggestion of Boase (1971: 120) that the church was never completed.

Visited 24.2.79, 13.12.79, 22.4.80, 17.7.81.

Sources

Abū'l-Fida' (RHC Or, I, 53) (1184); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, IV, 302) (1187); Anon. II (c.1170), 1 (IHC, III, 10; PPTS, VI, 5); Anon. VII (c.1160) (IHC, III, 82; PPTS, VI, 75); Berlière 'Frédéric de Laroche', pl. (1153–61); 'Une lettre', 124–5 (1153–61); de Broussillon, I, 100–5, no. 142 (1169); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), VII, 17 (ed. Laurent, 52–3; IHC, IV, 162–4; PPTS, XII, 50); *Chemins et pèlerinages* A (–1265), III, 16; B (1268), III, 16 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 186, 197); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Rothelin MS) (1261), x (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 171); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (Lyon MS), xxvii (ed. Morgan, 40); Daniel (1106–8), LXXII (trans. Ryan, 156; de Khitrowo, 58); ELS, 233–8, nos. 307–17; Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 148–9) (1187); Estournet 242–4, no. 6 (1169–70); *de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 233; IHC, III, 112–14) (1187); al-Harawī (c.1171–7) (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 59–60); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 290–2, no. 117 (1179); Ibn al-Athīr (RHC Or, I, 667; 690) (1184, 1187); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 35, 99) (1187); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 55–6 (IHC, III, 326; PPTS, XI, 33–4); Kedar, 'Raising funds', 454–5 (1169–70); de Lincy and Bruel, 492–3, no. 1 (1145); 495, no. 4 (1189); Matthew Paris, *Hist. min.* (RS, XLIV.i, 430–1) (1184); Nicolas Bergsson, *of Thverá* (1145–53), IV, 1 (IHC, II, 218; trans. Hill, 216; trans. Kedar and Westergård-Nielsen, 204); Phocas (1185), XII (PG, CXXXIII, 940; PPTS, V, 15–16; trans. Wilkinsor 322); RRH, 59, no. 235 (1145); Ralph of Diss (RS, LXVIII.i, 28) (1184); Roger of Wendover (RS, LXXXIV.i, 133) (1184); Theodoric (1169–72), XLIII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 188–9; PPTS, V, 62–3); *S. Theotonii Vita* (–1160), III, 13 (IHC, II, 37); Thietmar (1217), VIII, 62; XXIX, 17–18 (ed. Laurent, 25, 53); *Tractatus de Locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 149); Usāmah, *Kitāb al-'Asa* (ed. Derenbourg, 189, 528–9; trans. Gabrieli, 83–4; Costello 83–4) (1140–3); William of Tyre, VIII, 1 (CCCM, LXIII, 38; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 340); Yāqūt (c.1225) (trans. I Strange, 523; Marmardji, 92)

Abel 1967: II, 446; d'Aveiro 1564b: fol. 216v.; Avigad 1970: 1049; 1993: 1310; Bagatti 1949: 156 n.3; 1971d: 252–346, fig. 12; 1978; 1979: 62–7, figs. 21–2, pls. 20–21.1; Bal 1955a: 239–43, nos. 318–29; Benvenisti 1970: 345–366–8, figs.; Berlière 1906; 1907; 1908; Beyer 1940: 15182; Boase 1967: 88–9; 1971: 120; 1977: 73, 101–2, 11 pl. xviii, fig. 3; Boldensele 1333: 41; Boniface of Ragusa 1578; Brémond 1679: 227; du Cange 1869: 803–4; Cele 1648–50: 36–9; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 26; II, 331–

Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 160, 211-15, figs. pl.; Crowfoot (JW) 1932b: pl. IV; 1937: 24-5; Dalman 1906: 42; Deschamps 1930a: 108-10, figs. 10-11; Enlart 1925: II, 339-49, pls. 12, 145-8, 168; d'Estourmel 1848: I, 405-6, pl. 78; Folda 1977: 271, 274, 275, pl. XVIII; Goujon 1670: 99-100; Gucci 1384: 138-9; Guérin 1874: I, 188-209; Guide Bleu 1932: 538-40; Hamilton (B) 1980: 68, 84-5, 128, 361; Hamilton (RW) 1936: 30, 31-3, figs. 4-5; 1944: 33-4, 35-40, figs. 13-15, 22; 1961: 35-40, figs. 13-15, 22; Heyck 1900: fig. 91; Hiestand 1985: 65-6; Hoade 1946: 423; 1978: 566; Jahshan and Jahshan 1963: 76; James of Verona 1335: 269-70; Johns 1937: 37-8 (F5); Kedar 1994; Kanaan-Kedar 1992; 1993; Kootwyk 1619: 345; Kühnel 1988: 194-5; de Laborde 1837; Laffi 1683: 143; Langé 1965: 131, 140, 174, 186, fig. 76; Le Strange 1890: 523; Lyons and Jackson 1982: 268; Mandeville c.1356-66: 182; Marmardji 1951: 92; Maundrell 1697: 78-9; Meistermann 1936: 514-15; Mendel 1909: 1912: II, 585-92, nos. 794-7; Morison 1705: 231-2; Morone 1669: I, 337; Morosini 1514; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 283-4, fig. 97.20; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 71, 83-4, 99-100; Ory 1975: 228; Palestine 1929: 231; 1948: 64; Parrot 1955; Petrozzi 1973: 296-305, figs. 99, 111-15; Poloner 1422a: 273; 1422b: 30; Prawer 1975a: I, 632, 661; Pringle 1981a: 185ff.; 1993: 33; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 609; 1626b: 384; Rey 1883: 429; Roberts 1842b: IV, 11, 13, 18-19, 23-5, pls. 81, 83; Robinson 1841: II, 305; du Rozel 1644: 38; de Sandoli 1974: 274, no. 369 bis; de Saulcy 1853: II, 391-3, 396; Schiller 1979: 306 (photos of 1887-90); Smail 1973: 132, 134, 136, 138; Stanley 1912: 190; Suriano 1485a: 142; 1485b: 156; Surius 1666: 551; de Thévenot 1687: I, 215-16; Thomson 1876: 468; della Valle 1616a: 583-4; de Vogüé 1860: 358-62, pl. xxvi; Walsh 1969; Wilkinson 1977: 169; Wylie c.1883: 328.

No. 226 Monastery Church of St John the Baptist 1681.1868

History

The *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* records that by c.808 the large church of St John in Sebaste (no. 225) had collapsed; at this time Bishop Basil and his priests, monks and clerks, numbering twenty-five in all, were serving in a second church, located at the place where John the Baptist had been imprisoned and beheaded (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; ELS, 233, no. 305; trans. Wilkinson, 138).

No further mention is made of this second church until late in the twelfth century. Indeed, in the early twelfth century John's prison seems to have been equated with his tomb, sited below the larger church, which was soon to be rebuilt (Daniel (1106-8), LXXIII; see above). In 1185, however, John Phocas records:

In the central upper part of the city is a mound, on which Herod's palace stood . . . This place has now been made into a Romaic [i.e. Greek] monastery, and the church of this mon-

astery is domed. On the left of the altar is a small chamber, in the middle of which one sees a small marble circle lying over a very deep pit, in which the venerable Head was first discovered of the Forerunner, venerable even to angels. This is the place where Herodias buried it. (ch. XII (PG, CXXXIII, 939; ELS, 235-6, no. 312; trans. Wilkinson, 322); cf. Crowfoot 1937: 25)

With the demise of the Latin cathedral in 1187, the Orthodox monks appear to have reappropriated the tradition that this had been John the Baptist's prison. Thus, in 1283, Burchard of Mount Sion relates, after describing the larger church,

The other church is on the crest of the hill, where the king's palace was. It is inhabited by Greek monks, Christians, who received me kindly and fed me. In that church the same Greeks show the place where they say that John was imprisoned and beheaded by Herod.

This claim Burchard reckoned to be worthless, since not only was it contradicted by the historical sources, including Josephus, which stated that John was beheaded at Machaerus in Transjordan, but in any case the Herod in question had no authority in Samaria (ch. VII, 17 (ed. Laurent, 53; IHC, IV, 162-4; ELS, 237-8, no. 317.2)).

A 'church with a tower', located on the summit of the hill, was visited by James of Verona in 1335 (1335: 270; Baldi 1955a: 239, no. 320). Nicolas of Poggibonsi saw it soon afterwards, and also identifies it, no doubt on the authority of the Greek monks whom he found there, as the place of the beheading of John. He describes the church within the monastery as

made with two naves [aisles?], completely vaulted above, with an altar raised above ground on four columns; and beneath the altar there is a marble slab, and in the middle of the stone there is a round hole; and in that place his head was cut off. But the original stone of the place was translated to Alexandria. And above this altar there is a dome, raised above every other building, with a large window in the top. Within this church there are five altars.

A visit to the site was worth seven years' indulgence (1346-50: 72; Baldi 1955a: 240, no. 322.2).

The church and monastery seem to have been abandoned sometime in the fifteenth century. John Poloner records the presence of the Greek monks, though his account is influenced heavily by Burchard's and may not therefore be reliable (1422a: 273; 1422b: 30; Baldi 1955a: 240-1, no. 323); however, according to Count Johannes Tüchern, writing some fifty-five years later, the Greeks had only recently abandoned it (1479; Baldi 1955a: 241, no. 324).

Francesco Suriano refers briefly to the church as that located where John the Baptist had been beheaded, but mentions no monks (1485a: 142; 1485b: 156; Baldi

1955a: 241, no. 325.1). Greek monks are mentioned in the church by Juan Perera (1553b: 46) and by Bernardino Surio (1666: 551; cf. Bagatti 1979: 66); but these accounts are also suspect, being like that of Poloner based on the description by Burchard of Mount Sion. The sixteenth-century Muslim pilgrim Evliya Çelebi, who visited the larger church, was aware that there had once been a monastery on the hilltop, but thought that it had been abandoned, like the town, at the time of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (AD 813–33) (1648–50: 36–7).

The remains of this monastery were excavated in 1932 on the south flank of the hill just below the walls of the acropolis. The ground covering them had latterly been used as a cemetery by the Christians of Sabastiya.

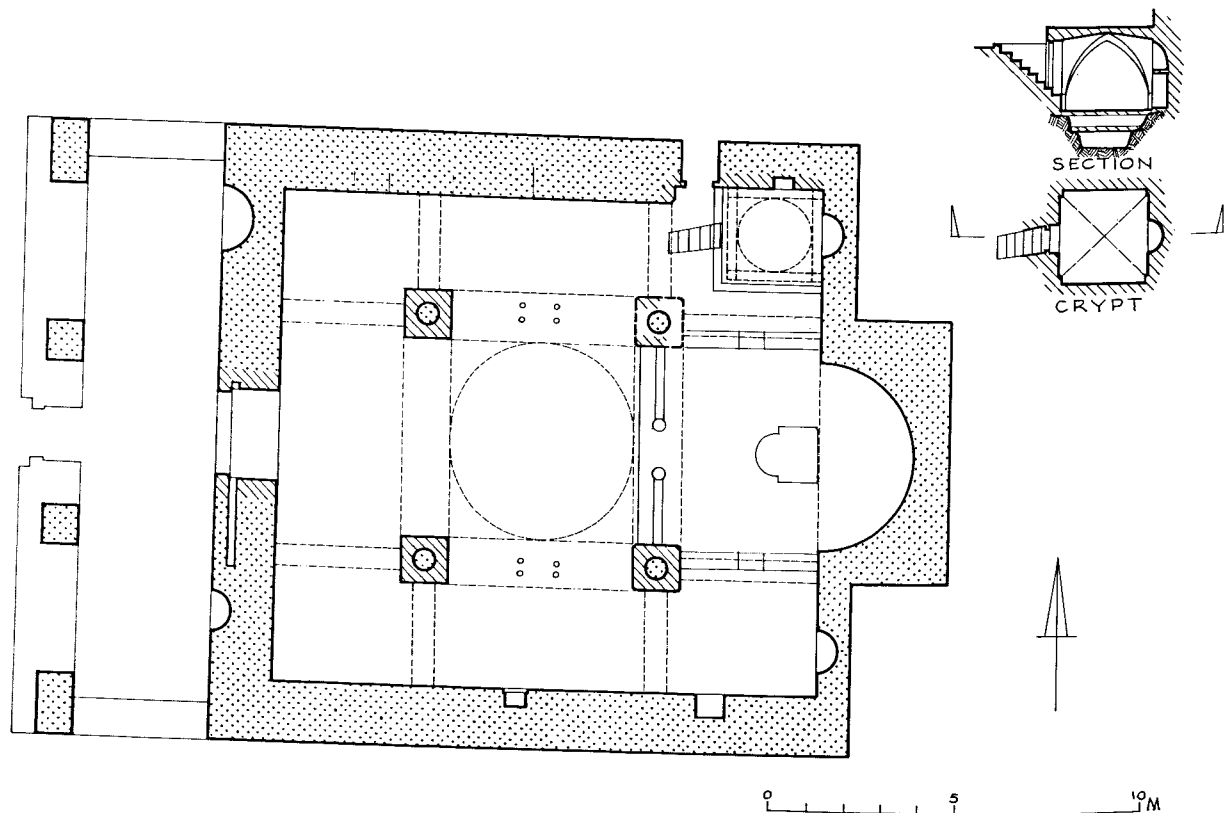
Description

On excavation the walls of the church were found to be standing some 3–4 m high (pls. CLXIV–CLXV). The building had been roughly square, measuring internally 14.6 m east–west by 13 m north–south, with a semi-circular apse contained in a rectangular projection on the east and four rectangular piers, enclosing columns, to support the vaulting (fig. 80). The main west door

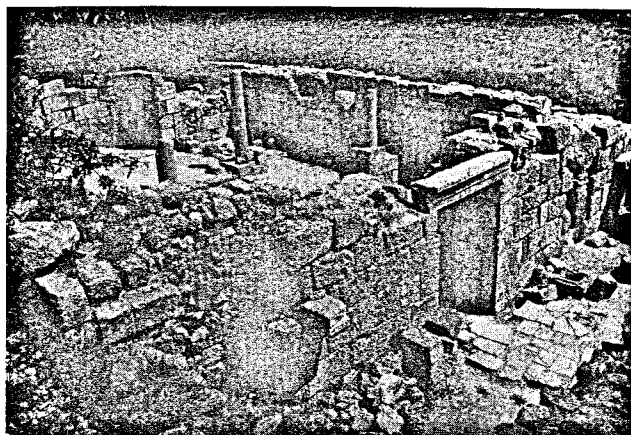
was preceded by a narthex. Four principal phases were identified.

The general form of the ground plan was established in the first phase, dating from the sixth century. This phase was also represented by traces of floor mosaic surviving in the porch and in the south aisle. Remains of two stylobates and the responds for arcades either side of the apse, however, indicate that the roofing would have been of timber, carried on colonnades, probably of six columns each (Crowfoot 1937: 29–30, pl. 12, 17a–c).

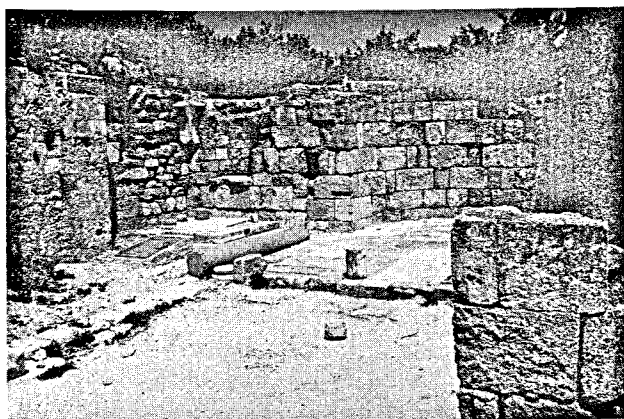
The first-phase church was apparently destroyed and its columns removed before the rebuilding represented by the second phase took place. To this phase belong the major part of the surviving north, west and south walls, the narthex, and four granite columns which were evidently intended to support a central dome. These columns were probably quarried from the ruins of the Roman theatre and were set on marble bases which cut through the earlier stylobate. The walls were 1.8 m thick, probably thicker than those of the earlier church, but were poorly built from reused material roughly fitted together. In addition to a main door on the west, there are remains of another in the centre of the north wall. The south wall contained two aumbries. The narthex in



80 Sebaste (Sabastiya), Greek church of St John the Baptist (no. 226): plan.



CLXIV Sebaste (Sabastiya), Greek Orthodox church of St John the Baptist (no. 226): from north-west.



CLXV Sebaste (Sabastiya), Greek Orthodox church of St John the Baptist (no. 226): interior looking north-east.

this phase consisted of three open groin-vaulted bays supported on rectangular piers; it enclosed a vaulted tomb below the floor at the north end, a cistern just south of the door, and two clumsily made niches in the east wall. The interior of the church was plastered and painted. The excavators found three floreated crosses of types datable between the tenth and twelfth centuries painted in red on the shafts of the north-east and north-west columns, and in the north-west corner of the church traces of a badly weathered fresco (now vanished) representing a row of saints datable on stylistic grounds to c.1080. On this evidence the second phase may be dated to the mid to late eleventh century (Crowfoot 1937: 30-32, fig. 4, pls. 12, 17d).

The third phase dates from the mid to late twelfth century, and would have produced the church that John Phocas saw in 1185. In this phase the four columns supporting the dome and vaulting were encased in masonry to form piers some 1.3 m square.

The quality of the masonry is finer, with the type of diagonal dressing normally associated with twelfth-century work. The fact that similar masonry was found in the collapse of the vault indicates that the rebuilding entailed the complete reconstruction of the vaulting; it would therefore have been more extensive than is suggested by the surviving remains alone. The fragments from the collapse included three stones with a cyma-recta moulding which prove that the drum below the dome had an octagonal exterior. Eight stones came from the cornice surrounding the inside of the dome, one having a raised medallion containing a cross. The remaining bays were covered with groin-vaults, separated from each other by pointed transverse arches which sprang from moulded imposts built into the piers and inserted into the walls. The west door was rebuilt in this phase with new jambs supporting the old lintel and a flat or segmental rear-arch; the door was provided with a draw-bar, operating in a socket 2.5 m long in the south jamb. In the narthex an altar tomb was inserted north of the door, and another below an arch at the south end (Crowfoot 1937: 32, pl. 12).

A particular feature of the rebuilding in the third phase was the construction of a *martyrium* in the north-east bay of the church, consisting of a domed aedicule above a subterranean crypt. To accommodate the aedicule the north wall was cut back and one of the pendentives for the dome was inserted into the newly formed angle (pl. CLXVI). Little of the aedicule remains standing. All four pendentives, however, seem originally to have been supported on rectangular piers having hollow-chamfered arrises. The cornice inside the drum had a simple concave moulding. The floor of the aedicule was two steps higher than the aisle's; presumably it was here that Phocas saw the marble circle, though this part of the pavement is now missing.

The crypt is entered down eight steps from the north aisle. On the right-hand wall of the passage is a compass-designed cross carved in relief, while at the bottom the left-hand door jamb is covered with pilgrims' crosses. The crypt itself is groin-vaulted, with string impressions surviving on the groins and a small oculus in the centre. A pointed-arched semi-circular niche, divided by an altar slab, is set in the east wall, which was originally completely covered with paintings (see below). Below the floor is a tomb, now empty (Crowfoot 1937: 35-8, figs. 6, 8-9, pl. 12, 15b, 16).

In a fourth phase, post-dating the twelfth century, the main altar was replaced by a rough pile of stones, the openings in the north and south walls were blocked, and the west door restricted in size. The narthex was walled



CLXVI Sebaste (Sabstiya), Greek Orthodox church of St John the Baptist (no. 228): north-east bay, showing pendentive of inserted aedicule.

up, and an outer door inserted on the west (built from reused twelfth-century masonry). Inside the church various partitions were inserted, including a groin-vaulted platform in the south-western bay, with steps up to it. Evidence of cooking below this suggests a domestic use of the building in the later Middle Ages (Crowfoot 1937: 32, 38, pl. 14b).

Decoration and Furnishings

In the twelfth-century phase there appear to have been wooden seats or stalls enclosing three sides of the central bay beneath the dome, with passages between them leading to the aisles and to the west. On the east side a stone chancel screen, about 20 cm thick and 80 cm high, ran between the two eastern piers; this had a central door, flanked by oval-sectioned columns. The screen also continued across the south aisle, with

returns (also with doors) separating the central presbytery from the side chapels (Crowfoot 1937: 34, fig. 7).

The paving of the presbytery appears to date from phase two; the outline of the altar was found or marked by plaster (Crowfoot 1937: 34–5, pl. 12).

The second-phase church was decorated internally with wall paintings, which included at the north-west corner the depiction of a row of saints, which has been dated to around 1080 (Crowfoot 1937: 31, pl. 1; Kühnel 1988: 196); it seems likely that this would have been visible in the twelfth-century church. The most significant surviving traces of wall paintings, however, are in the twelfth-century crypt. They show the upper part of the niche in the east wall of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, and in the lower part the invention of his head and the salvaging of his ashes after the burning of his body under Julian the Apostate. The niche is flanked by kneeling angels in the spandrels on either side. While there is general agreement among art historians as to the Byzantine authorship of the paintings, L.-A. Hunt places their date soon after 1100 and G. Kühnel a little later in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Crowfoot 1937: 36–8, pl. 16b–c, frontispiece; Kühnel 1988: 197–204, figs. 134–7, 140, pls. LXXV, LXXVI; Hunt 1982: 196, pl. 8.11).

Blue and wine-coloured window glass was recovered in the excavations. The panes were circular, 22–24 cm in diameter, some having folded borders; one piece was found still in its stucco frame. Also found were fragments of glass lamps of the bowl-with-stem, beaker and handled-cup types, together with pieces of metal lamp suspenders (Crowfoot 1937: 39).

The excavations also yielded a fragment from a gable tombstone (42 cm high, 26 cm wide at base), with a cross on the gable (Crowfoot 1937: 38–9, fig. 10).

Movable Objects

Among the objects found in the excavations were fragments of two stone bread moulds, one inscribed in Greek, 'Take, eat' (Crowfoot 1937: 39). The medieval pottery is described by G.M. Crowfoot (1932: 180–195; cf. Pringle 1981b: 55).

Associated Buildings

To the west of the church lie the remains of an associated monastery, dating from the sixth century onwards. How far this extended to the north and south is uncertain, as excavation of it was left incomplete. The excavated remains include a room aligned north-south with a mosaic floor and a north-facing apse;

although this has been identified as a chapel by A. Ovadiah (1970: 158-9, pl. 62 (no. 159)), its orientation makes the suggestion improbable. One of the cisterns in the complex contained medieval pottery and a coin of Amalric I (1163-74) (Crowfoot 1937: 26-8, fig. 3).

To the east of the church a cemetery was found with regular lines of graves identified by cross-marked headstones (Crowfoot (JW) 1937: 28).

Epigraphy

J.W. Crowfoot mentions that the excavation yielded a stone block with 'some undecipherable Gothic letters painted on it' (1937: 39). A number of Armenian *graffiti* were also found incised in the stone or plaster on and around the apse; they appear to have been post-thirteenth century, and included the names *Matt'eos* and *T'oros*, and pious acclamations such as *Kendani Khac'*, 'the Living Cross' (Crowfoot 1937: 39).

Discussion

If this was indeed the church mentioned in c.808, the destruction of the phase-one basilica should be placed somewhat later, possibly at the time of Caliph al-Hākim (c.1009-14). The construction of the phase-two domed church of cross-in-square plan may be associated with the phase of rebuilding of churches that occurred in Palestine from the 1130s onwards (cf. Pringle 1982b), the closest known parallel being the basilican church of St Mary in 'Abud, which was rebuilt with vaulting carried on four masonry piers in 1058 (see Vol. 1, no. 2). The monastery seems to have been abandoned by the early twelfth century, and its subsequent restoration in the 1160s or 1170s is likely to have been encouraged, directly or indirectly, by the patronage exercised by Manuel I Comnenus in the Holy Land (cf. Carr 1982).

Visited 24.2.79, 13.12.79, 22.4.80, 17.7.81, 2.1.82.

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), vii, 17 (ed. Laurent, 53; *IHC*, iv, 162-4; *PPTS*, xii, 50-1); *ELS*, 235-8, nos. 312, 317; Phocas (1185), xii (PG, cxxxiii, 939; *PPTS*, v, 16; trans. Wilkinson, 322).

Abel 1967: ii, 446; Avigad 1978: 1049-50; 1993: 1310; Benvenisti 1970: 368; Bagatti 1971d: 202, fig. 70; 1979: 64-7, figs. 21, 23, pl. 21.2; Baldi 1955a: 239-43, nos. 319, 322-9; Boase 1967: 86; 1977: 123; Carr 1982: 228 n.40; Çelebi 1648-50: 36-7; Conder and Kitchener 1881: ii, pl. opp. p. 211; Crowfoot (GW) 1932: 180-81; Crowfoot (JW)

1931: 141-2, pl. ii.4; 1932a: 28-33, pls. vi-vii; 1932b: pl. iv; 1932c: 135; 1937: 24-39, pls. 12-17, figs. 3-10, frontispiece; Enlart 1925: ii, 340; Hamilton 1936: 53-7, figs. 13, 15; 1944: 56-9, figs. 23, 25; 1961: 56-9, figs. 23, 25; Hoade 1946: 425; 1978: 567; Hunt 1982: 196, pl. 8.11; James of Verona 1335: 270; Johns 1937: 37-8 (r5); Kühnel 1988: 193-204, figs. 134-7, 140, pls. lxxii-lxxv; Meistermann 1936: 517; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 283, fig. 97.6; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346-50: 72, 99-100; Ovadiah 1970: 157-8, pl. 63 (no. 158); Palestine 1948: 64; Parrot 1955; Perera 1553b: 46, 73; Petrozzi 1973: 290-6, figs. 99, 106-10; Poloner 1422a: 273; 1422b: 30; Pringle 1982b: 7, 10, 28 (no. 12), fig. 1.5, pl. 1.5ab; Suriano 1485a: 142; 1485b: 156; Surius 1666: 551; Tuchern 1479; della Valle 1616a: 584; Wilkinson 1977: 169.

SHAFA 'AMR

Cr. le Saffran, Safran, Sapharanum, Castrum Zafetanum, Saphar castrum, Cafram; Med. Ar. *Shafra'amm*; Hebr. *Shefar'am*

In the second century AD, Shefar'am had been a small Jewish town of sufficient significance to have been for a while the seat of the Sanhedrin (Abel 1967: ii, 456; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 96; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 230). By the Byzantine period, however, its population would have included a substantial number of Christians, whose presence is attested by a series of richly decorated rock-cut tombs (Conder and Kitchener 1881: i, 339-43; Bagatti 1971a: 132-4, figs. 91-9).

In the twelfth century the village appears to have been predominantly Christian, as indeed it has remained to the present century (cf. Bagatti 1971a: 134-6). It occupied a significant position on one of the roads between Acre and Nazareth passing through Saffuriya. It may almost certainly be identified as the 'very strong castle of the Templars' (*castrum validissimum Templariorum*) that the pilgrim Theodoric saw between Saffuriya and Acre in 1169-72 (ch. XLVIII (CCCM, CXXXIX, 194; *PPTS*, v, 69)).

The Muslim raid into Galilee in April 1187 that resulted in the battle of the Springs of Cresson on 1 May seems to have reached as far west as Shafa 'Amr (*Cafram*) (*de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 211); Prawer 1975a: i, 645; cf. Ibn al-Athir (*RHC Or.* i, 67-8)). After the battle of Hattin it was occupied on 7 July by Tāqī al-Dīn (Abū Shāmā (*RHC Or.* iv, 294); Prawer 1975a: i, 657), and between October 1190 and July 1191 it and the tells around it were used on a number of occasions by

Saladin while directing the encirclement of the Franks besieging Acre (ʿImād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 259, 283, 319, 328); Bahāʾ al-Dīn, LXXXV (PPTS, XIII, 217–18); Yāqūt, in Marmardji 1951: 111; Prawer 1975a: II, 60, 68; Lyons and Jackson 1982: 300, 326, 331). Saladin was staying in the castle, or tower, of the Templars (*Burj al-Dīwiya*) at Shafa ʿAmr when Acre fell to the Franks in July 1191 (*History of the Patriarchs*, II, 156), but there appears to be no evidence to suggest that he destroyed it before departing (pace Blochet, in *Histoire des Patriarches*, vol. IX, 52 n.1; Prawer 1975a: II, 78).

Shafa ʿAmr was formally returned to Frederick II in February 1229 (Prawer 1975a: II, 199). It was in the hands of the Templars again by 1250–1, when the master transferred the commander of the Templars' palace in Acre to *le Saffran* after he had suspiciously mislaid a loan deposited with him by John of Joinville (Joinville, LXXX, 414 (ed. de Wailly, 173; trans. Shaw, 267)).

In the treaty between Hugh of Cyprus and Baybars, concluded in April 1272, Shafa ʿAmr was added to the portion granted to the Franks (al-ʿAynī Badr al-Dīn 1451: 247; Prawer 1975a: II, 504). It was still in Frankish hands in 1283 (al-Qalqashandī, in Barag 1979: 207 (no. 63)), and was described the same year by Philip of Savona as the 'loftiest castle' (*summum Castrum*) on the road between Acre and Nazareth (ch. IV (IHC, IV, 222)). It seems to have remained at least nominally in Frankish hands until al-Ashraf's final onslaught against Acre in 1291, its population at that time still being mainly Christian (Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), II, 8–9 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, IV, 262)).

The remains of the Templar castle may possibly be incorporated within the large castle built by Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar in 1761; however, this and its outlying watch towers have still to be adequately investigated (Guérin 1880: I, 410–11; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 272; Ory (S) 1975: 229, pl. xviii).

No. 227 Church of St James and St John the Evangelist (Unlocated)

History

Two French pilgrim texts of c.1230 refer to a church of St James and St John at Shafa ʿAmr, marking the place where they had been born; the place in the rock was still to be seen (*Pelerinages* (c.1231), xvi; *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), I (xvi) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100, 104)). The same is repeated by later French texts (*Chemins et pelerinages* A (–1265), IV, 17; B (1268), IV, 17; *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), x (ed. Michelant and

Raynaud, 187, 198, 234)), while Philip of Savona (1283) (ch. IV (IHC, IV, 222)) and Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91) (ch. II, 8 (ed. Laurent, 107; IHC, IV, 262)) refer simply to the identification of Shafa ʿAmr as the birthplace of James and John, the sons of Zechariah. These accounts seem to imply that the church was no longer standing, though this is not explicitly stated (Bagatti 1971a: 127).

In the eighteenth century, Giovanni Mariti mentioned a ruined church at the birthplace of James and John, which he locates at *Saffa*, 3 miles south-west of Nazareth. This was known as *Deir* by the Arabs, and the Franciscans of Nazareth would celebrate Mass at an altar there (1769: II, 189–90). Curiously, Mariti does not appear to have connected *Saffa* with Shafa ʿAmr, which he subsequently visited and described (1769: 233–4), though it is difficult to tell what other place it could have been.

The identification of the site of the church of St James and St John that was seen by the thirteenth-century pilgrims remains uncertain. Quite possibly its site is occupied by one of the many churches built by different Christian communities in Shafa ʿAmr within this century. Two other earlier church buildings have also been recorded. In the seventeenth century, Eugène Roger, who calls the place *Sosembre* or *Sesambre*, remarked that a mosque in the eastern part of the village occupied the site of a church built by St Helena (1769: 54–5; cf. Bagatti 1971a: 127–9). And in the nineteenth century, V. Guérin saw the remains of a three-apsed church lying to the south of the town. Only a few courses of ashlar were standing, with some fragments of monolithic columns lying about. The building measured 35 paces east–west by 22 north–south, and the ground inside was littered with mosaic tesserae (Guérin 1880: 412–13; Avi-Yonah 1933: 41 (no. 304)).

Sources

Chemins et pelerinages A (–1265), IV, 17; B (1268), IV, 17; Michelant and Raynaud, 187, 198; *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), x (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234); *Pelerinages* (c.1231), xvi (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 100); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), I (xvi) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104).

Abel 1967: II, 456; Bagatti 1971a: 125–7; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 273; Hoade 1978: 715–16; Johns 1936; Mariti 1769: II, 189–90; Rey 1883: 494; de Vogüé 1904: 449.

No. 228 Church (of St Phocas) 1663.24

History

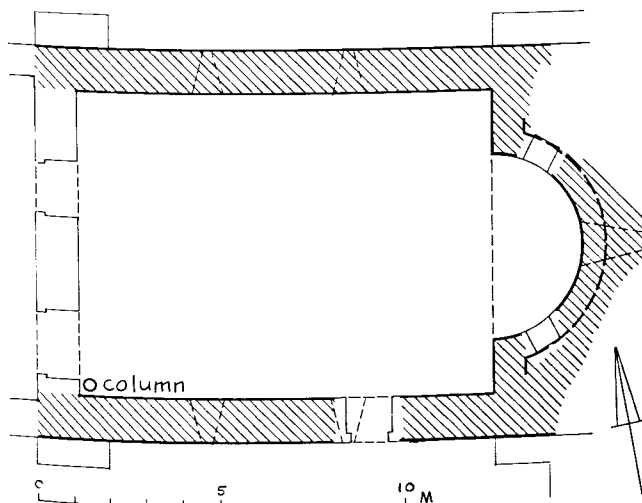
Giovanni Mariti visited Shafa ʿAmr in 1761 and wrote

Here are seen the ruins of a rather large church of ancient construction, of which only the vault is ruined; I was told that it had been dedicated to St Phocas the Martyr. (1769: II, 234)

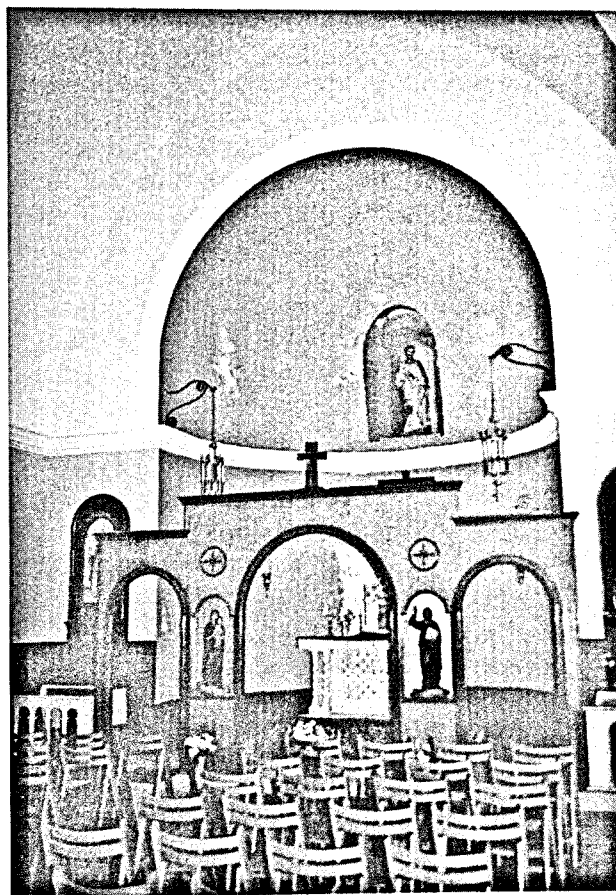
This was evidently the ruined church of St Phocas that was rebuilt by the Sisters of Nazareth in 1866, and which Victor Guérin saw both before and after the reconstruction. According to Guérin's description, the original chapel had a single nave with an eastern apse. Each side wall contained three lancet windows with wide internal splays. A stair led up to the terrace roof. In the rebuilding of the chapel the western bay was suppressed, leaving only two windows in each wall. While excavating the ground for laying the new pavement the builders found a large number of small mosaic tesserae, and beneath them a dozen or so graves cut in the rock; these were mostly disturbed, though some still contained bones. In the adjacent garden, two rock-cut burial caves were also found, each containing three *arcosolia*; one was then blocked, the other made into a cistern (Guérin 1880: I, 411-12).

Guérin considered this church to be pre-Crusader on account of its dedication, but repaired by the Latins. The officers of the Survey of Western Palestine, who would have seen the church only after it had been rebuilt, thought it to be probably fifth or sixth century in origin:

The apse was found standing as high as the cornice; the south wall up to the sill of the windows; the north wall stood about one yard [0.91 m] above-ground. A pillar was found, now placed in the south-west corner. It has a Byzantine appearance. The church is twenty-seven feet broad [8.23 m], thirty-seven feet six inches [11.44 m] along the south wall, with one apse, seventeen feet diameter [5.18 m], on the east. (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 343, cf. 272)



81 Shafa 'Amr, church of St Phocas (no. 228): plan.



CLXVII Shafa 'Amr, church of St Phocas (no. 228): apse.

The building served as parish church for the Roman Catholics until 1956, when the Sisters adopted the Greek Catholic rite and a new Latin church was built (Bagatti 1971a: 134).

Description

The church is, as Guérin described it, a single-celled structure, measuring internally 11.23 by 8.2 m with an eastern apse (diameter 4.98 m) (fig. 81; pl. CLXVII). The whole interior is now plastered and painted, so that without the testimony of Guérin and the SWP it would be difficult to tell how much of the structure pre-dates 1866. The west wall and gallery, however, are evidently insertions, as is the large groin-vault which covers the nave and is sustained externally by four rectangular buttresses added to the corners. As the north and south walls, whose external faces at least appear to be built on the original structure, are now only some 1.2 m thick, it may be that the roofing was originally of timber or possibly that the internal wall-face was cut back in

1866 to enlarge the nave. The lower courses of the exterior of the north wall are chisel-dressed; one of the stones bears a masonry mark which may possibly be twelfth or thirteenth century (see below). It is not possible to confirm whether the south windows incorporate the sills of the originals, seen by the SWP.

The rounded semi-dome and window (now blocked) of the apse also evidently date from 1866, as does the heavy cornice, which, however, may (as the SWP implies) replace or conceal the original. To either side of the altar, the apse wall contains a round-headed door leading to a sacristy; these appear to be insertions, though possibly replacing earlier doors or aumbries.

The column seen by SWP is now supported on a stone corbel just below the modern gallery in the south-west corner of the nave. It is much worn, with a moulded finial and base, but has more the appearance of a Roman votive or dedicatory stele than of a structural member. It now bears a modern painted inscription (see below).

Epigraphy

A stone in the north wall has inscribed on it what appears to be a masonry mark forming the letter *L* (like 31–6, but equal armed). The column at the south-west corner of the church now has painted on it an inscription, dating apparently from the time of its discovery in 1866: *Colonne / sur laquelle / on déposait / les dons / offerts à / S PHOCAS / dans cette / ancienne / église.*

Discussion

Guérin's description and the surviving masonry in the north wall support Guérin's view that it represented a medieval rebuilding of an earlier Byzantine church.

Visited 27.6.81.

Sources

Avi-Yonah 1933: 41 (no. 303); Bagatti 1971a: 130, 134; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 272–3, 343; Enlart 1925: II, 89; Guérin 1880: I, 410–14; Hoade 1978: 716; Mariti 1769: II, 234.

SHAUBAK

Montreal; Cr. Castrum Saboach, Scobach, Mons Regalis, Mont Real, Mont Reau, Monreal; Med. Ar. al-Shawbak

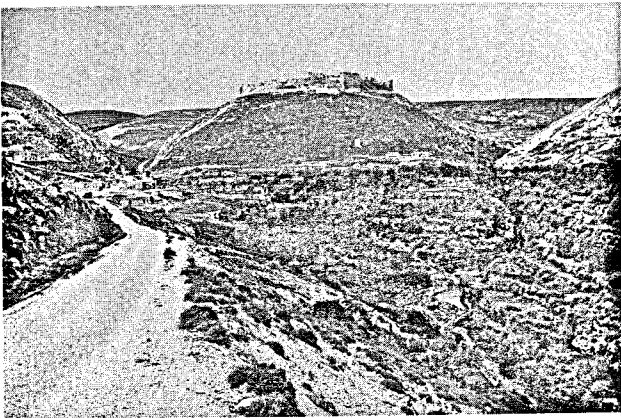
The castle of Montreal was built by King Baldwin I in 1115 with the dual purpose of extending the area of Frankish settlement east of the Dead Sea and of controlling the desert road, by which caravans moved between Syria in the north and the Red Sea and Egypt in the south (Deschamps 1939a: 42–3; Mayer 1990: 38–49). The first Crusader castle to occupy the site took only eighteen days to build, and to commemorate the king's personal involvement in its construction it was given the name 'Mount Royal' (Albert of Aachen, XII, 21 (RHC Occ, IV, 702–3); Fulcher of Chartres, II, 55 (RHC Occ, III, 431)). This, however, was no mere military outpost as the account of William of Tyre makes clear:

Here on a hill. . . [Baldwin] established a fortress (*presidium*) well defended by its natural position and by artificial means, in which, after the completion of the work, he placed as inhabitants both knights and footsoldiers, granting them extensive possessions; and the town (*opidum*) was well fortified by a wall, towers, an outer wall and ditch, arms, victuals and machines (ch. XI, 26, (CCCM, LXIII, 534–5))

As Joshua Prawer has shown (1980: 109–11), Baldwin was implementing here a deliberate policy of settling Franks of all classes, 'knights, sergeants and paid villeins' as the Old French translation of William of Tyre puts it (*Eracles* (RHC Occ, I, 499–500)), in newly won territory. It is no surprise therefore to find Montreal at a later date possessing its own court of burgesses (John Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXX (RHC Lois, I, 420)).

Besides Frankish settlers, Shaubak in the Crusader period was also home to a significant population of indigenous Christians, and possibly some Muslims (CRRH, 71, no. 279; 96–7, no. 366; Prawer 1972: 225). Even after its capture by the Muslims, the pilgrim Thietmar found there in 1217 a mixed population of Muslims and Christians, including a French widow, who gave him lodging and food, and found Bedouin guides to escort him on his journey on to Mount Sinai (ch. xv, (ed. Laurent, 37)). A century later, in 1321, Abū'l-Fidā' noted that most of the inhabitants were Christian (Ibn Strange 1890: 536); and Ludolph of Sudheim estimated their number at the somewhat unlikely figure of around 7,000 (1336–41a: 256; cf. Adorno 1470–1: 301).

The castle of Shaubak occupies the summit of a conical hill, situated at the head of a valley (fig. 82; plan CLXVIII). The twelfth-century Frankish castle has been



CLXVIII Shaubak (Montreal): castle from the east.

greatly added to by the Ayyubids and Mamluks, and a thorough survey is still required to disentangle the different phases of construction (cf. Brooker and Knauf 1988: 185; Brown 1988: fig. 2; 1989a). It would appear, however, to have been defended by at least two lines of walls, strengthened with towers, which encircle the hilltop in a rough oval. The principal way into the outer ward lay through a gate on the east, from which a path continued up in a clockwise direction to a gateway into the inner ward on the south (fig. 82).

From William of Tyre's description, it would seem that the first Frankish inhabitants of Montreal were settled inside these fortifications (cf. Pringle 1995: 74–5, 76); and although Thietmar (ch. xv, 3 (ed. Laurent, 37)) and Ludolph (1336–41a: 356) refer to three lines of walls around the castle, there is no evidence that the suburb was ever fortified. This arrangement, with the settlers living in the castle and performing in effect the duty of castle-guard, may well have continued even after the establishment of a lordship of Montreal, which around 1120 was granted to Roman of Le Puy (on the lordship, see John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXIX, CCLXXI (RHC *Lois*, I, 418, 422); Rey 1896; Deschamps 1939a: 35–79; Prawer 1980: 471–83; Mayer 1987; 1990). In 1152, for instance, Maurice, lord of Montreal, granted the Hospitallers a house in Montreal situated between his own, which would presumably have been in the castle, and that of the viscount of Nablus, besides a vineyard (RRH, 71, no. 279; cf. no. 551).

Down the valley to the east of the castle there also extended a suburb, with gardens watered by the two springs at the castle's foot (William of Tyre, xx, 27 (CCCM, LXIII, 951); Le Strange 1890: 536; Prawer 1980: 111; Brooker and Knauf 1988: 185). It may perhaps have been in this suburb, rather than inside the castle itself, that the *Templum Domini* possessed houses with vineyards in 1166 (RRH *Ad*, 25–6, no. 422a), and

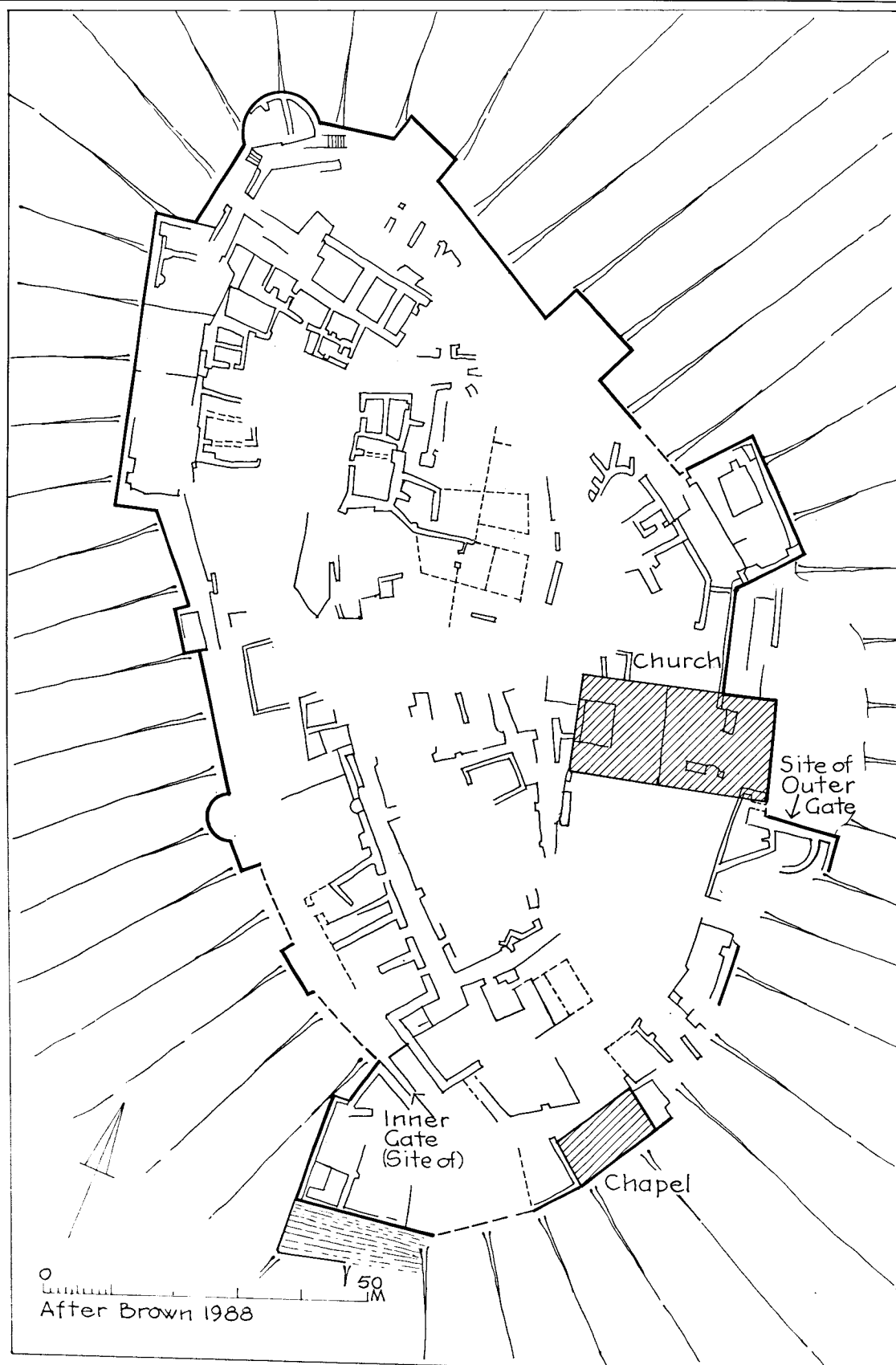
the abbey of Mount Sinai (no. 150) houses, mills, vineyards and olive trees in 1217 (RRH, 240–1, no. 897; *Pontificia Commissio* ser. 3, III, 35–6, no. 17; 195–7, no. 148).

The lands around Shaubak were noted in the Middle Ages for their agricultural products, which included corn, olives, vines, sugar and apricots (William of Tyre, xi, 26 (CCCM, LXIII, 535); Le Strange 1890: 536; Marmardji 1951: 113). In 1156 and 1158, these lands were laid waste by the Egyptians; and in September and November 1171, the castle was besieged unsuccessfully by Saladin (Deschamps 1939a: 47–8, 54–5). In May 1182 and in 1187, Saladin again devastated the surrounding lands (Deschamps 1939a: 59, 69–70). After the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187), when the lord of Transjordan, Reynald of Châtillon, also lost his life, the garrison of Montreal held out for almost another two years until, in the spring of 1189, they surrendered to al-Malik al-Ādil and accepted a safe conduct to Antioch (Deschamps 1939a: 73).

Shaubak has received relatively little serious archaeological study; indeed, few European travellers have given it more than a passing reference (cf. Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: 133–6). Among the more useful accounts are those of Cdrs Irby and Mangles (1861: 115–16), C. Mauss and Sauvaire (in de Luynes 1871: II, 82–222), M.J. Lagrange (1897b: 215–17), R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domszewski (1904: I, 113–19), J.J. Langendorf and G. Zimmermann (1964: 125–43), and R.M. Brown (1988; 1989a). Until very recently, the castle itself has been obscured by village houses. Since the early 1980s, however, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities has undertaken a programme of clearance and consolidation. These works were directed by Mr Brian Bowen, with whose assistance I was able to visit and study the churches of Montreal in 1981 and 1982.

No record survives of what ecclesiastical provision was made for the castle and its settler-garrison when it was established by Baldwin I in 1115, though it would be surprising if a church or chapel was not planned from the start. Indeed, the king was accompanied at Shaubak by his own chaplain and sacristan (RRH *Ad*, 5, no. 81a). All the known chaplains of the lords of Transjordan, however, are mentioned only after the *chef-lieu* of the lordship had been moved to Karak (see Vol. I, no. 130).

The castle of Montreal, however, contains the remains of two ecclesiastical buildings. The first, sited in the inner ward (no. 229), is a three-aisled building with the character more of a parish church than a castle chapel. The second (no. 230), in the outer ward or barbican, is



82 Shaubak (Montreal): plan of the castle, showing the location of the church (no. 229) and chapel (no. 230).

similar to the castle chapels of al-Wu'aira (no. 277) and Karak (no. 130). However, the precise functions and relative dating of the two buildings are not entirely certain.

No. 229 Church (of St Mary ?) 2037.9932

History and Exploration

The ruins of the larger church at Shaubak have attracted the attention of visitors for over a century and a half. When seen by Jacob Burckhardt in 1812 it was being used as a coffee-house (1822: 416; 1824: II, 696). Cdrs Irby and Mangles visited the building in 1818:

We were carried up to a sort of divan, in the open air, constructed upon what seemed to be the ruins of a church of crusade architecture, standing due east and west . . . The three doors of what we supposed to have been a church are square-topped, and the centre is under a pointed arch, and has more the air of Mahommedan than Christian architecture . . . After a diligent search for inscriptions, we found one in the architrave of the principal door. It is in Latin, and though imperfect, Mr. Bankes made so much of it out as to leave no doubt that it relates to one of the Frank kings of Jerusalem . . . The most remarkable circumstance is, that while the interior parts of this church are in pure Gothic style, resembling that of the same age in Europe, the ornaments of the inscribed doorway are of the genuine eastern taste, exhibiting that border of convex fluting which is common in Turkish buildings. The pointed arch itself inclines slightly inwards at the bottom, in the manner of a horse-shoe. The construction also has more of the Oriental than the Norman style. The transome, instead of consisting of a single stone, being composed of many, irregularly locked together by dove-tails and angular inequalities. (1861: 115–16)

Later accounts, including those of T. Legh (1819: 216–17), M.J. Lagrange (1897b: 216–17), A. Hornstein (1898: 98), S. Vailhé (1898c: 77–8), R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski (1904: I, 114–18) and B. Meistermann (1909: 241), add little to this description. A fuller account is given by J.J. Langendorf and C. Zimmermann (1964: 136–8), who visited Shaubak in 1962. But at this time, the shell of the church was still occupied by later buildings, including a mosque. These structures were cleared away and the surviving Frankish masonry consolidated in 1981.

Description

The church is sited on the eastern side of the inner ward, its east end jutting out beyond the line of the enclosure wall and forming, in effect, an outwork overlooking the approaches to the outer castle gate (fig. 82; cf. Billings

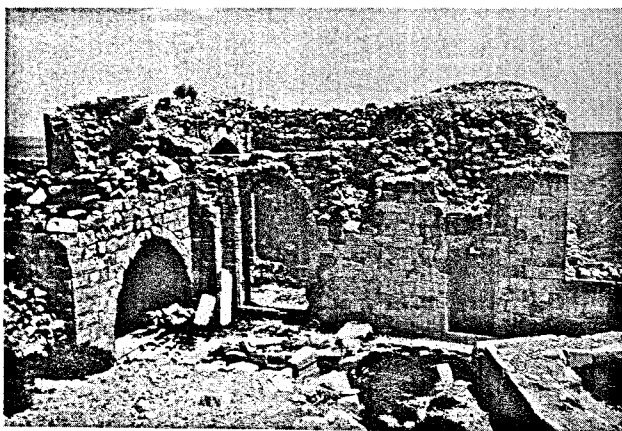
1987: pl. p. 144). Because it is constructed on sloping ground, the church's east end is founded on a massive artificial substructure, which encloses a barrel-vaulted passage running below the east bay. Most of the east end and the first bay, however, have long since collapsed.

From what survives of the remaining two bays and of the foundations of the east end (pls. CLXIX–CLXXII), the church would appear to have been a three-aisled basilica of three bays, probably (though the evidence has now gone) with semi-circular eastern apses contained within the rectangular projecting *chevet* (fig. 83). The nave and aisles combined measure 13.3 m across at the west end, widening to 14.1 m towards the east, with walls 0.97 m (north, south) and 1.24 m (west) thick. The width of the aisles is 2 m and of the central nave 6.3 m, widening to 7.1 m at the chancel arch. This trapezoidal ground plan seems to have been intentional, and not simply the result of later movement.

The vaulting of the central nave no longer survives; but enough is left of the arcades to tell that it would have consisted of a series of groin-vaults, separated by transverse arches (pls. CLXXI–CLXXIII). These arches sprang from pilaster strips, which continue down the faces of the rectangular nave piers to the floor. Because the level of the springing of these transverse arches is lower than the tops of the pointed arches forming the nave arcade, the continuous cyma-recta cornice moulding which serves as impost to them has to zig-zag up and down as it runs down the nave; it also returns across the west end. Such vaulting would have allowed for a clearstorey window to each bay; but no trace of any now survives.

The vaulting of the aisles, some of which still survives, consists of groin-vaults separated by thick transverse arches, which spring from plain rounded corbels (pl. CLXXIV).

Three doorways in the west front opened into the central nave and aisles respectively. The aisle doors are rectangular (1.05 m wide), with a roll-moulding surrounding them (fig. 84; pl. CLXIX). On the lintel of the northern one can still be seen, though defaced, a Latin cross carved in low-relief, surrounded by fleurs-de-lis in a hexagonal medallion. The rear-arches of these two doors are segmental, though slightly pointed, and above the northern one there is also visible the remains of a lancet window. The central door (2.02 m wide) also seems to have been rectangular, with a hollow-chamfered margin. Its inscribed architrave, seen by earlier writers (see below), has now disappeared. But the manner in which the door is set back from the wall-face and the existence of what appear to have been column-bases either side of it, support the account of it given by



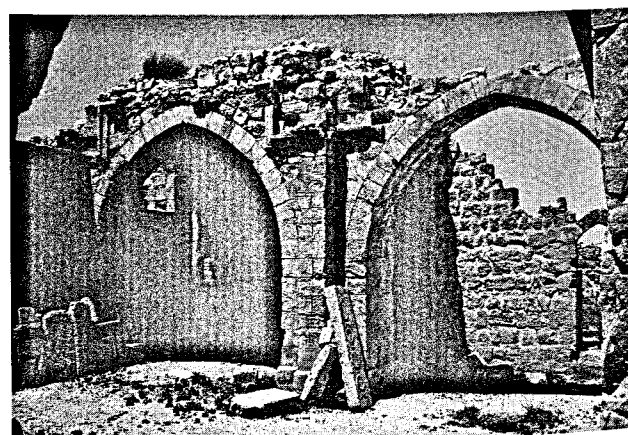
CLXIX Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): from the west.



CLXX Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): from the south.



CLXXI Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): nave looking west.



CLXXII Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): the two western bays of the north nave arcade.

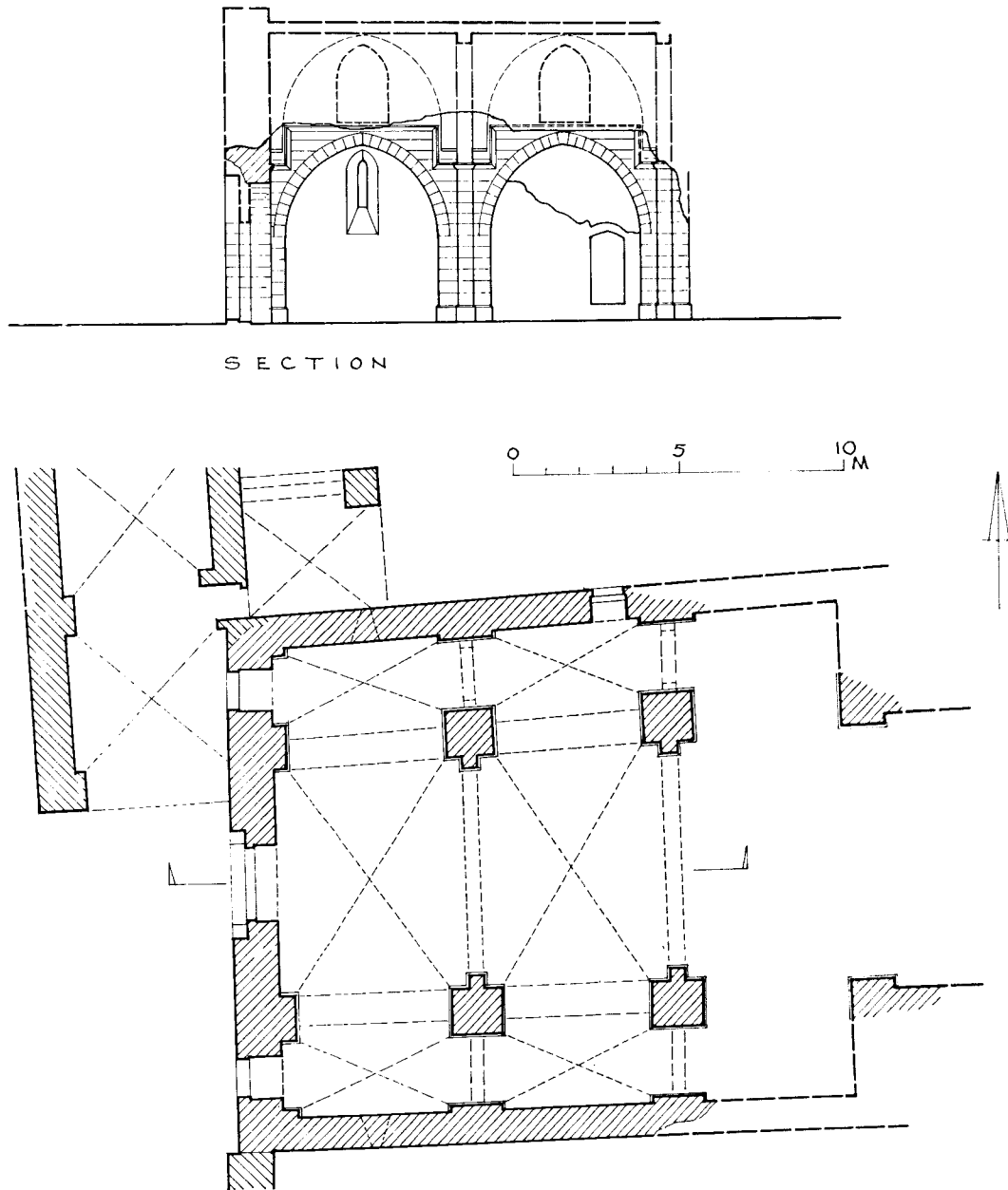
Irby and Mangles (see above): that is, of a rectangular door enclosed by a pointed-arch with gadrooned voussoirs (some of which are still lying on the ground near by), carried, no doubt, on a pair of flanking columns. It is not quite clear from Irby and Mangles' description how the joggled flat arch related to the inscribed architrave. There is no particular reason to doubt, however, that the whole was an original feature of the church, for gadrooning and joggling of voussoirs, though of oriental inspiration, are found on other twelfth-century Frankish buildings in Jerusalem and elsewhere. Another door, 0.89 m wide with a low-pointed rear-arch, survives in the north wall of the central bay. Splayed lancet windows, 0.09 m wide narrowing to 0.3 m externally, also survive in the north and south walls of the western aisle bays (pl. CLXXV).

The masonry of the west front, the nave arcades, pilasters, transverse arches and door and window surrounds is of the finest quality. That of the rest of the

walls is less well accomplished, though still reasonably well cut and coursed. A plinth course surrounds the base of the piers and pilasters only.

Epigraphy

It is unfortunate that Cdrs Irby and Mangles did not make a more detailed record of the medieval Latin inscription which they discovered over the principal doorway to the church in 1818 (see above). This was almost certainly the text that P. Lagrange saw inscribed on a lintel, 2.8 m long, in 1897, though at that time it was no longer in its original position (1897b: 216; cf. Deschamps 1939a: 43 n.1; de Sandoli 1974: 332). Part of the text had by then been erased and all that could be made out were the letters: *UGO VICE... QVI... MCXVIII... .*, to which the German expedition of a few years later were able to add near the end another three: *...LES...* (Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904: I, 116;



83 Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): plan and elevation of the north arcade.

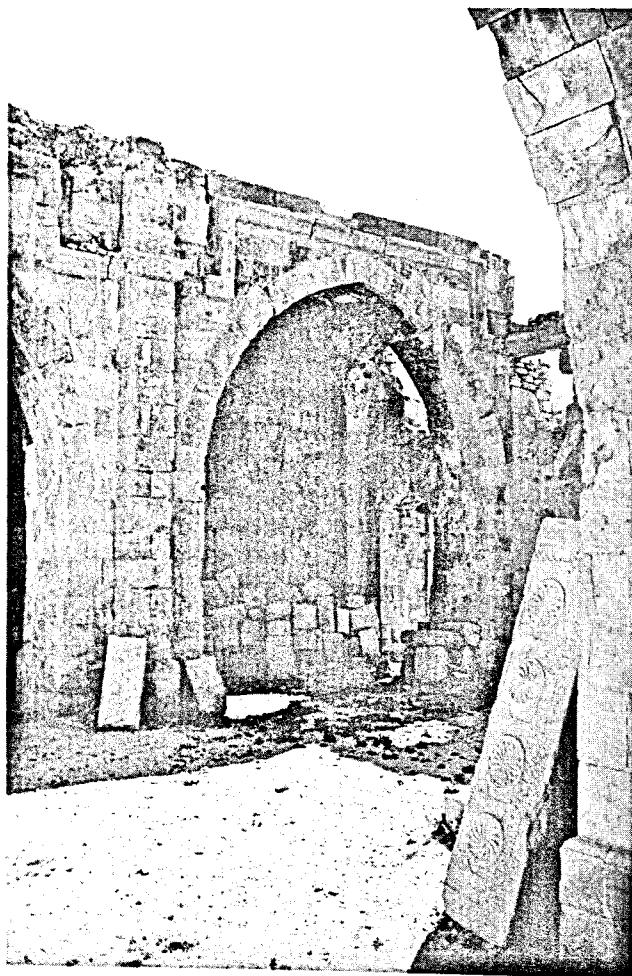
Meistermann 1909: 241). The stone has now disappeared, and a satisfactory interpretation is therefore virtually impossible.

From the accounts of those who saw it, it would appear that the text was indeed a building inscription associated with the church and not simply a stone from elsewhere in secondary use; indeed, the final word could well have been *eccles[ia(m)]*. The date 1118 may relate to either the building or consecration of the church to itself; or it could alternatively perhaps have referred to a preceding event, in which case its only value for dating the building would be as a *terminus post quem*. The name

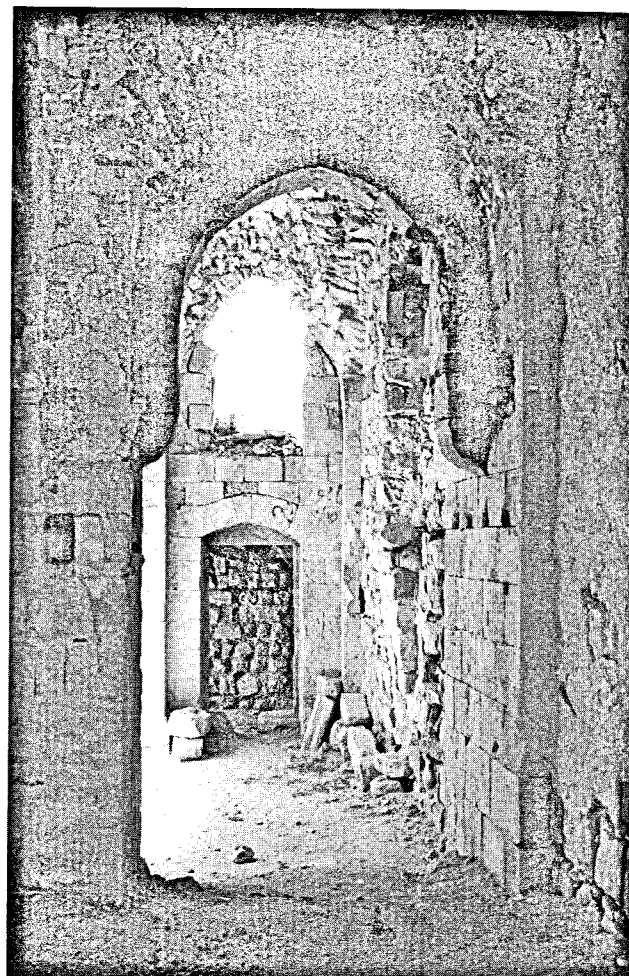
of the king of Jerusalem to which Irby and Mangles refer must, if it ever existed, have been on one of the lost parts of the inscription. The identity of Ugo, or Hugh, is uncertain; if the second word can be restored as *vice[comes]*, however, he may plausibly be identified as viscount of Montreal (Mayer 1990: 68–9).

Discussion

The epigraphic evidence could suggest either that the church was built in 1118, with Hugh the viscount playing a leading role, or that it was constructed some-



CLXXIII Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): western bay of south nave arcade.

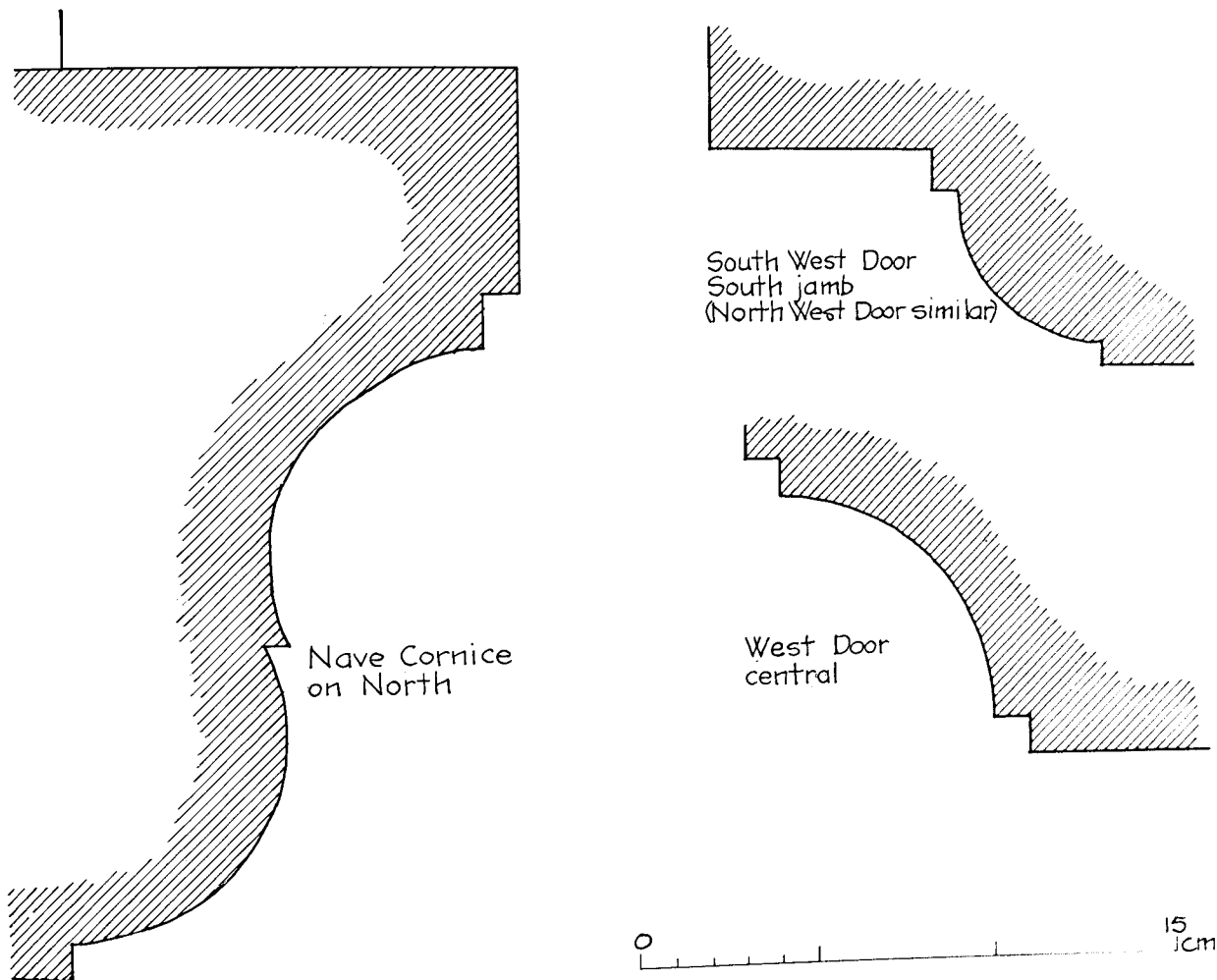


CLXXIV Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): north aisle, looking west.

time after that date. The architectural remains unfortunately provide little assistance in resolving this difficulty, for the plainness of the style would suit an early or later twelfth-century date equally well. There is no reason, however, to accept Langendorf and Zimmermann's view (1964: 134, 136, 142) that it was a cathedral; as has been explained elsewhere (see Vol. 1, no. 129), the Latin archdiocese of Petra was reconstituted only later, in 1167 (on the date, see Mayer 1990: 281–3); and although one late twelfth-century source locates the see at *Montreal* (*Tractatus de locis* (ed. Thomas, 149)), other sources place it with more authority at Karak.

The lordship of Montreal, however, seems to have been established before the king's death in 1118, and in the 1120s it was held by Roman of Le Puy (William of Tyre, xiv. 15 (CCCM, LXIII, 651); Deschamps 1939a: 45; Mayer 1987: 201). This event may perhaps offer a

more plausible context for the construction of the new church, which, to judge by its size, seems more likely to have been intended as the parish church of the Latin inhabitants of the fortress of Montreal than as a simple castle chapel. If, however, as H.E. Mayer has suggested (1990: 221–8), the ecclesiastical organization of the lordship before 1167 was in the hands of the *Templum Domini*, it is not impossible that this was the church of St Mary, whose tithes are referred to in 1152 in a charter which Maurice, lord of Montreal, granted to the Hospitallers and to which Assenard, a brother of the *Templum Domini*, acted as a witness (*Cart. des Hosp.*, 1, no. 207; RRH, 71, no. 279). St Mary's church seems unlikely to have had any physical connection with the Tower of St Mary (mentioned in the same document) or with the castle chapel in Karak (*pace* Mayer 1990: 227); these were in any case unrelated, the chapel being on the east side of the inner ward and St Mary's Tower



84 Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): moulding details.

apparently at the south end of the barbican where it met the west wall of the inner ward (see Vol. I, pp. 286–90, fig. 83 (no. 130)).

Visited 14.4.81, 26.4.83.

Sources

Benvenisti 1970: 345; Billings 1987: pl. p. 144; Brooker and Knauf 1988: 186; Brown 1988: 227, fig. 2; Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904: I, 114–18, fig. 103; Burckhardt 1822: 416; 1824: II, 695–6; Deschamps 1939a: 43 n.1; Enlart 1925: II, 99; Hornstein 1898: 98; Irby and Mangles 1861: 115–16; Johns 1993: pl. p. 9 (incorrect caption); Lagrange 1897b: 215–17; Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: 134–8, fig. 2, pl. II; Legh 1819: 216–17; Mayer 1990: 68–9; Meistermann 1909: 241; Pringle 1993b: 38; de Sandoli 1974: 332, appx., no. 4; Vailhé 1898c: 78, fig.

No. 230 Chapel 2037.9932

Description

The chapel occupies a position in the outer ward, or barbican, to the left of the path leading up from the outer gate (fig. 82; pl. CLXXVI). Its south wall forms in effect the outer wall of the castle at this point, and in a secondary phase a *talus*, or *glacis*, has been built up against it.

Internally the nave measures 11.98/12.16 m by 5.45 m, and its walls are some 1.6 m thick and constructed of roughly squared blocks (fig. 85). It is covered by a single barrel-vault of rubble construction, with a transverse arch of finely dressed stone midway along its length. When discovered in the 1960s, part of the chapel's vault had already fallen (Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: 139; fig. 1); but this has since been restored by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities.



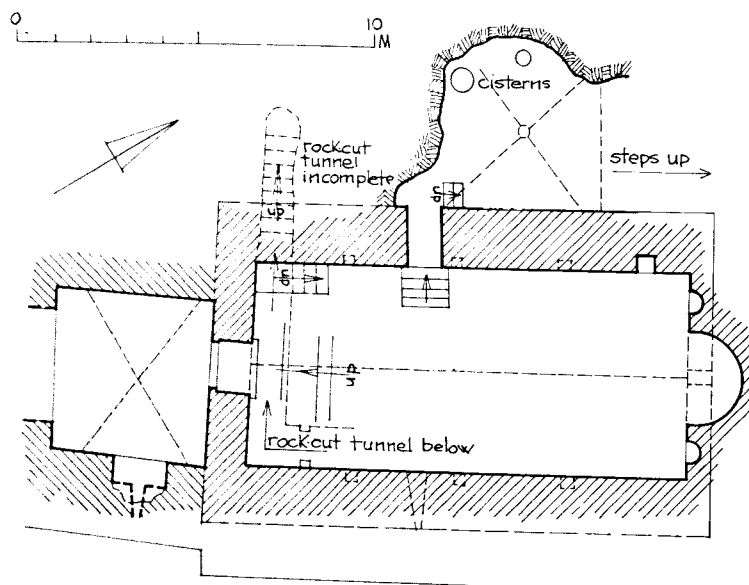
CLXXV Shaubak (Montreal), church (no. 229): window in the west bay of the south aisle.

The *chevet* is more finely built than the rest of the building. It contains a semi-circular apse with a pointed semi-dome springing from a cyma-recta moulding (fig. 86; pl. CLXXVII). In the wall to either side are rounded apsidioles with semi-domed heads. Photographs taken before the restoration of the vault show a small oculum with a moulded rim directly above the apse and below the vault (Duncan 1982: 30; Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: fig. 1); but only the lower portion of this now remains. In the north wall, 94 cm from the east end, is a rectangular aumbry recess (44 cm wide, 55 cm high and 47 cm deep), 1.2 m above the floor.

The chapel was accessible from the street through a door, 90 cm wide with a rounded-arched head, in the western part of the north wall. Just outside this, below a rough groin-vault, lies the head of a cistern cut into the rock. Because the chapel is built on the side of a hill, stone steps would originally have led east from this area up to street level.

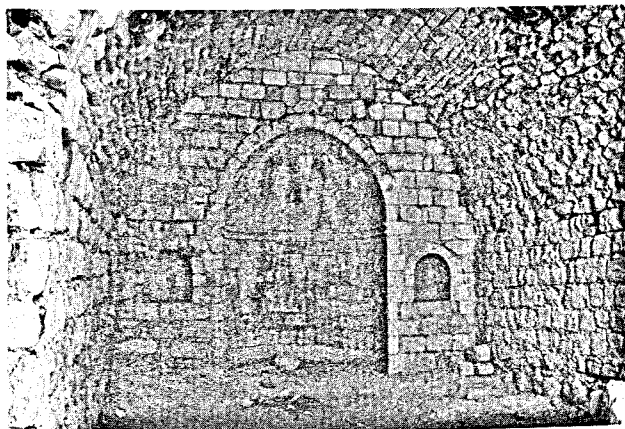
The main door to the chapel lay in the centre of the west wall. It was 1.2 m wide, rebated internally, and was preceded by a groin-vaulted vestibule or narthex measuring 4.44 m wide and 4.31/4.4 m long. The opening, 3.17 m wide, through which this was entered from the west is now blocked by fallen rubble, and the narthex itself is partially obscured by inserted agricultural installations.

Apart from the oculum in the east wall, and perhaps some other opening in the west wall which is now mostly destroyed, the chapel was lit by a single window high in the south wall at about the level of the spring of the vault. This is a rectangular opening, narrowing from 56 cm on the inside to about 15 cm on the outside.





CLXXVI Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): from the north.



CLXXVII Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): interior, looking towards the 'east' end.

A more unusual feature of the chapel is a passageway, about a metre wide, which runs below floor level against the inner face of the west wall. It is partly rock-cut and partly built. It is entered in the north-west corner, and continues southward under a semi-vault below the pavement until it reaches the south wall, whence it descends eastward some 40 m or more into the rock. At the top of this descending passage is an arched doorway, 79 cm wide, which could formerly be barred from the top. It may be assumed that this passage once led either to a postern gate, or perhaps to a water supply. In what seems to have been a secondary phase, the northern part of the tunnel lining the west wall of the chapel had been extended northwards into the rock of the hillside. The purpose of this extension may perhaps have been to allow the users of the tunnel to pass freely to and fro without intruding on whatever was taking place inside the chapel. But the project was abandoned after only 4.2 m had been excavated.

Decoration and Furnishings

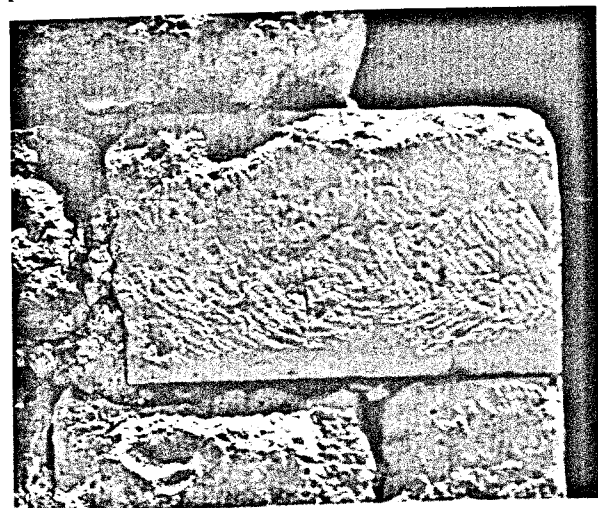
An area of large stone flagging survives near the north door and along the north wall. The eastern part of the nave is raised some 10 cm, suggesting that there was formerly a raised sanctuary area. But the pavement itself has gone.

Epigraphy

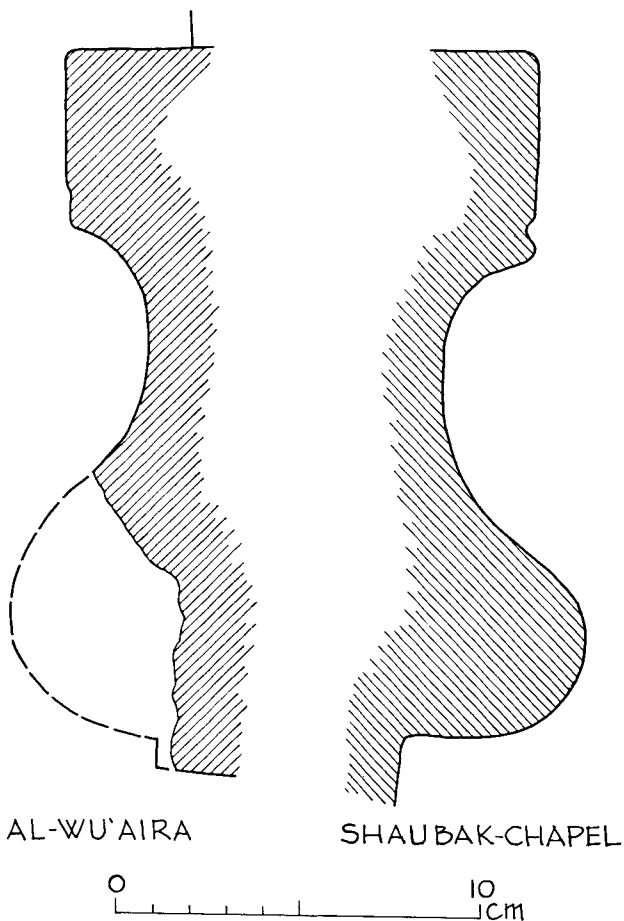
The jamb-stones of the west door are incised with a number of crude crosses, suggesting that the place was still attracting Christian visitors after the Crusader period (pl. CLXXVIII).

Discussion

As Langendorf and Zimmermann have pointed out (1964: 140–3), the chapel at Montreal finds its closest parallels in the castle chapel at al-Wu'aira (no. 277), built probably sometime between 1115 and 1144. Indeed, the cornice mouldings in the apses of the two buildings are almost identical (fig. 86). It is not clear, however, what the precise date of these buildings might be; and although Langendorf and Zimmermann argue for an early twelfth-century date on the grounds of the simplicity of their barrel-vaulted design, it may be noted that the castle chapel at Karak (Vol. I, no. 130), which is similar though somewhat larger, dates after 1142. Secondly, the fact that the chapel at Montreal lies in the outer ward or barbican also seems to suggest that it was never the principal church in the castle, nor in all likelihood the earlier of the two. Its function may perhaps have been analogous to that of the so-called



CLXXVIII Shaubak (Montreal), chapel (no. 230): crosses scratched on left-hand jamb of the 'west' door.



86 Comparison of the apse cornice mouldings of the chapels at Shaubak (Montreal) (no. 230) and al-Wu'aira, Wadi Musa (no. 277).

'Baptismal Chapel' outside the main gate of Crac des Chevaliers, which P. Deschamps and J. Folda suggest may have been intended for the use of the Syrian Christian inhabitants of the *faubourg* (Deschamps 1935b; Folda 1982b: 187-96).

Visited 14.4.81, 26.4.83.

Sources

Brown 1988: 227; Duncan 1982: 30; Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: 138-9, fig. 1, pl. III; Pringle 1993: 38.

Khirbat ash-SHAUMARIYA

Cr. *castrum/castellum Feniculi* (the Castle of Fennel)

No. 231 Parish Church 142.215

History and Discussion

The existence of a church at *castrum Feniculi* in the diocese of Caesarea is first attested in a confirmation of possessions granted to the church of the Holy Sepulchre by Pope Honorius II in September 1128 (Bresc-Bautier, 39-44, no. 6; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 134-7, no. 28; RRH, 31, no. 124). As at *castrum Maome* (al-Bira, see Vol. I, no. 66), which is mentioned in the same document, it seems likely that the church had been constructed by that date (cf. Pringle 1985a). Both the church and castle are mentioned again in a confirmation issued by Pope Eugenius III in July 1146 (Bresc-Bautier, 63-7, no. 16; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 190-3, no. 62) and the castle alone is mentioned in 1144, 1161-2, 1168-9, 1170, 1182 and 1196 (Bresc-Bautier, 54-8, no. 12; 148-9, no. 57; 292-301, nos. 150-1; 323-8, no. 170; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 261-5, no. 102; 298-301, no. 125).

The castle may perhaps be identified with *Surie*, which was taken, and presumably destroyed, by Baybars when he captured Caesarea in 1265 (*Gestes des Chiprois* (ed. Raynaud, 171); Prawer 1975a: II, 465 n.34). No archaeological trace has yet been found of either building, however, though the site of *castrum Feniculi* may be located at Khirbat ash-Shaumariya (also meaning 'fennel'), which lay on the inland *kurkar* ridge just south of the Nahr az-Zarqa (Abel 1935).

Not visited

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 41, no. 6 (1128); 64, no. 16 (1146); Hiestand *Vorarbeiten*, III, 135, no. 28 (1128); RRH, 31, no. 124 (1128).

Abel 1935; Bagatti 1979: 194; Beyer 1936: 29-30, 32; Israel 1964: 1403; Palestine 1948: 46.

SHEPHERDS' FIELD

Kanisat ar-Rawat; Cr. Pastors, Gloria in Excelsis Deo; Gk. Poimnion, Poimaneion

No. 232 Church of the Shepherds (or St Joseph) 1715.1232

History

A church associated with the place where the angels appeared to the shepherds announcing the birth of Christ (Luke 2.8–20) is documented east of Bethlehem from the late fourth century (Egeria, in Peter the Deacon, section L1 (CCSL, CLXXV, 96); cf. Tzaferis 1975: 46 n.39; Corbo 1987). In the late seventh century, Arculf refers to the same church as containing the tombs of the shepherds, whose number was by then established as three (Adomnán, II, 6, 2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 208)). The same tradition concerning the tombs of the three shepherds, which also appears in Bede (ch. VII, 3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 265)), is repeated by a number of pilgrims of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries (e.g. Belard of Ascoli (1112–65), IV (IHC, II, 47); Hugh of St Victor (1135), IV (IHC, II, 163); Anon. VII (c.1160), 6 (IHC, III, 80); al-Idrisi (1154), III, 5 (trans. Jaubert, I, 346); Antony of Cremona 1330: 161).

It seems, however, that the church associated with the shepherds was already in ruins by the start of the twelfth century. In 1106–8, Abbot Daniel writes:

And a verst (*var.*: half a verst) from the Nativity to the east in the plain at the foot of a hill is the place where the holy angels announced the birth of Christ to the shepherds. And there used to be a cave here above which a fine church was dedicated to Saint Joseph, and there was a fine monastery, but now the place is laid waste by the pagans. (ch. I (trans. Ryan, 144))

In 1185, the Greek pilgrim Phocas mentions only a cave in the middle of the field where the shepherds kept watch (ch. XXVII (PG, CXXXIII, 956)).

Only one Western pilgrim text, dating from around 1228–31 and apparently not simply copying Bede or Adomnán, refers to a monastery of Greek monks established at the site; it is possible, however, that the author was confusing *le Gloria Excelsis Deo* with the monastery of St Elias, for the text locates it between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (Ernoul (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 65–6)). A church is also mentioned in the past tense by the Rothelin version of the *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, compiled around 1261 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 170); and in 1289–91, Ricoldus of Montecroce states

that the church was in ruins (ch. v, 7–8 (ed. Laurent, 110)).

The cave continued to be visited in the centuries following (e.g. Ludolph of Sudheim 1336–41a: 349; Adorno 1470–1: 288; Perera 1553b: 35–6; Baldi 1955a: 127, no. 142; 154, no. 155.4).

Description

The evidence of the written record, that only the cave continued to be visited during the period of the Crusader Kingdom, is supported by the archaeological findings made by V. Tzaferis in 1972–3 at Kanisat ar-Rawat (1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1975; 1993b; 1993c). These indicated five main structural phases: first, a chapel made within a natural cave in the late fourth century; secondly, the enlargement of this into a barrel-vaulted cave-church in the fifth century; thirdly, the construction of a roof-chapel over it, also in the fifth century; fourthly, the replacement of this by a basilican church in the sixth century; and fifthly, the reconstruction of this as a monastery church in the seventh century. Tzaferis concludes that the site was abandoned from the tenth century to the early fifteenth century, when the cave-church became the Orthodox parish church for Bait Sahur (1975: 51–2). Some of the published pottery from the excavation, however, can be dated quite precisely to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (e.g. Tzaferis 1975, 44–5, pls. 9.1 and 3 (right), 20.7, 21.8), and other pieces to the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g. Tzaferis 1975: 27–8, pl. 12.4–5). While this evidence points, like the written sources, to continued human activity at the site in the Frankish period, however, it is uncertain whether this would ever have amounted to a permanent occupation.

Visited 26.2.82.

Sources

Anon. VII (c.1160), VI (IHC, III, 80); PPTS, VI, 74; trans. Wilkinson, 236; Belard of Ascoli (1112–65), IV (IHC, II, 47; trans. Wilkinson, 230); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* (1261), X (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 170); Daniel (1106–8), I (trans. Ryan, 144; de Khitrowo, 41); Ernoul (1228–31) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 65–6); Hugh of St Victor (1135), IV (IHC, II, 163); al-Idrisi (1154), III, 5 (trans. Jaubert, I, 346); Matthew Paris, *Map of the Holy Land* (c.1252); Phocas (1185), XXVII (PG, CXXXIII, 956; PPTS, V, 31; trans. Wilkinson, 332); Ricoldus of Montecroce (1289–91), V, 7–8 (ed. Laurent, 110; IHC, IV, 268); Röhricht, 'Karten', nos. 1 (Florence, c.1300) and 6 (Matthew Paris, Oxford, c.1252); *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), XVII (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104⁶).

Adorno 1470-1: 288; Antony of Cremona 1330: 161; Bagatti 1952: 238-42; Baldi 1955a: 123-59; 1987; Brygg 1392b: 81; Doubdan 1657: 168; Faber 1480-3: I, 569-72; Guérin 1868: I, 212-13; Hoade 1978: 414; James of Verona 1335: 220; Katsimbini 1975; Ludolph of Sudheim 1336-41a: 349; 1336-41b: 96; Mariti 1769: IV, 110; Nau 1679: 435; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1347: 64; Ovadiah 1970: 102 (no. 95); Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1982: 144-7 (no. 30), fig.; Perera 1553b: 35-6; Pococke 1743: II, 40; Poloner 1422a: 247; 1422b: 21; Prag 1989: 320; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 513; 1626b: 334-6; Suriano 1485b: 133, 137; Tzaferis 1973a; 1973b; 1973c; 1975; 1993b; 1993c; Zvallart 1585a: 218.

SHILTA

Cr. *Capharscylta*, *Kefrescilta*, *Kephrecylta*;
Hebr. *Tel Shilat*

No. 233 (?) Parish Church (?) 1520.1472

Kephrecylta was one of five villages in the diocese of Lydda, including Bir Ma'in (see Vol. I, no. 65), in which the prior and canons of the Holy Sepulchre were granted permission by Bishop Bernard in 1170-1 to have or to build a church, along with full parish rights saving those appertaining to the bishop; at the same time the right to the tithes, which had earlier been granted them, was remitted to the bishop (Bresc-Bautier, 307-9, no. 158; RRH, 129, no. 490). The village, together with half tithes on harvests and all other tithes, had originally been granted to the Holy Sepulchre by Bishop Roger in 1136 (Bresc-Bautier, 153-5, no. 61; RRH, 41, no. 165; cf. Bresc-Bautier, 80-3, no. 23 (1138); 115-19, no. 42 (1155); 123-7, no. 45 (1160); 261-6, no. 135 (1164)). It is not known, however, if the canons ever exercised their right to build a church there. The village is now abandoned (Khalidi 1992: 415).

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 307-9, no. 158 (1170-1); RRH, 129, no. 490 (1170-1).

Beyer 1942: 178; 1951: 251; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 472; Israel 1964: 1437; Palestine 1948: 107.

SHIR AR-RAHIB

No. 234 Cave Hermitage 21.36

Located east of Beirut, at an altitude of 690 m, the consists of a rock shelter, adapted into a cave hermit. The discovery of numerous medieval pottery sh suggests its use, presumably by Maronites, at the tim the Latin Kingdom.

Not visited.

Sources

Abdul-Nour and Salamé-Sarkis 1991: 181, no. 8, fig. 1.

SHU'FAT

Cr. *Dersophath*, *Dersophach*

No. 235 Chapel (?) 171.135

History

Between 1169 and 1172, the pilgrim Theodoric w describing the road from Jerusalem to al-Bira:

Two miles north of the Holy City there exists a certain ch (*ecclesiola*), where the pilgrims, on their first sight of the gladdened with a great joy, are accustomed to place cro and there also, humbly taking off their shoes, they try to Him, Who was worthy to come thither poor and humbl their sakes. (ch. XLI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 186))

As Fr Abel has argued (1931: 142-3), it seems likely that this chapel marked the *Montjoie* from w the order of Mount Joy derived its name (see no. 1. Construction of the order's church at Mount however, had only just begun in May 1180, w Theodoric's chapel existed by 1169-72; and wherea most plausible locations for the latter are at Shu'fat little futher south on Ras Masharif (Mount Scopus), f which Jerusalem was clearly visible, there is evidenc suggest that the house of Mount Joy was 1.2 km o north-north-east of Shu'fat, near to Tall al-Ful. In a tion, it may be noted that, in March 1179, *Desophath* some land next to it belonged to the abbey of St Mar Mount Sion as the result of an earlier grant made Anselm de Parenti (Rey, 'Chartes', 41; Hiestand, *arbeiten*, III, 284, no. 113; RRH, 153, no. 576). It w

thus appear that Theodoric's chapel and the church of the order of Mount Joy were not the same.

Description

No certain archaeological evidence for any medieval church at or near Shu'fat which might be identified as Theodoric's chapel has yet come to light, despite some claims to the contrary. In the 1860s, Victor Guérin, for instance, described the village in these terms:

This village, situated on an elevated plateau from which one can make out perfectly the cupolas and minarets of Jerusalem, counts 500 inhabitants. The houses are for the most part fairly old and vaulted internally. One, which still today bears the name *El-Kniseh* (the church), presents the remains of a Christian sanctuary facing east, whose windows were pointed and which dates in all likelihood from the Middle Ages. Some fine ashlar of antique appearance had been used, along with other smaller material, in the construction of this little church. (1868: i, 395)

This building was later visited by Conrad Schick, who dispelled any notion that it might have been a church. Schick records that he

found no church, simply an old Crusading building with two preserved windows. The walls are about 6 feet [1.8 m] thick, against which the fellaheen houses are built . . . It was a kind of khan built in the usual Crusading way, with a vault a little higher in the middle than semi-circular. (1891: 200)

The idea that remains of a Crusader church existed at Shu'fat has nevertheless persisted (Abel 1931: 143; Hoade 1978: 529–30; Bagatti 1979: 13–14).

Sources

Theodoric (1169–72), xli (CCCM, cxxxix, 186; PPTS, v, 60).

Abel 1931: 142–3; Bagatti 1979: 13–14; Baldi 1973: 158; Guérin 1868: i, 395; Hoade 1978: 529–30; Johns 1937: 28 (15); Meistermann 1936: 487; de Saulcy 1853: i, 112; Schick 1891: 200; Tobler 1853: ii, 889–90.

SIDON

Saida; Cr. *Sagitta*, *Saget*, *Saiete*, *Sayette*, *Seete*, *Sidon*, *Sydon*; Med. Ar. *Ṣaydā'*

Sidon surrendered to Baldwin I and a combined Norwegian and Venetian fleet on 4 December 1110 and its

Muslim inhabitants were evacuated to Damascus. The town and lordship were then granted to Eustace Garnier (William of Tyre, xi, 14 (CCCM, lxiii, 517–19; trans. Babcock and Krey, i, 486–8); Albert of Aachen, xi, 31–4 (RHC Occ, iv, 677); Ibn al-Qalānisi (trans. Gibb, 107–8); Snorri Sturluson, ii, 13, 11 (trans. Laing, ii, 283; Wright, 58); Prawer 1975a: i, 275–6, 299 n.; Deschamps 1939a: 224; Tibble 1989: 24). The lordship later came to include the inland mountainous regions of the *Schuf* and Beaufort. Sidon is listed by John of Ibelin as having seigneurial and burgess courts, and the lordship owed service of forty knights (*Livre*, cclxx, cclxxi (RHC Lois, i, 420, 422); on the lordship, see La Monte 1945; Tibble 1989: 24, 53–60, 72, 87–8, 102–3, 152, 169–80).

On 29 July 1187, the town was taken by Saladin, who appointed his amir 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Mashtūb as governor ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 39–40, 63, 99–100); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, xiii, 116); *de Expugnatione* (RS, lxvi, 236); *Itin. Ric.*, i, 8 (RS, xxxviii.i, 20); *Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, xlix.ii, 23); Prawer 1975a: i, 665). Three years later, in 1190, the town walls were demolished and the remaining population was removed to Beirut ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 231); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, iv, 462); Deschamps 1939a: 224). Subsequently, however, Saladin granted half of the town and its revenues back to Reginald of Sidon, an arrangement that was ratified by the treaty of Jaffa in 1192 (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 293); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, lxxi (ed. Morgan, 81–2)).

None the less, the town was found lying abandoned by German Crusaders in October 1197 (Arnold of Lübeck (MGH SS, xxi, 200–1); Deschamps 1939a: 225; Prawer 1975a: ii, 116). In 1204, its status as a Frankish–Muslim condominium was ratified by Malik al-ʿAdil (Prawer 1975a: ii, 123, 179); and Wilbrand of Oldenburg, reporting on this situation in 1211–12, adds that the town's walls and other defences were still destroyed (ch. iv (ed. Laurent, 165; IHC, iv, 202–4)). James of Vitry found the town in Muslim hands in 1217, and requested and obtained an armed escort to convey him safely through Muslim-held territory (*Lettres*, ii, 314–22 (ed. Huygens, 92)). In November 1227, however, a group of French and English Crusaders who had assembled to await the arrival of Frederick II occupied Sidon and between 11 November 1227 and 2 March 1228 constructed a castle (the Sea Castle) on a rock in the sea, linked to the land by a causeway (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 458–9); *Eracles*, xxxii, 25 (RHC Occ, ii, 365); Sanudo, iii, 11, 10 (ed. Bongars, 211); Prawer 1975a: ii, 179–81; Deschamps 1939a: 17, 225; Kennedy 1994: 122).

In February 1229, by the terms of the treaty between Frederick II and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd, in which the lord of Sidon, Balian of Ibelin, participated as one of the ambassadors, Sidon was granted in its entirety to the Franks (*Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, LXXI (ed. Morgan, 81–2); Huillard-Bréholles, III, 92; Prawer 1975a: II, 198–9, 201). Its Frankish status was reconfirmed in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 141); Prawer 1975a: II, 286).

In 1249, during the Crusader expedition to Damietta, the Damascenes took Sidon, returning it to the Franks in May 1250 at the time of the release of Louis IX (Prawer 1975a: II, 330, 335). In June 1253, refortification of the town began under Simon of Monceliard, Louis' master of crossbowmen, while the king was still in Jaffa; but a Muslim attack succeeded in breaking into the town, which was not yet completely walled, forcing the French into the Sea Castle and killing 2,000 inhabitants. Louis completed the defences between July 1253 and February 1254, leaving the town protected by 'high walls and towers, and wide moats cleared of mud within and without' (Joinville, CVII, 551–3; CXIII, 582; CXXI, 615 (ed. de Wailly, 232–3, 245, 258; trans. Shaw, 303, 310, 318); William of Nangis, *Gesta Ludovici IX* (RHGF, xx, 387); Sanudo, III, 12, 4 (ed. Bongars, 220); Deschamps 1939a: 18, 165–7, 226; Prawer 1975a: II, 350–52; Pringle 1995: 89).

The financial and military difficulties facing the lordship resulted in Julian, lord of Sidon, selling most of the *Schuf* to the Teutonic Order in 1256. In 1260, Sidon itself was the subject of a reprisal raid by the Mongols of Kitbuqa, who broke down the town walls and slaughtered the inhabitants, with the exception of those in the Sea Castle. Later the same year, Julian sold the entire lordship to the Templars (Het'um, *Flor des Estoires* (RHC Arm, II, 173–4; trans. Pynson, 42–3); *Eracles* (RHC Occ, II, 445); *Gestes des Chiprois*, CCCIII (ed. Raynaud, 162–4); *Annales* (ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 449); Philip of Novara, *Livre* (RHC Lois, I, 530–1); *RRH Ad*, 84, no. 1303a; Sanudo, III, 12, 6 (ed. Bongars, 221); Deschamps 1939a: 226; Prawer 1975a: II, 432, 444; Tibble 1989: 173–5; cf. Barber 1994a: 243–4, 364 n.65).

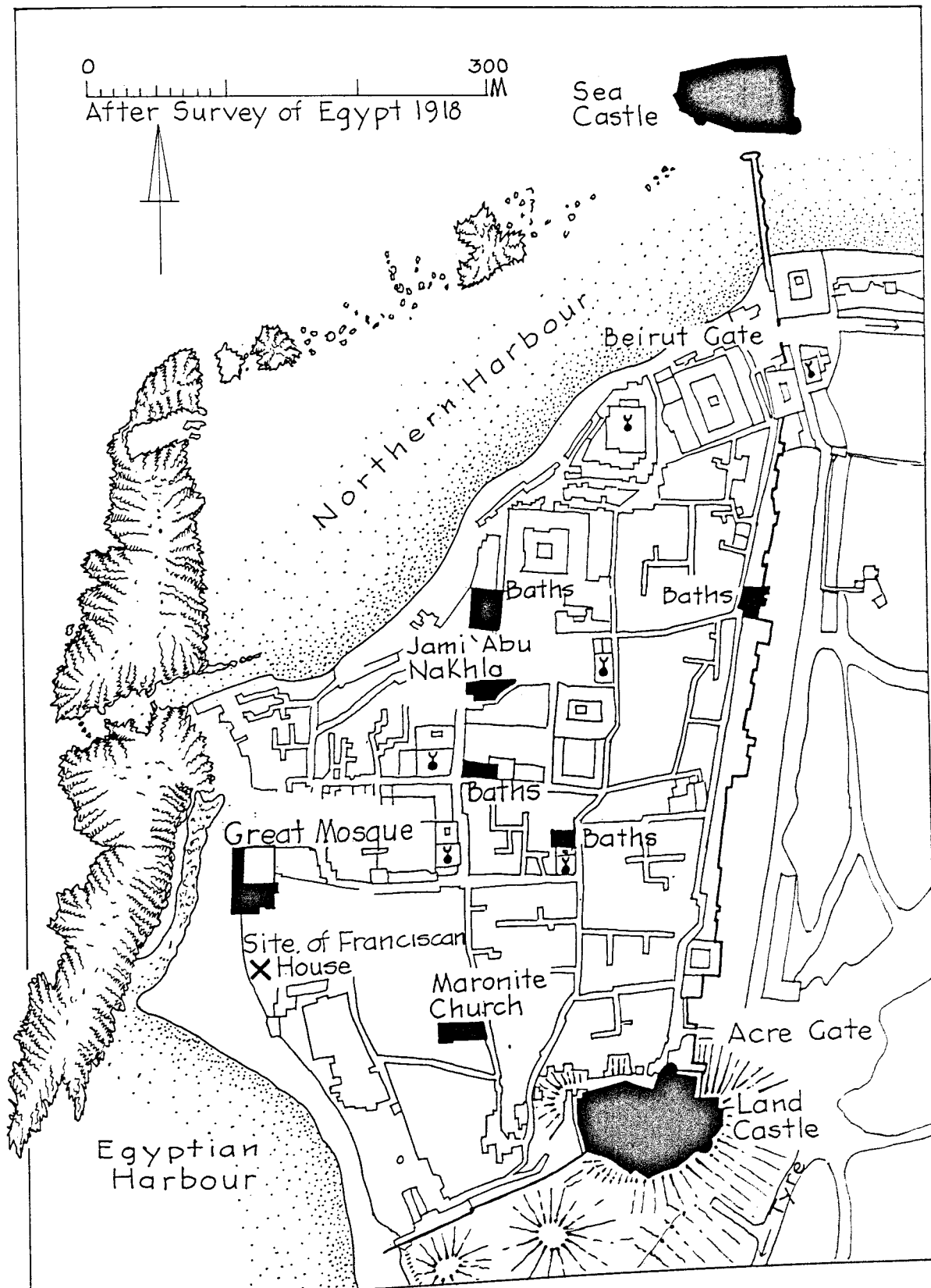
Under the ten-year treaty that King Hugh III of Cyprus negotiated with Sultan Baybars in 1268, the town and coastal plain were to remain in Frankish hands while the inland mountainous area was to be conceded to the Mamluks (al-Maqrizi c.1400b: II.ii, 57; al-Aynī 1451: 236; Holt 1995: 16–17, 70–1); in May 1268, however, Hugh Revel, master of the Hospital, reported to the prior of St-Gilles that the Christians did not dare venture outside the town walls (*Cart. des Hosp.*, IV, 291–3, no. 3308 bis; *RRH Ad*, 91, no. 1358a;

Prawer 1975a: II, 483–4). In 1278, Bohemond VII of Antioch, count of Tripoli, captured the Sea Castle and temporarily removed its Templar garrison (Deschamps 1939a: 226; Prawer 1975a: II, 511). By the terms of the treaty that Sultan Qalāwūn made with the Franks in 1283, however, Sidon was again confirmed as being in Frankish hands (*RRH*, 378–9, no. 1450; Holt *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 88; al-Maqrizi c.1400b: II, 224–30; Prawer 1975a: II, 523–4). In the same year Burchard of Mount Sion reported that it was in the hands of the Templars and that with its two castles would be defensible if it only had people enough to defend it (ch. II (*IHC*, IV, 132)).

The Templars finally evacuated Sidon after the fall of Acre in 1291, the town on 18 May and the Sea Castle on 14 July (Deschamps 1939a: 227; Prawer 1975a: I, 557; on the Crusading history of the town, see Deschamps 1939a: 224–33; Jidejian 1971: 100–9).

Sidon occupies a coastal promontory, with offshore reefs on the north-west and west enclosing a part-natural harbour on the north and affording a sheltered anchorage (the so-called 'Egyptian harbour') on the south-west (see Poidebard 1951; Poidebard and Lauffray 1951; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943: 322–3, fig. 56; see also fig. 87). Stone-built walls, with four gates, protecting the town on the landward sides to the east and south are mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw in 1047 (*PPTS*, IV, 11; cf. Le Strange 1890: 346). In the twelfth century there is also evidence for forewalls certainly on the south and possibly on the east (Pringle 1995: 88–9, 97). At the south-east corner, the land walls incorporated the Land Castle (Qal'at al-Mu'azzam). This is possibly to be identified with the Tower of Baldwin that is mentioned in 1162 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, 218, no. 302; *RRH Ad*, 22, no. 376b). Although its surviving remains are mostly seventeenth century, excavations since 1919 have revealed evidence for an early Frankish motte, some 7 m high, underlying and cut through by later features; traces have also been found of an outer *talus* and ditch with a counterscarp which appear to have been part of the additions made by Louis IX to the town's outer defences in 1253–4 (Comte de teneau 1920: 108–24, figs. 20–9, pl. x; 1923: 261–2, figs. 1–4, pl. xxxix; Deschamps 1939a: 227–9, fig. 2; Dunand 1939: 79–81; 1940: 118; 1941: 88, 90; 1966: 29–30, 34, pl. I.5; King 1946: 65–8, fig. 17; Pringle 1995: 89; cf. Warren and Conder 1884: 482–3). At the northern end of the east wall a causeway and bridge linked the town to the Sea Castle, built in 1227–8 (see below, no. 242).

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town was



87 Sidon: plan of town, showing the location of the Sea Castle (no. 242) and the great mosque (no. 245)

surrounded by gardens and orchards. Medieval travellers comment on the fertility of the region, mentioning in particular its sugar cane, vines, olives and figs (Nāsir-i Khusraw (1047) (PPTS, iv, 11); Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211–12), iv (ed. Laurent, 165; *IHC*, iv, 202–4); Burchard of Mount Sion, ii (*IHC*, iv, 132); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1325–54: i, 169; James of Verona 1335: 301; Le Strange 1890: 346–7; Marmardji 1951: 125–6; cf. Strehlke, 50–1, no. 62 (1228)). An aqueduct is also mentioned in 1154 (al-Idrisi, in Le Strange 1890: 346). (On the urban topography see also: Rey 1871: 153–9, pl. xvi; Guide Bleu 1932: 400–7; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943a: 322–3, fig. 56; Pringle 1995: 88–9, fig. 7.)

Francesco Suriano wrote towards the end of the fifteenth century, 'In this city I saw the ruins of many fine churches' (1485b: 164). Nine ecclesiastical buildings are documented, though archaeological remains survive of only two (**nos. 242, 245**). In addition to the ecclesiastical orders and institutions which maintained a presence in the town, the church of St Mary and All Saints in Acre possessed houses and yards (*domos et curtes*) in Sidon in 1237–8 (Gregory IX, *Reg.* (ed. Auvray, ii, 840–2); *RRH*, 283, no. 1085; cf. Tibble 1989: 172) and the church of St Mary Latin possessed two villages in the lordship in 1158 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 218–22, no. 79; *RRH*, 85–6, no. 331; cf. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, iii, 271–3, no. 106 (1173)).

Two unprovenanced tombstones would probably also have come from churches, though from which is unknown. They are those of Her(bert) d'Ambro(. . .) and of Jorge (or Joffre) Timeron, son of the seigneur d'Enguerrand (Clermont-Ganneau 1884: 462 (no. 6), pl. iic; Virolleaud 1924: 116; Enlart 1925: ii, 338–9).

The chapel of King Louis at Sidon, to which Joinville refers in 1253–4, was evidently in a tent, not a building (chs. cxv, 588; cxvi, 594; cf. cxiii, 582 (de Wailly, 248; 250; cf. 245; trans. Shaw, 312; 313; cf. 310)).

No. 236 Cathedral Church (?) 184.328

History

In Byzantine times, the bishop of Sidon had been a suffragan of the archbishop of Tyre, who was in turn subject to the authority of the patriarch of Antioch (Tobler and Molinier, i, 331–2). In 1111, however, the year following the Franks' occupation of Sidon, Pope Paschal II agreed to Baldwin I's request that the part of the archdiocese of Tyre lying within the boundaries of the kingdom should be made subject to the patriarch of

Jerusalem (William of Tyre, xi, 28 (CCCM, i, 536–41; trans. Babcock and Krey, i, 508–13)). included Sidon, though continuing objections on part of the Latin patriarch of Antioch, Bernard Valence, prevented any bishop being appointed after the Frankish capture of Tyre itself in 1111. Bernard, 'first Sidonian bishop of the Franks', appeared as witness to a charter in 1133 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, i, no. 144; *RRH*, 36, no. 144; Hamilton 1980: 27–8, 61, 62). Paschal II's division of the archdiocese of Tyre was to endure, and later writers record Sidon, which included the former Orthodox see of Sarepta (**q.v.**), being one of the four suffragans of Tyre that were subject to the patriarch of Jerusalem (William of Tyre, xiv, 12–14 (CCCM, lxvi, 645–51; trans. Babcock and Krey, ii, 64–70); Aymar the Monk (1199), iii (*IHC*, 170); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, i, 170); Thietmar (1217), xxix (ed. Laurent, 53); James of Vitry (1217–40), *Hist. Or.*, i, 55 (*IHC*, ii, 326); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxii (*RHC Lois*, i, 415); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), ii (*IHC*, iv, 132)). The bishop is also recorded to have owed the service of fifty sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxxxii (*RHC Lois*, i, 427)).

A church building of some kind would certainly have existed in Sidon by 1126, when Philip, 'priest and canon of the church of Sidon', witnessed charters of Eustache Garnier and Evremar, archbishop of Caesarea (Krusch, *Ad.*, 15–16, no. 12; 17, no. 14; *RRH Ad.*, 8, no. 114d). The chapter is also mentioned in 1247, when it elected the archdeacon, Peter, as bishop (*RRH Ad.*, no. 1151b).

While it is possible that, as at Caesarea (see Vol. 1, no. 68), the Latin cathedral would at first have been established within the pre-existing great mosque (on which see Nāsir-i Khusraw (PPTS, iv, 11); Le Strange 1890: 346; Marmardji 1951: 125), no direct evidence exists to support such a theory. Camille Enlart claims at one point that the site of the cathedral should be identified with that occupied today by the great mosque (**no. 245**) (1925: ii, 336); however, he then proceeds to identify the mosque as part of the hospital of St John (**no. 246**) (1925: ii, 337–8).

Library

Ten manuscripts of the twelfth or thirteenth century which at one time formed part of the library of the church of Sidon (*ecclesia Sydonensis*) survive in the Vatican, two in Paris and one in Florence. In the fourteenth century they all seem to have been deposited in the papal library at Avignon, where it is possible they were deposited by Rostagnus de Candole.

bishop of Sidon, who was nominated in 1306, translated to Lepanto in 1307, and after several stays in Avignon died in Marseilles in 1329 (Maier 1967; 1968; Gasnault 1967).

Sources

Aymar the Monk (1199), III (IHC, III, 170); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), II (IHC, IV, 132); James of Vitry (1217–40), *Hist. Or.*, I, 55 (IHC, II, 326); John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXII, CCLXXII (RHC *Lois*, I, 415, 427); Kohler, 15–16, no. 12; 17, no. 14 (1126); *RRH Ad*, 8, no. 114b; 9, 114d (1126); Thietmar (1217), XXIX (ed. Laurent, 53); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 149); William of Tyre, XI, 28; XIV, 12–14 (CCCM, LXVI, 536–41; 645–51; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 508–13; II, 64–70).

Benvenisti 1970: 345; du Cange 1869: 805–6; Enlart 1925: II, 336; Gasnault 1967; Hamilton 1980: 27–8, 61, 70, 140, 153 n.1, 245, 247, 279 n.5, 290; Maier 1967; 1968; Rowe 1961.

No. 237 Orthodox Cathedral (?) 184.328

History

A medieval Orthodox bishop of Sidon, Paul of Antioch, is known to us from the significant corpus of theological writings in Arabic that he produced. His modern editor, Paul Khoury, dates these works to the period 1140–80 (1965: 8–18). Claude Cahen, on the other hand, has argued that it is more likely that Paul lived in the eleventh century than in the twelfth (1983: 273 n.7; cf. Hamilton 1980: 183).

More secure evidence for an Orthodox bishop of Sidon in the Frankish period comes from James of Vitry, who writes that while he was travelling through the territory of Sidon in 1217, 'the archbishop of the Syrians (*archiepiscopus Surianorum*), who was living in Sidon amongst the Saracens, came to meet me on foot outside the city' (*Lettres*, II, 314–22 (ed. Huygens, 92)).

The precise location of the Orthodox church is uncertain.

Sources

James of Vitry, *Lettres*, II, 314–22 (ed. Huygens, 92) (1217).

Cahen 1983: 273 n.7; Hamilton 1980: 182 n.4; 183; Khoury 1965: 8–18.

No. 238 Church of the Saviour (Unlocated)

History

The Gospels relate how in the region of Tyre and Sidon

Jesus encountered a Canaanite or Syro-Phoenician woman, who begged Him to cure her daughter of an unclean spirit (Matthew 15.21–8; Mark 7.24–30). In the fifth century, the woman's house was being identified with the church of St Phocas in Sidon (*Vita S. Melaniae Iunioris* (ELS, 314–15, no. 483)). This miracle was also recalled by twelfth-century pilgrims to the region of Sidon (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), XLIX (IHC, II, 110; PPTS, V, 51); Fretellus (1137), XXVI (ed. Boeren, 19); Anon. VI (c.1148), 3 (IHC, III, 56)); and in 1217, James of Vitry passed through the place where the Canaanite woman had run crying after the Lord (*Lettres*, II, 320–2 (ed. Huygens, 92)).

The first writer of this period to mention a church associated with Christ's ministry in the region of Sidon is the Greek John Phocas in 1185:

About three bowshots outside the city is a church enclosed by a long roofed colonnade (*stoa*); and near the apse of the church lies a four-sided stone on which, according to the common report, Christ the Saviour of the World stood and taught the multitudes. (ch. VI (PG, CXXXIII, 932; ELS, 315–16, no. 486.1; trans. adapted here from Wilkinson, 318))

This appears to have been the little church (*petit moustier*) in the fields outside Sidon that King Louis and John of Joinville came upon when out riding sometime between July 1253 and February 1254. Joinville recounts:

The king told me that this church had been built in honour of the miracle performed by our Lord when he drove the Devil out of the body of the widow's daughter. He said to me that, if I was willing, he would stay to hear the mass [which] the priest had just begun.

During the course of the Mass, Joinville, fearing that the clerk, whose appearance seemed suspicious, might be an Assassin and that the king's life could be in danger, took the *pax* from him to the king himself; the propriety of this action was afterwards the subject of a heated argument between the king and the papal legate (ch. CXV, 588–90 (ed. de Wailly, 248–9; trans. Shaw, 312)).

A French pilgrimage text of c.1280 refers to this church as that of the Holy Saviour (*Eglise de Saint Salveour*), and mentions that it contained several relics (*Pelrinages . . . de Acre*, I, 11 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234)). Burchard of Mount Sion locates the chapel (*capella*) outside the east gate of the deserted ancient city, whose ruins he describes as extending well beyond the walls of the medieval town (ch. II, 11 (ed. Laurent, 11; IHC, IV, 132; PPTS, XII, 14; ELS, 317, no. 487.2); cf. Philip of Savona (1283), LXV (IHC, IV, 252); Poloner 1422a: 266; 1422b: 32). In the following century, James of Verona found the ruins of the chapel

in the same place, but by then it had been completely overthrown (1335: 301).

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), II, 11 (ed. Laurent, 11; *IHC*, IV, 132; *PPTS*, XII, 14); *ELS*, 315–16, no. 486.1 (1185); 317, no. 487.2 (1283); James of Vitry, *Lettres*, II, 320–2 (ed. Huygens, 92) (1217); Joinville, CXV, 588–90 (ed. de Wailly, 248–9; trans. Shaw, 312) (1253–4); *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), I, 11 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 234); Phocas (1185), VI (PG, CXXXIII, 932; *PPTS*, V, 10; trans. Wilkinson, 318).

James of Verona 1335: 301; Röhricht 1887b: 317.

No. 239 Church (former Mosque) (?)184.328

History

In 1115, Baldwin I confirmed that Eustace Garnier, the first lord of Sidon, had granted to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat the village of *Capharabra* (Habra, Grid ref. 188.329) in the territory of Sidon and a house below the town (Delaborde, 29–32, no. 6; *RRH*, 18–19, no. 80). In 1126, Eustace II Garnier confirmed a grant that Baldwin I had made to the abbey on the request of his father, who had died three years before. This confirmation probably related to Baldwin's charter of 1115, though the village is unnamed, being referred to simply as that which Engerannus Luvet had given the abbey. The properties in Sidon, however, are described as including a mosque (*Mahomerie*) situated outside the town, near to the barbican facing Tyre, and a garden attached to it, along with the gardener and all his heirs (Kohler, *Chartes*, 15–16, no. 12; *RRH Ad*, 8, no. 114b). At the same time, Evremar, archbishop of Caesarea, granted the abbey in perpetuity a cemetery in the church formerly called the *Mahomerie* near the town of Sidon and the tithes on the adjacent garden (Kohler, *Chartes*, 17, no. 14; *RRH Ad*, 9, no. 114d). The abbey's possession of the village, garden and mosque (*machomeria*) were again confirmed by Baldwin II in 1130 (Delaborde, 45–7, no. 18; *RRH*, 33–4, no. 134) and by Baldwin III in 1154 (Delaborde, 67–70, no. 29), and its right to a church beside Sidon was affirmed by Pope Anastasius IV in 1154 (Delaborde, 63–7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70; *RRH*, 73, no. 290) and by Pope Alexander IV in 1255 (Delaborde, 100–5, no. 49). The abbey's lands near Sidon were planted with olives by 1164 (Kohler, *Chartes*, 38, no. 36; *RRH Ad*, 24, no. 393c).

When Sidon was reoccupied and refortified by the Franks in 1227–8, Balian, lord of Sidon, in February 1228, issued a charter to the Teutonic Order granting a field of arable land, a garden or orchard and a vineyard south of the town, and 'the large mosque (*mahume magna*), which is below the two gates of the town of Sidon from which one goes out towards Tyre' (Strehlke 1901, no. 62; 126, no. 128; *RRH*, 260, no. 986). In this document the word *intra* (within) has been altered to *infra* (below); it seems more probable, however, that the mosque lay outside the barbican than inside it. It was evidently the same as that which had earlier belonged to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In view of its evident proximity to the medieval town wall, it seems unlikely to be the church of the Saviour (No. 238), which was sited some distance from them.

Sources

Delaborde, *Chartes*, 29–32, no. 6 (1115); 45–7, no. 18 (1130); 63–70, nos. 28–9 (1154); 100–5, no. 49 (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70 (1154); Kohler, *Chartes*, 15–16, no. 12 (1126); 17, no. 14 (1126); Strehlke 1901, no. 62 (1228); 126, no. 128 (c.1243); *RRH*, 18–19, no. 80 (1115); 33–4, no. 134; 73, no. 290 (1154); 260, no. 986 (1228); *RRH Ad*, 8, no. 114b (1126); 9, no. 114d (1126).

Hamilton 1980: 98; Prawer 1975a: II, 180–1; Tibble 1970: 170.

No. 240 House of the Order of St John (?)184.328

History

The Hospitallers are recorded owning unspecified property in Sidon in a papal confirmation of January 1115 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 166–8, no. 217; *RRH Ad*, 18–19, no. 280b). In 1162, Gerard, lord of Sidon, also granted the order a gate in the town wall and forewall, a piece of land outside, and the entire forewall extending from Baldwin's Tower to the Sea Tower (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 200–1, no. 302; *RRH Ad*, 22, no. 376b). This grant was confirmed by Balian, lord of Sidon, in May 1237 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 510, no. 2160; *RRH Ad*, 66, no. 1076a). It may be assumed that the granting of part of the town's fortifications went hand-in-hand with a duty to maintain and defend them (Riley-Smith 1967: 130). Unfortunately it is uncertain precisely which part of Sidon's defences was involved, as the Sea Tower could have been located either at the north-east or at the south-west end of the land walls (cf. Pringle 1995: 8). Baldwin's Tower, however, may plausibly be identified

as a castle built by Baldwin I at the south-east corner of the walls, whose earthen remains have been revealed by excavation underlying the later Land Castle (see above). On this basis, the Hospital might possibly have been responsible for the entire south forewall, where it is known that there was a barbican gate (see **no. 239**).

In order to discharge their military duties in Sidon the Hospitallers would evidently have maintained a house there. Indeed, a residence (*mansus*) is specifically mentioned in the record of the exchange, dated 31 May 1262, by which the master of the Hospital bestowed all the order's possessions in the lordship of Sidon and Beaufort on the Templars, following the latter's acquisition of the lordship from Julian of Sidon in 1260. In return, the Templars gave the Hospitallers their own residence (**no. 241**), which they had been holding in Sidon before the town came into their possession (*Cart. des Hosp.*, III, 31–3, no. 3029; *RRH*, 344–5, no. 1319; cf. Riley-Smith 1967: 130 n.5).

The Hospitaller residence would doubtless have contained a chapel. However, the church of St John in which, by the terms of her will, dated 1 June 1254, Margaret, lady of Sidon, provided for the endowment of a chaplain seems more likely to have been the order's principal church in Acre than one in Sidon (Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 90, no. 283; *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 761, no. 2686; *RRH Ad*, 74, no. 1215a). This conclusion is supported not only by the fact that no mention of any church was made when the Hospitallers relinquished all their rights in the lordship of Sidon to the Templars in 1262, but also by the fact that the Hospitallers considered it necessary in October 1266 to obtain a vidimation of the undated act by which Julian, lord of Sidon, had fulfilled his mother's wishes by establishing the endowment (Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 100, no. 338; *Cart. des Hosp.*, III, 143, no. 323; *RRH Ad*, 90, no. 1344a). If the church of St John had been in Sidon, by 1266 it would have passed to the Templars and there would presumably have been no need for the Hospitallers to safeguard its endowment in this way.

Despite the lack of any certain evidence for any Hospitaller church in Sidon, various writers from the sixteenth century onwards have sought to identify such a building with one of the town's Greek churches (Perera 1553b: 49–50) or with the great mosque (Enlart 1925: II, 337–8; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943a: 322; Pirie-Gordon 1919: 57; Guide Bleu 1932: 405; 1975: 218; Meistermann 1936: 683). It seems more likely, however, that the latter should be identified as the house of the Teutonic Order (see **nos. 244–5**).

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., III, 31–3, no. 3029 (1262); *RRH*, 344–5, no. 1319 (1262).

Enlart 1925: II, 337–8; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943a: 322; Guide Bleu 1932: 405; 1975: 218; Meistermann 1936: 683; Perera 1553b: 49–50; Pirie-Gordon 1919: 57; Riley-Smith 1967: 130 n.5, 430.

No. 241 House of the Templars (?) 184.328

History

The Templars seem to have had a house in Sidon by 1173, when King Amalric, pursuing two Templars who had unlawfully killed an envoy sent to him by the Assassins, went to Sidon and had one of the accused 'dragged forcibly from their [i.e. the Templars'] house (*de domo eorum*) and . . . sent in chains to Tyre' (William of Tyre, xx, 30 (CCCM, LXVI, 955; trans. here adapted from Babcock and Krey, II, 394)). This house seems likely to have been the residence (*mansus*) that the Templars were said to have possessed in Sidon before the town came into their hands in 1260. In May 1262, their master, Thomas Berard, granted this to the Hospitallers as part of the exchange by which the latter relinquished all their former possessions in the lordship, including their own residence. Among the Templar witnesses on this occasion was William of Montaigne, commendator of Sidon (*Cart. des Hosp.*, III, 31–3, no. 3029; *RRH*, 344–5, no. 1319). Apart from some olives south of the town that they were holding in February 1228 (Strehlke, 50–1, no. 62; *RRH*, 260, no. 986), we are poorly informed about the Templars' possessions in Sidon before they acquired the entire lordship in 1260 (on which, see above). Their handing over of their former residence in Sidon to the Hospitallers in 1262, however, was probably made possible by the fact that their own headquarters had by then been transferred to the Sea Castle (see **no. 242**).

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., III, 31–3, no. 3029 (1262); *RRH*, 344–5, no. 1319 (1262); William of Tyre, xx, 30 (CCCM, LXVI, 955; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 394) (1173).

No. 242 Chapel in the Sea Castle 184.328

History

The Sea Castle of Sidon was built by French and English Crusaders between 11 November 1227 and 2 March 1228 on part of an offshore reef forming the eastern side

of the entrance to the north harbour. A causeway connected it to the north end of the east land wall (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 458–9); *Eracles*, xxxii, 25 (RHC Occ, II, 365); Sanudo, III, 11, 10 (ed. Bongars, 211); Prawer 1975a: II, 179–81; Deschamps 1939a: 17, 225; Kennedy 1994: 122). Although Burchard of Mount Sion (1283) gives the credit for its construction to German pilgrims (ch. II (IHC, IV, 132); cf. Sanudo, III, 14, 3 (ed. Bongars, 249); Poloner 1422a: 262, 266; 1422b: 29–30, 32), the French sources are emphatic that the Germans were at the time fully occupied in constructing Montfort Castle (no. 146). In June 1253 and again in 1260 the value of the castle was demonstrated when first the Ayyubids and then the Mongols failed to take it, despite breaking into the town (Joinville, cvii, 551–2 (ed. de Wailly, 232; trans. Shaw, 303); Het'um, *Flor des Estoires* (RHC Arm, II, 173–4; trans. Pynson, 42–3)).

When Julian, lord of Sidon, sold his lordship to the Templars in 1260, the Sea Castle would have become their headquarters in the town. In 1278, it was attacked from the sea by Bohemond VII of Antioch, count of Tripoli, who succeeded in storming it and taking the Templar garrison prisoner (Deschamps 1939a: 226; Prawer 1975a: II, 511).

From around 1286 the preceptor of the Templar house in Sidon was Adhémar of Peyrusse, formerly preceptor of Tripoli, who seems to have succeeded Matthew le Sarmage (*Procès*, I, 645; Trudon des Ormes 1897: 428–30; Barber 1978: 185–6). At that time the house was said to have contained more than eighty brothers (*Procès*, II, 138, 140; Trudon des Ormes 1897: 429; 1900: 588). Adhémar was still preceptor in 1291, for Bertrand Guasc later recalled when giving evidence during the Templars' trial that he was in the act of being received into the order by him in the chapel of the house at Sidon, in the presence of some forty brothers, when the chapter meeting had to be quickly dissolved because the Saracens unexpectedly broke into the town. Bertrand also mentions a sacristy containing a bed adjoining the chapel (*Procès*, II, 160, 258–60; Trudon des Ormes 1897: 429–30; Barber 1994a: 210). This chapter meeting may be dated to 18 May, when the Mamluks took the town. The Sea Castle held out for another two months until 14 July, when the Templars finally evacuated it (Sanudo, III, 12, 22 (ed. Bongars, 232); Deschamps 1939a: 227; Prawer 1975a: II, 557; Barber 1994a: 178).

The Sea Castle has been described by E.G. Rey (1871: 153–9, pl. xvi), the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine (Warren 1869; 1870; Warren and Conder 1884: 482–3), and P. Deschamps (1939a: 229–33, fig.

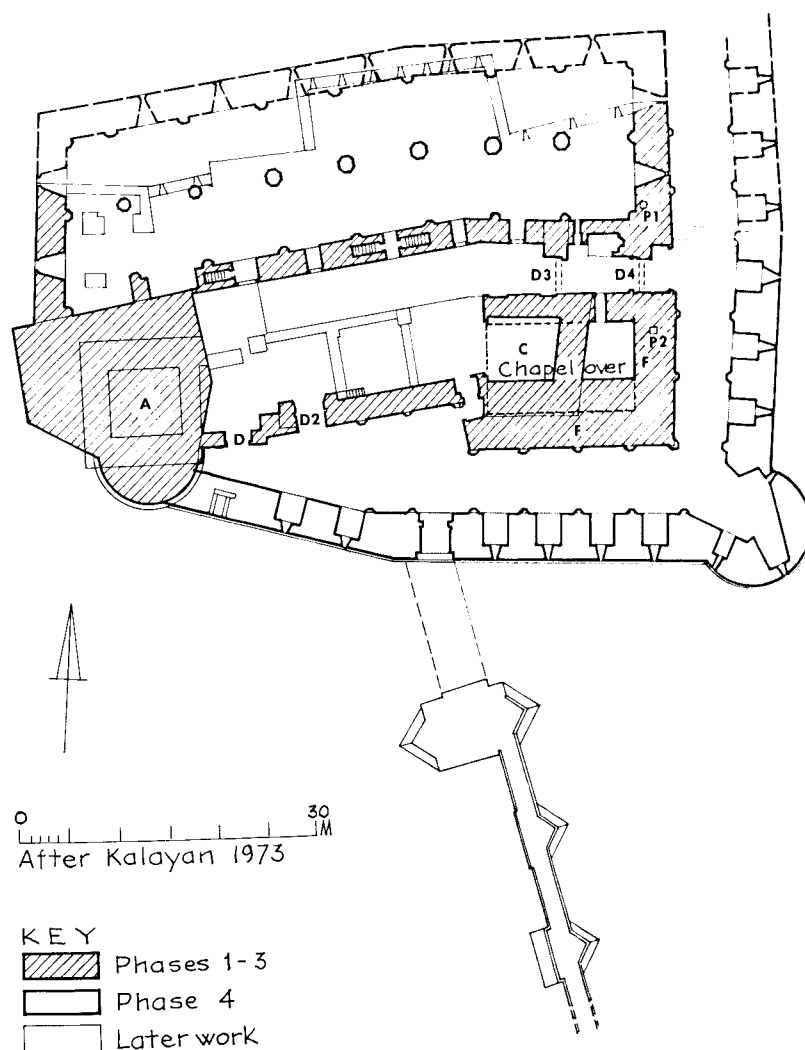
24; cf. Dussaud, Deschamps and Seyrig 1931: pl. 15). Conservation work was undertaken on it between 1943 and 1950 (Anon. 1943: 83–4; 1945: 115–16; 1948: 121; Chéhab 1948: 166; 1950: 112; King 1950: 69–70, fig. 18; cf. Müller-Wiener 1966: 67–71, pls. 20–1, pls. 96–7), resulting in an architectural study by H. Kalayan (1973; cf. Guide Bleu 1975: 215–16; Eydoux 1982: 199–205; Ben-Dov 1986; Kennedy 1994: 121–4, figs. 43–4).

Description: The Castle

Kalayan identifies four phases of Frankish work in the castle. The first two, which he attributes to 1227–8 and c.1253 respectively, are represented by partial remains of walls and towers, the overall design of which is difficult to appreciate (see fig. 88: A, C, D, D2, D3). The later phases are at least consistent with the primitive castle which Sanudo describes as having comprised no more than two towers and a wall (ch. III, 11, 10 (ed. Bongars, 211)).

In a third phase the castle was dramatically enlarged and strengthened. The earlier rectangular tower on the west (A) was incorporated into a larger irregularly shaped tower with a rounded projection on its exposed south front. The eastern tower (C) was extended east and south (F) to form a massive rectangular tower containing a chapel on its first floor. The basement of both towers were made into cisterns. In the construction of both towers extensive use was made of through columns. The main route into the castle from the end of the causeway led around the south and east sides of the rectangular tower to a gate on its north side, consisting of an outer portcullis (D4) protecting the earlier wall door (D3). Between the two towers was an inner courtyard; and to the north of this, extending along the entire northern quarter of the castle, was a large two-storey block measuring overall some 65 by 20 metres. Although Kalayan is probably correct in dating this work before 1278 (1973: 82), his mistaken belief that the Templars only acquired Sidon that year prevented him from understanding its full significance. It seems much more probable that the enlargement was done by the Templars themselves and was executed from 1260 onwards. The motive for the drastic alteration to the castle's layout was evidently to provide suitable quarters for the eventual accommodation for the Templar garrison, with the chapel and the preceptor's residence occupying the two main towers on the south and the knights' sergeants living in the large residential block on the north.

In a fourth phase, evidently dating before 1291



88 Sidon, Sea Castle: plan showing the location of the chapel (no. 242).

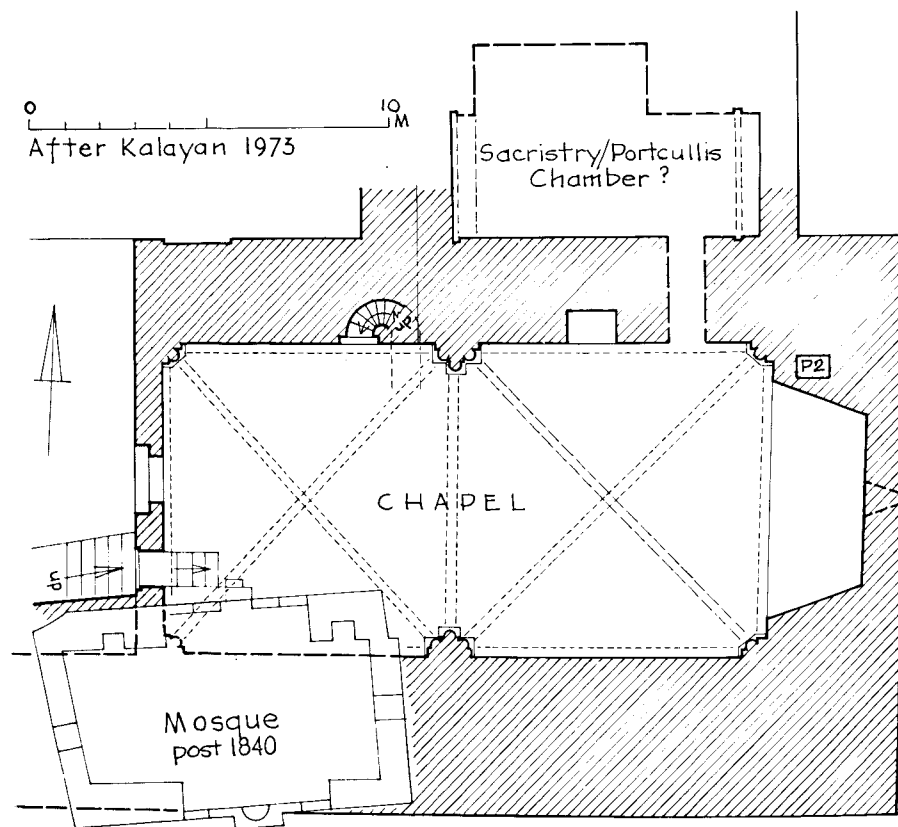
outer wall provided with casemated arrow-slits and a rounded corner-tower was added on the south and east. The space between this and the phase-three castle was enclosed by rib-vaulting.

Description: The Chapel

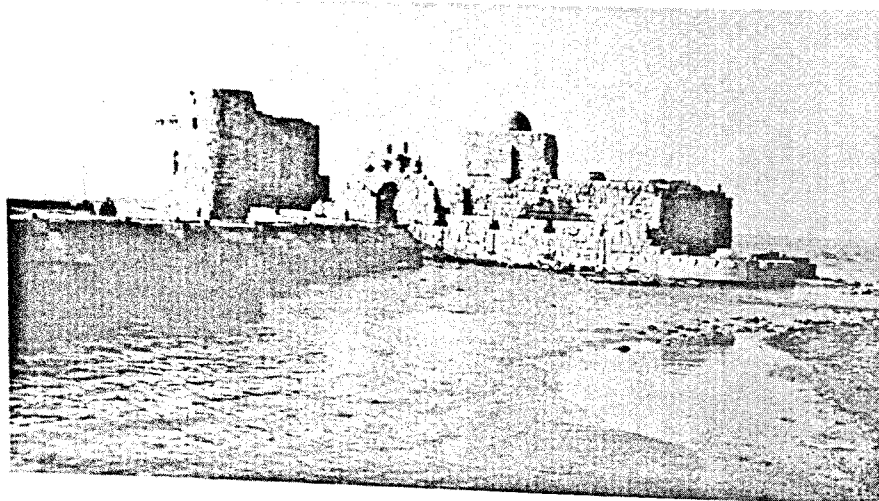
The chapel, occupying the first floor of the extended south-eastern tower of phase three, was rectangular, measuring internally 16.25 m by 8.25 m with a three-sided apse, 2.5 m deep, let into the east wall (fig. 89; pl. CLXXIX). The thickness of the walls varied considerably, from 4.2 m on the south to 3.5 m on the east (including the apse), 2.8 m on the north and 0.95 m on the west. The nave was rib-vaulted in two bays, the ribs consisting of two rolls separated by a band (Kalayan 1973: plan III, pl. IV.4-5) and springing from single-shafted rounded pilasters at the corners and triple-

shafted ones at the centres of the longer sides. These shafts were constructed with alternating drums of reddish sandstone and white limestone, giving a bichrome effect. The lower torus mouldings of their bases overhung the plinths and were supported on consoles (fig. 90), somewhat in the manner of those in the suburban church of 'Atlit (Kalayan 1973: 82, pl. IV.3; see also Vol. I, no. 27).

The door to the chapel lay towards the south end of the west wall, and was reached up an external flight of steps. There also appears to have been a door in the north wall of the western bay, leading to a twisting flight of descending stairs. In the centre of the west wall there was also a window, only the lower part of which survives. This had two orders, each with angle-rolls standing on water-holding bases; internally there was provision for shutters (Kalayan 1973: plan III, pl. IV.1-2). As the doors on the west bay are quite narrow



89 Sidon, Sea Castle, chapel (no. 242): plan.



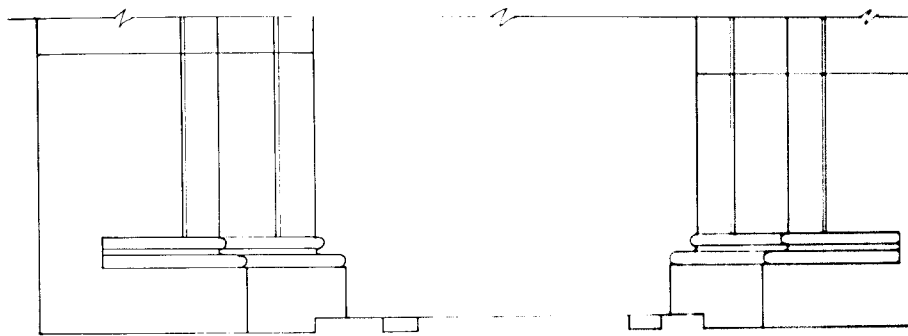
CLXXIX Sidon, Sea Castle.

and not very convenient, it seems possible that there would also have been a door in the north wall linking the chapel directly to the residence of the knights. This might have passed through a sacristy, doubling as a porter's lodge, situated directly over the main inner gate (D3, D4); in such a case the existence of a bed in the sacristy, mentioned in 1291, would be easily explained. From here the gate-keeper would also probably have

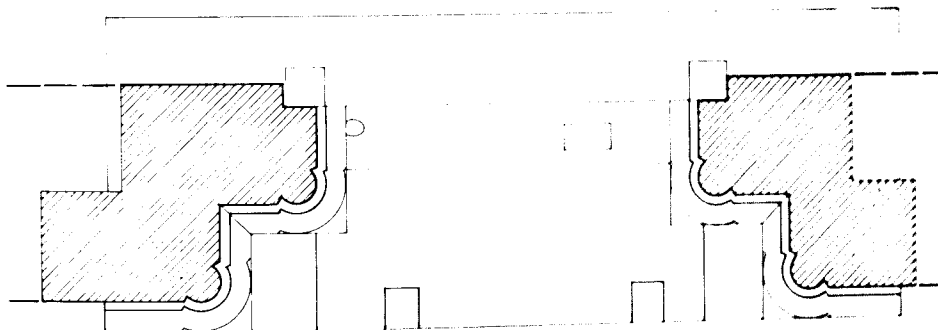
operated the portcullis, one of the counter-weights of which (P2) is set inside the chapel's east wall (Kalayan 1973: 82).

Decoration and Furnishings

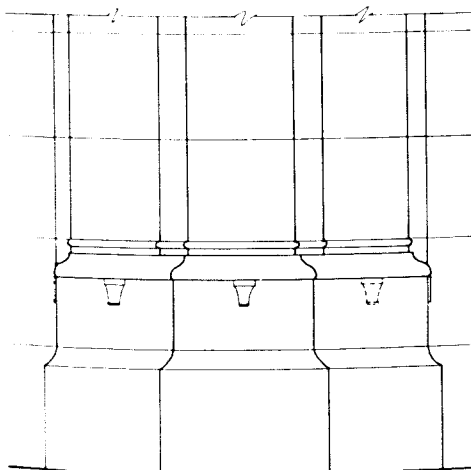
A number of thirteenth-century capitals from the Sea Castle have been illustrated by Enlart (1925: 11).



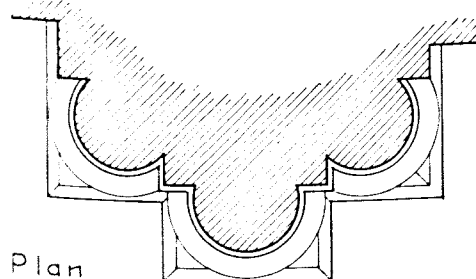
Elevation



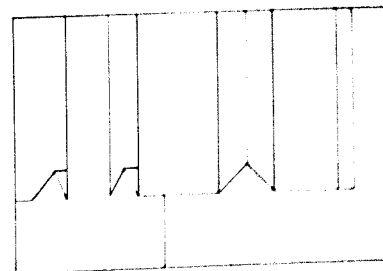
Plan
WEST WINDOW
0 100 cm



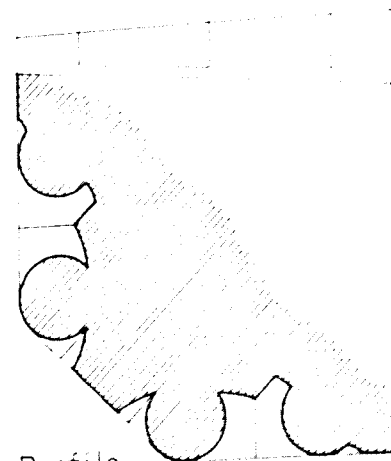
Elevation



Plan
TRIPLE PILASTER
0 100 cm
After Kalayan 1973



Face



Profile
VAULTING: tas de change
0 50 cm

90 Sidon, Sea
Castle, chapel
(no. 242)
details.

slots
wall

Sea
338.

pl. 33, figs. 108–10) and Kalayan (1973: pl. ix), but it is uncertain which, if any of them, might have come from the chapel.

Not visited.

Sources

Procès, II, 138, 258–90 (1291).

Barber 1978: 185–6; 1994a: 101, 168, 174, 178; Enlart 1925: II, 338, pl. 33, figs. 108–10; Kalayan 1973; Trudon des Ormes 1897: 428–30; 1899: 588.

No. 243 House of the Franciscans (?)184.328

History

The house of the Franciscans (*la maison des freres menors*) in Sidon is mentioned in a charter of 21 March 1253, by which Julian, lord of Sidon, gave an open space (*place*) lying north of it to Peter of Avalon, constable of Tiberias. The house was evidently situated close to the sea in the western part of the town, south or south-west of the house of the Teutonic Order (no. 244) (Strehlke, 82, no. 103; RRH, 317, no. 1205).

Sources

RRH, 317, no. 1205 (1253); Strehlke, 82, no. 103 (1253).

Enlart 1925: II, 336; Golubovich 1906: I, 353–4; Meistermann 1936: 683; Röhrich 1887b: 317; Roncaglia 1954: 55.

No. 244 House of the Teutonic Order 184.328

History

On 21 March 1253, Julian, lord of Sidon, granted to Peter of Avalon, constable of Tiberias, an open space (*place*) in Sidon,

which space lies on the sea shore, and towards the east (*levant*) it adjoins the house of the hospital of the Germans (*la maison de l'ospital des Alemans*), and towards the south the house of the Friars Minor [no. 243], and to the west it extends up to the sea, and towards the east (*orient*) it extends up to the road that goes to the sea shore and passes between your house and the house of Lady Margaret, my mother, who was formerly called lady of Sidon. (Strehlke, 82, no. 103; RRH, 317, no. 1205)

There appears to be an error in this text, for the property is defined with two different eastern borders and none on the north: one of the two boundaries described as being

on the east should therefore probably be on the north. It is uncertain which possible solution is correct, since either would accord with the known topography of the medieval town: the road between Peter of Avalon's house and that of Lady Margaret might have been either on the east, reaching the sea to north and south, or on the north, reaching the sea on the west. By the same token the house of the Teutonic Order might have been either on the north, with the sea on its west side and the road on its east, or to the east, with the road to the north of it. In either case, however, it is clear that the order's house lay in the western part of the town, close to the sea and north or north-east of the house of the Franciscans (no. 243). This may allow it to be identified with the Frankish building whose remains form part of the great mosque (no. 245).

In November 1256 the commander of the Teutonic Order in Sidon, Brother Walter (*frier Gautier le commandeur des freres Alemans de Seete*), acting on the orders of the master, purchased the fief of John of the Schuf from him in the court of Julian, lord of Sidon (Strehlke, 97–no. 115; RRH, 329, no. 1252).

Sources

RRH, 317, no. 1205 (1253); 329, no. 1252 (1256–8); Strehlke, 82, no. 103 (1253); 97–8, no. 115 (1256–8).

Röhrich 1887b: 317.

No. 245 Church (now the Great Mosque) 184.328

Description

The great mosque has been recognized as a former Frankish building since the eighteenth century (Pocock 1743: II, 87). In the 1920s C. Enlart described it as a large rectangular building of four bays, strengthened by strong non-projecting buttresses. It evidently dates from the thirteenth century.

The present groin-vaults are modern; it is known that they have been rebuilt a number of times.

One of the lateral windows still exists; the west gable still preserves intact its three ancient openings: two windows surmounted by an *oculus*, framed externally by a torus. The windows are lancets, splayed on the outside and on the inside. The east gable, situated on the top of a cliff, has only modern openings. (Enlart 1925: II, 337–8)

Discussion

Enlart compared the west gable to that of the large room lying south of the chapter house in the Cistercian abbey

of Belmont, near Tripoli, and to certain thirteenth-century French churches, such as that of Pamproux (Deux-Sèvres). Although he recognized that it could have been a church, he considered it more likely that it had been an infirmary hall in the hospital of the order of St John (see **no. 240**), in which a chapel would originally have occupied the east end (1925: II, 337–8); earlier, however, he had put forward the opinion that this was the cathedral (1925: II, 336; see also **no. 236**). Although the tradition associating the great mosque with the order of St John is well established (Guide Bleu 1932: 405; 1975: 218; Meistermann 1936: 683; Pirie-Gordon 1919: 57; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943a: 322), there is no evidence to support it. While definitive proof is lacking, it appears more possible that the building formed part of the house of the Teutonic Order (**no. 244**), which is known to have been located in this area.

Sources

Enlart 1925: II, 336, 337–8; Great Britain: Naval Intelligence Division 1943a: 322; Guide Bleu 1932: 405; 1975: 218; Meistermann 1936: 683; Pirie-Gordon 1919: 57; Pococke 1743: II, 87.

Jami' Abū Nakhla 184.328

The mosque of Abū Nakhla has been identified as a Crusader church of St Michael (Pirie-Gordon 1919: 57; Meistermann 1936: 683), though on what evidence is uncertain.

SINJIL

Cr. *Casale S. Egidii*

An anonymous pilgrim guide of c.1131–43 states:

At the tenth milestone from *Sychem* (Nabulus) is the village of St Giles (*casale S. Egidii*), which takes its name from the count of St-Gilles who placed his camp there in the army of the Franks the day before they saw Jerusalem. (*Descriptio locorum*, xxxiii (IHC, II, 98; PPTS, v, 35); cf. Fretellus, xlv (marginal note in MS dated c.1162–73, ed. Boeren, 29))

Now the village of Sinjil, to which this text evidently refers (cf. Conder 1877: 88–9), is well off the line of march taken by the army of the First Crusade; and its connection – if any – with Raymond of St-Gilles, later

count of Tripoli, is difficult to establish. If it had indeed been named after the count, then it is perhaps more likely that it would in any case have been called *casale Raymundi* or something similar. A more plausible explanation of the derivation of the village's name is that, like those of 'Abud (*casale S. Mariae*) and al-Khidr (*casale S. Georgii*), it came from the dedication of the village church. Whatever the solution, the village name is unlikely to date earlier than the twelfth century, since St Giles is a Western saint associated with the region around Nîmes (Viard 1964). The Arabic name, Sinjil, which represents a phonetic equivalent to the French St-Gilles, is first recorded only in the 1170s (al-Harawi (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 62); cf. Marmardji 1951: 52, 94–5).

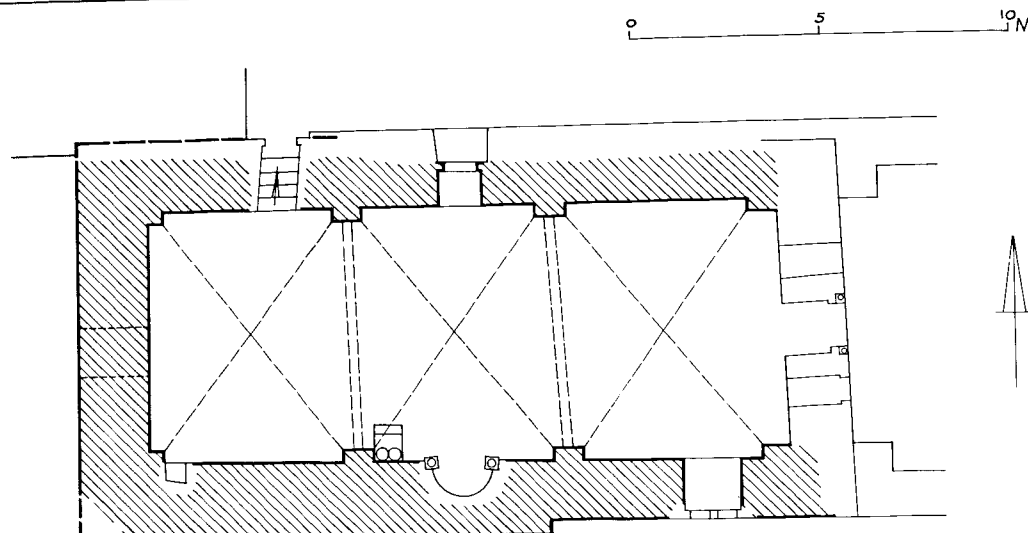
Throughout the twelfth century, Sinjil remained part of the royal domain. It had its own lord, one of whom, Baldwin, together with his wife Stephanie, issued a charter in December 1175 in the presence of the castellan of Jerusalem (who was his father-in-law) and other knights and burgesses of the city (Bresc-Bautier, 311–12, no. 160; *RRH*, 142, no. 531). Five other Frankish inhabitants are mentioned in October 1186, when two of them made gifts of wine from their vineyards in the region to the leper hospital of St Lazarus (**q.v.**) in Jerusalem (*RRH*, 174, no. 656); and among the other people 'of the village of St Giles' recorded in the twelfth century are the knights Robert (*RRH*, nos. 201, 205, 257, 274, 503 (1141–73)) and Pisellus (*RRH*, nos. 257, 274 (1150–2)), and two men who are recorded as burgesses of al-Bira in or after 1156 (Bresc-Bautier, 237–40, no. 117; *RRH*, 77–8, no. 302). Sinjil would therefore seem to have been settled in the twelfth century by Frankish knights and freemen; whether it had any indigenous Muslim or Christian inhabitants in this period is unknown. Its Frankish occupation came to an end in 1187 (Heraclius, *Epistola ad Papam Urbanum* (ed. Kedar, 122; cf. 119); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 99)).

Apart from the church (see below), the medieval remains in the village include the base of a tower (cf. Guérin 1874: II, 34; Benvenisti 1970: 230). In 1979 only the south wall of this was visible: it was about 10 m long and built in rusticated blocks, 0.56–0.65 m high and with drafted borders. Since then a house has been built directly against the face of it (1982).

No. 246 Church (of St Giles) 1750.1601

History

The church of Sinjil is first mentioned in 1145 in an agreement settling a dispute over tithes between the



91 Sinjil, church (no. 246): plan.

abbey of Mount Tabor and the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In August of that year it was agreed between Abbot Pons and Patriarch William I that the abbey should retain possession of the church together with its oblations and those of the two dependent villages of *Turbasaim* (Turmus 'Aiya, Grid ref. 177.160) and *Dere* (Kh. Dair al-Fiqya, see Vol. 1, no. 83), half of the tithes and all the tithes from its three vineyards, in return for giving a candle each year to the Holy Sepulchre, to which the remainder of the tithes would also be paid (Bresc-Bautier, 83–5, no. 24; *RRH*, 59, no. 234). How the abbey of Mount Tabor came to have been granted the church of Sinjil in the first place and by whom remain unanswered questions. It was only to retain the church, however, for another thirty years, for in October 1175 Abbot Garinus returned it with its parish rights and tithes to the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, Peter, because distance and expense were proving too heavy a burden for the abbey to bear. At the same time the abbey sold its vineyard, houses, buildings and movable property there to the Holy Sepulchre for 2,000 bezants and an annual gift of a candle and incense on the Feast of the Transfiguration (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 907–8, appx., no. 18; Bresc-Bautier, 310–11, no. 159; 353–4, appx., no. 4; *RRH*, 141–2, nos. 529–30). This sale was confirmed by Baldwin, lord of Sinjil, a month later (Bresc-Bautier, 311–12, no. 160; *RRH*, 142, no. 531).

Description

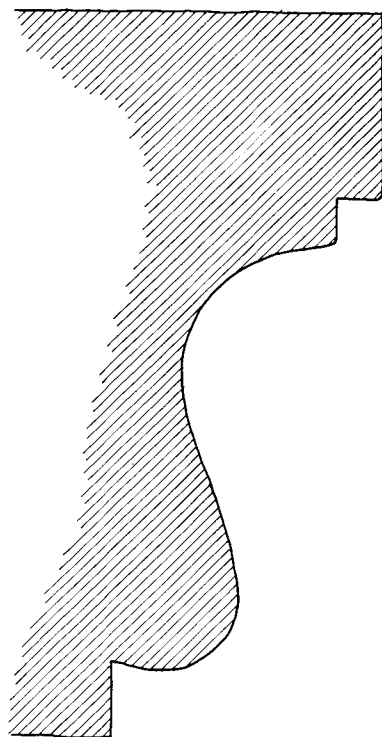
The remains of a building oriented east–west and known as *al-kanīsa* were identified as a church by Victor Guérin in Sinjil in 1874 (1874: II, 34). This seems likely to be the building which today serves as the village mosque

and was recognized as a former Crusader church by Meron Benvenisti (1970: 230). In its present form the mosque dates from 1945, and the transformation has almost completely disguised its original function (p. CLXXX).

The church would have been a rectangular structure measuring internally 16.9 m long on the north, 17.3 m on the south, 6.7 m wide, and with walls some 2 m thick (fig. 91). It is likely that in common with other twelfth-century Crusader church buildings it would have had a semi-circular eastern apse; but this has been suppressed and replaced by a blocking wall preceded by a rectangular groin-vaulted *riwāq*, which serves as the principal entrance into the mosque. Since the ground slopes down from south-west to north-east, most of the south and west walls are earthfast on the outside, while on the north and east most of the original wall-face has



CLXXX Sinjil, village mosque, formerly a church (no. 246) interior, looking south-east.

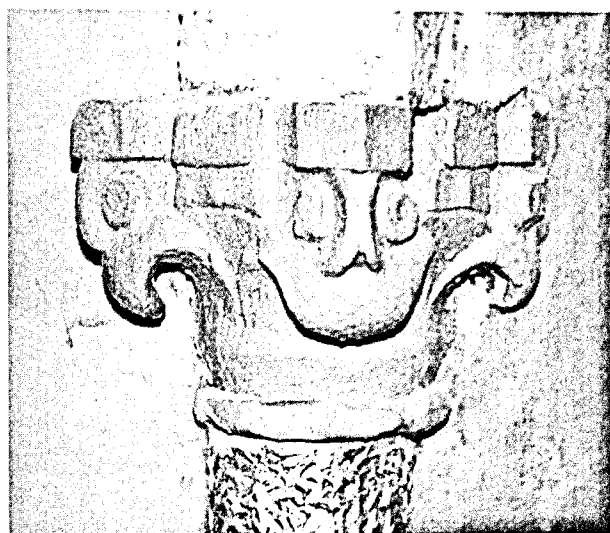


92 Sinjil, church (no. 246): cornice fragment built into the south wall.

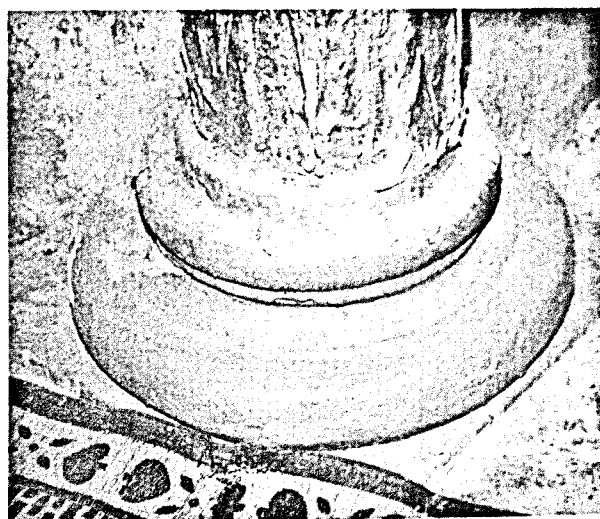
gone. Originally, however, the walls would seem to have been faced externally with coursed ashlar, 0.3–0.4 m high. The interior is almost completely plastered and painted, making it virtually impossible to study the masonry at all.

The vaulting of the mosque is low. It consists of three bays of groin-vaults springing from rectangular pilasters, 0.85 m wide and 0.3 m deep, each bay being separated from the next by a shallow pointed-arched transverse rib (0.25 m wide and 0.05 m deep), stopped with a plain chamfer at the level of the spring. The vaulting rises towards the central east–west axis of the building. It is uncertain how much of it is medieval and how much represents more recent reconstruction. The original roof, however, seems unlikely to have been very much different; though if one allows for the twelfth-century floor level being a metre or more lower than the present floor the room would once have had a somewhat loftier appearance. Where a portion of plaster had fallen away from the north-east pilaster, it could be seen to be built of large ashlar blocks bearing the diagonal tooling commonly found on twelfth-century work.

The only medieval door to survive is in the south wall of the eastern bay. Its passage is 1.44 m wide and



CLXXXI Sinjil, village mosque, formerly a church (no. 246): Crusader capital to colonnette on the left-hand side of the *mihrāb*.



CLXXXII Sinjil, village mosque, formerly a church (no. 246): Crusader base to colonnette on the left-hand side of the *mihrāb*.

covered by a pointed barrel-vault. The outer door-frame has gone, to be replaced by a modern two-light window. A blocked rectangular window, 1.32 m wide, may be observed in the west wall and another, evidently a later insertion, survives in the north. The original window arrangement is uncertain.

Another late feature is the *mihrāb* inserted into the south wall. This is flanked, however, by a pair of colonnettes, each having a twelfth-century thick-leaved capital similar to those in the great mosque in Nablus, and a water-holding base (see pls. CLXXXI–LXXXII). The

capitals and bases, all intended for columns of diameter 0.26–0.27 m, evidently belong together, but they do not fit their present columns, which have a diameter of only 0.19 m. Two other pieces of column drum (diam. 0.27–0.29 m) are employed in the stone *minbar*; and five cornice fragments are built into the external blocking wall above the window inserted in the south doorway (see fig. 92).

Visited 14.4.79, 18.2.82.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 83–5, no. 24 (1145); 310–12, nos. 159–60 (1175); 353–4, appx., no. 4 (1175); *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 907–8, appx., no. 18 (1175); *RRH*, 59, no. 234 (1145); 141–2, nos. 529–31 (1175).

Bagatti 1979: 130; Benvenisti 1970: 230, 345; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 370; Guérin 1874: II, 34; Hamilton 1980: 90 n.5, 94, 101, 147–8, 155–6; Hoade 1978: 546–7; Johns 1937: 37 (n.5); Meistermann 1936: 500; Pringle 1993: 34, fig.; Rey 1883: 382, 390.

SUBA

Cr. Belmont; Hebr. Zova

No. 247 Castle Chapel 1620.1324

History

The Hospitaller castle of Belmont, overlooking the order's other properties at Kh. 'Iqbala (*Aqua Bella*) and Abu Ghosh (*Castellum Emmaus*) (see Vol. I, nos. 1 and 101), would certainly have existed by 1171–2, when reference is made to an unnamed castellan (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 222–7, no. 19; *Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 276–7, no. 403 (1169); *RRH*, 126, no. 480 (1170)). Brother William of Belmont, who is mentioned in 1157 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 189, no. 249; *RRH*, 85, no. 329) and in 1162 (*RRH Ad*, 22, no. 370b), may have been castellan at an earlier date, and in April 1186 the castellan was Bernard de Asinaria, who from 1163 had been master of the *Asnerie* outside St Stephen's Gate to the north of Jerusalem (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 503, no. 803; cf. 266, no. 312; 311, no. 450; 319, no. 464; 322, no. 469; 349, no. 508). The castle fell to Saladin in 1187 (Abū Shāmā (*RHC Or*, IV, 303); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 99)) and

was destroyed by al-'Adil in September 1191 (Ambroise lines 6835–69 (trans. Hubert, 271–2); *Itin. Ric.*, IV, (RS, xxxviii.i, 280)).

Description and Discussion

Excavations carried out in 1986–8 by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem have clarified the plan of the castle. Sited on a rounded hilltop, its inner ward was rectangular, consisting of vaulted ranges set around a central courtyard containing a wine-press and wine storage rock-cut cisterns below. Like nearby Kh. 'Iqbala (see Vol. I, no. 101), the building had small solid projecting turrets on the north and east, flanking narrow entrance gates. Surrounding the inner ward lower down the slope was a polygonal outer enceinte, with a scarped talus and a berm and an outer gatehouse on the south-east. The outer ward contained stables in a vaulted range on the south-east. The ruins of the castle are overlain by the village of Suba, abandoned in 1948 (Harper 1988; Pringle 1988; 1989; Harper 1989).

In May 1875 the officers of the SWP noted, 'There remains of Crusading buildings in all parts of the village and a stone altar, with steps, marks the probable position of the church' (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 158). No trace of any ecclesiastical building was found in the recent excavations. It seems likely, in any case, that the officers were mistaken in their interpretation, and that the castle chapel, which would surely have existed, would have been located on an upper flank which has long since been destroyed.

Sources

Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 158; Harper 1989; Harper and Pringle 1988; 1989.

as-SUMAIRIYA

Cr. Somelaria, Lasaumalaria, la Semerrie; Med. Ar. *al-Samīriyah al-Baydā'*; Hebr. *Regba*

On 1 July 1277, the tented encampment of the Templars, beside their village of *Somelaria*, was the scene for the settlement of a dispute between John of Montfort, lord of Tyre, and the Venetians concerning the latter's rights and properties in the city (Tafel and Thomas 1950–9, no. 369; *RRH*, 366, no. 1413; Prawer 19

II, 517). In June 1283, *al-Samiriyah al-Baydā'* (the white) remained in Frankish hands under the terms of the treaty concluded with Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (Barag 1979: 205, no. 26; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 79). It is again mentioned, however, under the name *la Semerrie*, as the northward extent of the Mamluks' military encampment during their final siege of Acre in 1291 (*Gestes des Chiprois*, §490 (ed. Raynaud, 243); Prawer 1975a: 543).

The site is identified with as-Sumairiya, which lies on the main road north from Acre, about 0.5 km north of the tell of the same name (Beyer 1945: 208, 212–13; Yogeve and Rochman 1985). Remains of a Crusader courtyard building (60.5 m east–west by 57 m north–south), with a vaulted east range opening on to a central court, stand on the east side of the road (Pococke 1743: II, 78; Meyer 1964; Pringle 1997: no. 208). A thirteenth-century glass furnace was excavated 7 m south-east of the building in 1968–9 (Weinberg 1968; 1987).

No. 248 Chapel of St George (?)1591.2642

History

An indulgence was granted 'for the chapel of St George of *Lasaumalaria*, near Acre', on the feast days of St George, St Julian and St Martin, by Pope Nicolas IV in Orvieto on 3 May 1291 (*Reg.* (ed. Langlois, II, 696, no. 4935); *RRH*, 366, no. 1413 n.1). It may be assumed that the chapel belonged to the Templars, but nothing more of it is known.

Visited 30.7.81, 13.10.81.

Sources

Nicolas IV, *Reg.* (ed. Langlois, II, 696, no. 4935) (1291); *RRH*, 366, no. 1413 n.1.

Meyer 1964: 200–1; Röhrich 1887b: 251.

Khirbat TABALIYA

Cr. *Tablie, Tyberie* 1696.1272

Although the place from which the prophet Habakkuk was snatched up and transported to Daniel in Babylon (Bel and the Dragon, 33–6) was more usually identified from the twelfth century with a field near Kh. Tuqu'

(Tekoa) (Wilkinson 1977: 173; Wilkinson, Hill and Ryan 1988: 56; see no. 183), among the alternative locations shown from the later ninth century was a field between Jerusalem and Bethlehem (Bernard the Monk, xvii (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 317; *ELS*, 102, no. 116)). In the 1485 redaction of his treatise, Francesco Suriano places the house of Habakkuk a bow-shot from the monastery of St Elias, and records that a chapel had been built there which by his time was in ruins (1485a: 121; 1485b: 134). Half a century earlier a church of St George had been recognized in this location (Poloner 1422a: 246; 1422b: 18). Boniface of Ragusa identified the ruined house and church of St Habakkuk on a hill to the right of the Well of the Magi (Bir al-Qadismu: see no. 178) as one came from Jerusalem, and noted, 'At one time there was here a very large convent of the friars, but now, as you see, it has the appearance neither of a house nor of a church' (1577: 193; *ELS*, 149, no. 153; Saller 1946: 18). Francesco Quaresmi was still able to make out the trace of paintings on the walls of the building, destroyed by age (1626a: II, 457–60; 1626b: 298); and an engraving published by Cornelius van Bruyn shows a rounded vault, possibly the semi-dome of an apse, still standing at the end of the seventeenth century (1725: 283, pl. 140; Saller 1946: 18, fig. 9).

By July 1881, when the building (Bait Yunan an-Nabi) was visited by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine, no more than the foundations were visible. These measured some 30 by 40 yards (36.6 by 27.4 m), with walls 4 ft (1.2 m) thick, and were constructed of well-dressed stones, some having a rough draft. The officers considered the building to be 'of Crusading origin', though it is not obvious from their sketch plan what it might have been (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 160–1, fig.).

The site was revisited by Frs F.J. Saller and B. Bagatti in January 1943 and October 1945. They found what appeared to be a building some 31 m square, with another structure parallel to its east side. An entrance passage on the east led to a central courtyard surrounded by rooms and covering a rock-cut cistern, some 7–8 m square and 6 m deep. From the quantities of coloured tesserae, both from floor and possibly from wall mosaics, and from the tiles, glass (both window and vessel) and pottery littering the site, they deduced that the building was essentially Byzantine of the fourth to seventh centuries. However, the presence of glazed pottery also indicated occupation of the site in the Middle Ages (Bagatti 1983: 27–8; Saller 1946: 18–20, fig. 9).

Medieval occupation is confirmed by documentary evidence (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 455). *Tyberie*

was among the *casalia* and *gastinae* acquired by the abbey of St Mary on Mount Sion from Almericus of Franchieu (*de Francoloco*) sometime before 1179 (RRH, 153, no. 576); and it also appears as *Tablie* in Richard of Cornwall's letter recording his treaty with the Ayyubids in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 143); cf. Abel 1967: II, 477).

Although it is possible therefore that the Byzantine building identified from the late fifteenth century as the church of St Habakkuk was indeed originally a church or monastic house, it remains doubtful whether it was ever used as such during the period of the Latin Kingdom; a secular use seems more possible, though as yet unproven.

Not visited.

Sources

Bagatti 1983: 27–8; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 193; van Bruyn 1725: 283, pl. 140; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: I, 455; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 160–1, fig.; Palestine 1929: 236; 1944: 1322; 1948: 167; Perera 1953b: 33; Poloner 1422a: 246; 1422b: 18; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 457–60; 1626b: 298; Saller 1946: 18–20, fig. 9; Suriano 1485a: 121; 1485b: 134.

at-TABGHA

Cr. *Mensa, Mensa Domini, Mensa Iesus Christi, Tabula, Tabula Domini, la Table Nostre Seigneur*; Hebr. 'En Sheva'

No. 249 Church of St Peter, or the Holy Apostles 2017.2529

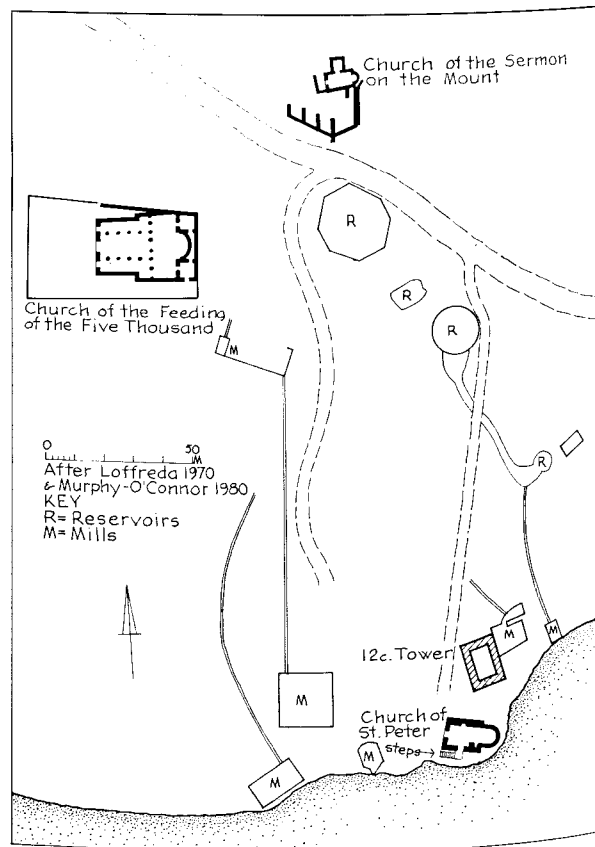
History

At-Tabgha lies at the north end of the plain of Ginnosar, beside the Sea of Galilee. Its name appears to have been derived from the Greek, *Heptapegon* (*chōrion*), meaning '(Land of) Seven Springs', and to have been inspired by the area's abundant sources of water, which were used in later Roman and Byzantine times for irrigation and from the Middle Ages onwards for powering mills (Baldi 1955a: 261 n.2; Loffreda 1970: 13–27; Wilkinson 1977: 169–70).

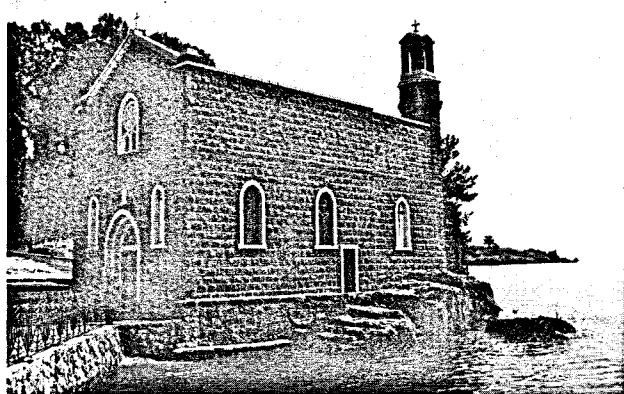
In the late fourth century, the pilgrim Egeria associates three events from the Gospels with this place (in Peter the Deacon, sections v2–3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 99; ELS,

281–2, no. 412; trans. Wilkinson, 1966): the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Matthew 14.13–21; Mark 6.32–44; Luke 9.10–17; John 6.1–14); the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5.1–8.1); and Christ's post-Resurrection appearance to the disciples, when He stood on the beach and they were in their boat fishing and called them ashore to eat a breakfast of fish grilled over a charcoal fire (John 21.1–14).

The sites of all three events had churches built or rebuilt in the Byzantine period (fig. 93). Egeria herself mentions the stone altar of the Feeding, from which pilgrims chipped away souvenirs. Excavations by A. Schneider and A.E. Mader in 1932–6 revealed the foundations of a small fourth-century church commemorating this event. This was replaced by a much larger basilican structure in the mid fifth century, and its mosaics were repaired in the sixth century (Schneider 1937; Ovadia 1970: 56–9 (no. 46), pls. 21–2; Loffreda 1970: 40–2, fig. 10; 1975: 17–38, figs. 3–18a; Avi-Yonah 1976b; Avi-Yonah and Negev 1993; Goergen and Goergen 1989). A small church higher up the hill associated with a cave and other structures, was excavated by Fr B. Bagatti in 1935 and appears to be the



93 At-Tabgha: site plan showing the location of the churches of St Peter (no. 249).



CLXXXIII At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): from the south-west, showing rock-cut steps

commemorating the Sermon on the Mount. It was built towards the end of the fourth century, but its mosaics were repaired in the early seventh century and secular occupation continued into the early Muslim period (Bagatti 1937; Ovadiah 1970: 59–60 (no. 47), pl. 23; Loffreda 1970: 42, fig. 12; 1975: 51–7, figs. 22–3).

Of the third site all that Egeria says, recalling John 21.4, is: 'Not far from there [Capernaum] are to be seen some stone steps, on which the Lord stood' (Peter the Deacon, section v2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 99)). This is enough, however, to identify the site as that now occupied by the church of the Primacy of St Peter, built in 1933 over the foundations of an earlier building, with a short flight of rock-cut steps leading down on to the beach on its south side (pl. CLXXXIII). Excavations in 1969 revealed remains from the fourth century underlying the floor of the church (Loffreda 1968a: 242; 1970: 96–7; 1975: 57).

By c.685, all three churches appear to have been destroyed. All that Bishop Arculf found at the place of the Feeding of the Five Thousand were 'a few stone columns lying at the edge of the small spring from which, it is said, the people drank' (Adomnán, II, 24, 1–3 (CCSL, CLXXV, 218; ELS, 276, no. 404; trans. Wilkinson, 108); cf. Bede, xv, 1 (CCSL, CLXXV, 275–6)). There is no evidence to suggest that this church was ever rebuilt (Schneider 1937: 80; Loffreda 1975: 36; pace Wilkinson 1977: 170); and if Epiphanius the Monk (639–89) saw it, as is implied by one redaction of his pilgrimage account, dating to c.1300 (ch. x, text n (trans. Wilkinson, 120); cf. ELS, 277–8, no. 406.2), he would presumably have done so before Arculf's visit.

Another version of Epiphanius's account, however, datable to 715/17–1000, refers to two other structures in the area:

And to the west of the spring there is a monastery. In that place Christ spoke to the Samaritan woman. And on the shore of this sea there is a church where Christ stood: there also were the coals and the fish. And at the same place Peter came to Christ walking on the sea. (ch. XIII, text j (trans. Wilkinson, 121); cf. ELS, 278, no. 406.3–4)

The 'Samaritan woman' appears to have been confused here with the woman suffering from an issue of blood (Matthew 9.20–2; Mark 5.25–34; Luke 8.43–8). An anonymous Life of Constantine, partly based on Epiphanius and dating from the same period as this text, credits St Helena with founding a church of the Holy Cross at the place where Christ cured her. The same source also ascribes to Helena the building of another church, dedicated to the 'Holy and Truly Evangelical Apostles', beside the lake where Christ appeared to the disciples (*Vita Constantini*, VII (ed. Guidi, 49; ELS, 278–9, no. 407; trans. Wilkinson, 203)).

Two ecclesiastical structures are also listed by the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* (c.808). One, 'the monastery (*monasterium*) called the *Heptapegon* where the Lord fed the people', contained ten monks. The other was

a church, beside the sea, which they call the twelve [thrones, and there the Lord was with his disciples; there is the table (*mensa*), where He sat with them; there are one priest and two clerks. (chs. XLIV–XLV (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 303; ELS, 277, no. 405; cf. trans. Wilkinson, 138))

The monastery mentioned by Epiphanius and the *Commemoratorium* may possibly have been that enclosing the church that had earlier been associated with the Sermon on the Mount. The church beside the lake was evidently that whose remains survive below the church of St Peter's Primacy. Since the text of the *Commemoratorium* is fragmented at this point, the church's dedication is uncertain; however, Kopp may well be correct in identifying it as the church of the Twelve Apostles, rather than the Twelve Thrones, as the latter church, associated with the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Matthew 15.29–39), is located by another source closer to Capernaum (Kopp 1951: 50–51; cf. *Vita Constantini*, VII (ed. Guidi, 49; trans. Wilkinson, 203)). The church beside the lake is mentioned again by Eutychius of Alexandria, around 944, as the 'Place of the Coals' (*Lib. Dem.* (CSCO, CXCI) (*Script. Ar.*, xx), 148; Loffreda 1970: 33).

At-Tabgha is described in the early years of the Latin Kingdom by the pilgrim Saewulf (1101–3):

Some two miles east of Gennasareth is the mountain on which the Lord Jesus, with five loaves and two fishes, satisfied five thousand people. This mountain is called by the local inhabitants 'The Table of the Lord' (*tabula domini*); and at its foot is the

church of St Peter, very beautiful although deserted. (ch. xxix (CCCM, cxxxix, 74; ELS, 280, no. 409; cf. trans. Wilkinson, 111))

The description given of the locality by Abbot Daniel a few years later is somewhat confused, though he does record the existence of a church of the Holy Apostles in the place where Christ ate with the disciples after His Resurrection (Daniel (1106–8), LXXXI (trans. Ryan, 159; de Khitrowo, 63–4); ELS, 280–1, no. 410). Sometime between 1112 and 1160, Belard of Ascoli, travelling from Capernaum, crossed over the hill on which Christ had preached the Sermon on the Mount and fed the Five Thousand.

On the other side of this mountain, on the south side by the sea shore, is the place where Christ ate with His disciples after the resurrection. In this place there is a church. The waves of the sea are about eight or ten paces away from this place. (ch. v (IHC, II, 46–8; trans. Wilkinson, 231))

Other twelfth-century sources are less informative as far as church buildings are concerned. Most pilgrim texts of this period confine themselves to describing the Biblical associations of the locality, and most, like Saewulf, apply the name *Mensa* or *Tabula* to the hill where the Five Thousand were fed, rather than to the place at its foot where Christ appeared to the disciples (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), xxvii (IHC, II, 94; PPTS, v, 28); Eugesippus (1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 995); Anon. vi (c.1148), 5 (IHC, III, 60; PPTS, vi, 54); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 106); Anon. II (c.1170), 1 (IHC, III, 10; PPTS, vi, 5); Phocas (1185), xi (PG, cxxxiii, 937; PPTS, v, 15); Röhrich, 'Karten', no. 15 (Florence, twelfth century); cf. Ernoul (c.1231) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 58); *Estoires d'Outremer* (thirteenth century) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 80); Albert of Stade (1251–2), xiii (IHC, IV, 6); Philip of Savona (1283), LIX (IHC, IV, 248); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227), v (IHC, IV, 384)). Theodoric (1169–72), however, adds the curious detail that the traces of the baskets used for collecting up the broken pieces that were left over from feeding the Five Thousand (Matthew 14.20) were still to be seen (ch. XLV (CCCM, cxxxix, 189–90; PPTS, v, 64)).

The existence of a Latin monastery of the *Mensa Iesus Christi* is attested by a seal, apparently twelfth-century in date, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (see below); however, nothing further is known of this house.

On 1 May 1187, the Muslim forces withdrawing around the northern side of the lake after their victory over the Franks at the Springs of Cresson, came

hard by the Table (*mensa*) from which they were not to eat, where, that is, the Lord Jesus satisfied 5000 people with five

loaves and two fish; there they spent the night, and divided the spoils of the saints with blood-stained hands. (*de Expugnatio* (RS, LXVI, 216–17; IHC, III, 110))

The fate of the church and monastery on this occasion is not recorded. The church's destruction, however, is confirmed by the German pilgrim Thietmar, who visited at-Tabgha in 1217. Like other thirteenth-century writers, he applies the name 'table' (*ad mensam*) to the place where Jesus ate with the disciples, and states 'Over that place a chapel was built, but it has been destroyed by the Saracens' (ch. I, 26–8 (ed. Laurent, cf. ELS, 283–4, no. 417)).

The area would have passed to Frankish control in 1240 (Prawer 1975a: 283–7, map viii); and with the reconstruction and garrisoning of the Templar castle at Safad between 1240 and 1260 some measure of stability and security returned to the area. The author of the treatise, *de Constructione Castri Saphet* (c.1264), in describing the resumption of pilgrimage to the area, says of the place where Christ appeared to the disciples, 'and that place is commonly called the Table of the Lord' (*Mensa Domini*), where there is a church and a solemn pilgrimage' ((ed. Huygens, 44, lines 281–2; ELS, 283, no. 418); cf. *Chemins et pèlerinages* B (1268), III, 16 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 197); Röhrich, 'Karten', no. 15 (Florence c.1300)).

According to the Chronicle of William of Sandwiche published by Philip Ribot in 1370, sometime in the thirteenth century the Carmelites established a convent on the Hill of the Multiplication, which they called *Valini* or *Valini* after the nobleman who had caused it to be built (de Sainte-Marie 1949: 1077–8). However, the reliability of this source is highly questionable (de Sainte-Marie 1944: 196–7; Kedar 1983a: 70); indeed, it appears to be based on James of Vitry's general description of the hermits who settled around the shores of the Sea of Galilee at the time of the Crusader Kingdom (*Historia Orientalis*, I, 53 (IHC, III, 320; PPTS, XI, 28–9)).

Whoever was responsible for the church's thirteenth-century restoration it cannot have lasted for long, for in 1263, Sultan Baybars descended on Nazareth, razed the church of the Annunciation to the ground; 'and the church of *Tabula*, where God and Man, the only begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, after His Resurrection ate with His disciples . . . by a similar sacrilege was demolished' (Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, II, 161–2, no. 344; ELS, 284, n.2)).

The site was visited sometime between 1274 and 1283 by Burchard of Mount Sion (on the date, see Graboïs 1982: 288). He records no church, though he did see three footprints impressed in the stone where Christ had stood and said, 'Children, have you any fish

(John 21.5); however, when he returned some five months later, the stone had been removed by the Saracens. Ten paces from that spot was the site of the charcoal fire. A subsequent textual gloss adds that both this place and that of the Feeding of the Five Thousand were known to the Christians as 'the Table' (*tabula siue mensa*) (ch. iv, 10 (ed. Laurent, 36; *PPTS*, xii, 29; *IHC*, iv, 142–4; *ELS*, 285–6, no. 419); cf. Sanudo, iii, 14, 3 (ed. Bongars, 247); Kopp 1952: 194–5). Ricoldus of Montecroce had a picnic on the site with a party of pilgrims, sometime between 1289 and 1291 (ch. i, 23–5 (ed. Laurent, 106; *IHC*, iv, 260; *ELS*, 286, no. 420)).

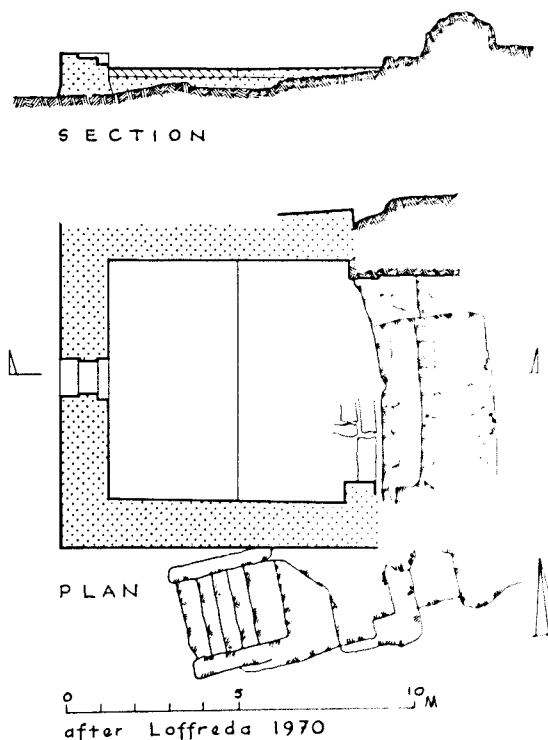
Later pilgrim visitors seem to have been unaware of the former existence of a church (cf. Baldi 1955a: 288–9; Kopp 1951: 63–6), though John Poloner, following Burchard, remarks on the impressions made by Christ in the stone (1422a: 271; Baldi 1955a: 289, no. 425). By the late fifteenth century, however, the site of the Feeding of the Five Thousand was being shown on the Horns of Hattin and the place where Christ appeared to the disciples at the foot of the mountain in Tiberias itself (Baldi 1955a: 289 n.2, cf. 289–94; Kopp 1951: 66–7; 1952: 185–93; see also no. 264). Jan Kootwyk found at-Tabgha (*Taboga*) occupied by six or eight houses of 'Moors', but identified it as Biblical Magdala (1619: 357; Baldi 1955a: 292).

In 1886, the western part of the area of at-Tabgha, including the site of the church of the Feeding of the Five Thousand, was purchased by the Deutsche Verein vom Heilige Lande. At about the same time, the eastern part, including the sites of the other two churches, was acquired by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. The church on the lake shore was partially excavated by the Franciscans in 1933, when the present chapel was built (Antolin 1938; Loffreda 1970: 39–40). A second, more extensive and scientifically controlled excavation was carried out by Fr Stanislaw Loffreda in 1968 (Loffreda 1968a; 1968b; 1970: 42–105).

Description

The excavations in 1968 revealed in effect six principal phases (fig. 94). These were dated for the most part on the basis of pottery. (Note that the numbering that follows differs from that given by Loffreda in his report.)

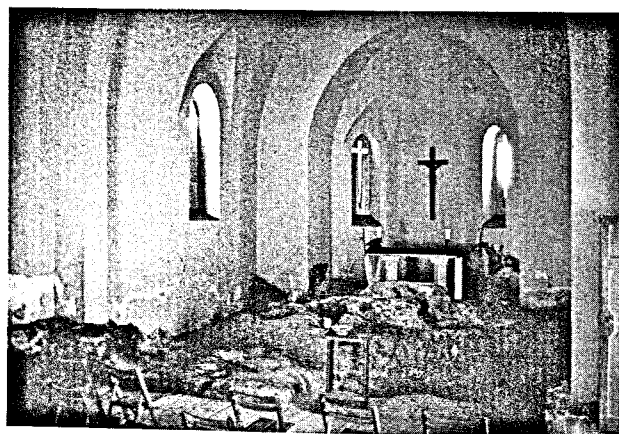
Phase 1: Up to the fourth century AD, the site had been used as a stone quarry. Sometime during that century quarrying ceased abruptly, and a building was constructed close to the rock-cut steps which led up from the beach. The building's plan is unknown. Indeed, its



94 At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): plan and section.

existence is only known because its demolished remains were subsequently used to level up the floor of the next phase (Loffreda 1968: 240; 1970: 48–53, 69–72, 96–7, fig. 23; 1975: 45).

Phase 2: A small chapel was built towards the end of the fourth century or early in the fifth. It measured internally 6.45 m north–south by at least 12 m east–west, with walls up to 1.45 m thick. The design and location of the east end is unknown. Traces of doors were found in the north and south walls; there may also have been one on the west, where the medieval door was located. Some 6.8 m from the west wall, the foundations of a pair of pilasters projecting from the north and south walls suggested that there might have been a transverse arch at this point; indeed the relatively thick walls suggest that the whole building may have been vaulted. The floor was composed of lime mixed with small stones, ash and charcoal, overlying the demolished remains of the Phase 1 building. The chapel was built so as to enclose in its eastern part an outcrop of natural rock, artificially scarped and rectangular in shape, measuring some 4.8 m north–south by 2 m east–west and surviving some 1.2 m high (pl. clxxxiv). This seems originally to have been no more than an upstanding block left behind when stone-quarrying



CLXXXIV At-Tabgha, church of St Peter (no. 249): interior, looking east, showing rock-cut features.

stopped (Loffreda 1970: 50). Its location in the eastern part of the chapel, however, suggests that it was now being identified as the 'Table' at which Christ breakfasted with His disciples. A line of stones found (and removed) in 1933, running across the nave between the pilasters just in front of the stone outcrop, suggests that there was a step up at this point, though its date is uncertain. A narrow passage was also cut in the rock around the north side of the outcrop, to allow access behind it (Loffreda 1970: 55–72, 76–82, 97–9, figs. 18, 23).

Phase 3: The pavement level was subsequently raised by some 30–35 cm in the eastern part of the nave; but the date of this operation is uncertain (Loffreda 1970: 67–9, 73–5, 84, 97–8; fig. 23).

Phase 4: On the south side of the chapel a row of six heart-shaped stones stand in an area that is now part of the beach. These stones were evidently reused sections of the corner pillar from a Roman building. Loffreda suggests that they were placed here in the early Muslim period and identifies them with Twelve Thrones mentioned in the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* (c.808) (Loffreda 1970: 65–7, 97–8, 100–4, figs. 17, 21–2). However, as we have seen, it is more likely that this text referred to Twelve Apostles, rather than Thrones; and, in any case, besides bearing no resemblance at all to thrones, the stones number only six. Their function, however, remains a mystery.

Phase 5: A twelfth-century phase, dated by pottery which included glazed slip and *graffita* wares, was represented by the extension of the raised floor across the rest of the nave (Loffreda 1970: 69, 73–5, 85–7, 96, 98, figs. 23, 33–4).

Phase 6: A subsequent phase, which Loffreda suggests may have been thirteenth century, is represented by the

threshold of the west door, which was raised somewhat higher than the level of the twelfth-century floor. The stone is white limestone, measuring 1.3 by 0.46 m, and bears diagonal tooling, and has a pivot hole for a simple leaf door on the south. The associated stratification inside the chapel that might have helped date the raising of the floor level had unfortunately been removed by the earlier excavations (Loffreda 1970: 60–1, 89, 98, fig. 23).

Associated Structure

Just north of the chapel, the base of a tower was excavated in 1968. This measured 11.9 m (east–west) by 15.6 m (north–south), with walls between 3 and 3.3 m thick. A stair to the first floor led off from the left-hand side of a ground-floor entrance door situated in the centre of the south wall. Externally the tower's facade was of fine ashlars, evidently derived from earlier buildings. The internal facing was rougher, though laid in courses corresponding to those of the rubble concrete of the core. The size of the tower, with an internal area of some 55 m², suggests that it might perhaps have served as the residence of the head of the community, and at times of danger as a refuge (Loffreda 1970: 106–24, figs. 4.E2, 37–42; Pringle 1994b: 342, table).

Epigraphy

The cast of a lead seal in the Collection Henri Seyrig at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, has been identified as that of a twelfth-century monastic house or chapel associated with the church of the *Mensa Christi*. The obverse (pl. CLXXXVa) shows two aureoled figures standing either side of a rectangular structure enclosed by a line and surmounted by a cross; around the border

CLXXXV Cast of a lead seal of the twelfth-century monastic house associated with the *Mensa Christi* (in the Collection Henri Seyrig, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



a Obverse.



b Reverse.

the letters: MEJNS(A) + IESVS + CHRIST(I). The reverse (pl. CLXXXVb) shows a boat containing two aureoled figures holding a fishing net, while another two figures emerge from the water; around the border is written: VOS PISCATORES HOMINVM, recalling Christ's words to Simon Peter and Andrew, 'Follow me and I will make you become fishers of men' (Mark 1.17 [ASV]) (Cheynet, Morrison and Seibt 1992: no. 394; Richard 1992).

Visited 15.12.79, 23.4.80, 19.8.89.

Sources

Belard of Ascoli (1112–65), v (IHC, II, 48; trans. Wilkinson, 231); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), IV, 10 (ed. Laurent, 36; PPTS, XII, 29; IHC, IV, 144); *de Constructione Castri Saphet* (c.1264), lines 281–2 (ed. Huygens, 44); Daniel (1106–8), LXXXI (trans. Ryan, 159; de Khitrowo, 63–4); ELS, 279–86, nos. 409–20; Saewulf (1101–3), XXIX (CCCM, CXXXIX, 74; IHC, II, 25–6; PPTS, IV, 25–6; 48–9; trans. Wilkinson, 111); Thietmar (1217), I, 26–8 (ed. Laurent, 5); Urban IV, *Reg.* (ed. Guiraud, II, 161–2, no. 344 (1263)).

Antolin 1938; Avi-Yonah and Negev 1993: 616; Cheynet, Morrison and Seibt 1992: no. 394; Enlart 1925: II, 295; Gil 1992: 445; Governanti 1946: 22; Hoade 1946: 492–4; 1978: 743, 745, fig.; Johns 1937: 33–4 (c7); Khalidi 1992: 541–2; Kopp 1951: 38–68; 1952: 193–5; Loffreda 1968a; 1968b; 1969; 1970: 34–6, 46, 48–105, figs. 4, 6, 11, 13–18, 20–37; 1975: 40–50, figs. 20–2; Meysing 1965: 12–16; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 204–5, fig.; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1981: 215–16 (no. 16), fig.; Pixner 1991: 98–101, fig. 16; Provera 1995; Richard 1992; Schneider 1937: 48–9; Senès 1960: 878–81, pls.

at-TAIYIBA

Cr. *Effraim*, *Effraon*, *castrum sancti Helye*, *Castiel* *Saint Elyes/Helyes*; Med. Ar. 'Afrā

The modern Christian village of at-Taiyiba occupies an ancient hilltop site, some 20 km north-north-east of Jerusalem on the Roman road from Jifna to Jericho (Avi-Yonah 1940: 45). From the fourth century AD it has been identified as Ephraim (Ophrah or Ephron), a town near the wilderness to which Jesus withdrew with His disciples before His final entry into Jerusalem (John 11.54; Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 28, lines 4–5; 86, lines 1–2; 90, lines 18–19); Avi-Yonah

1954: 47–8, no. 41 (Madaba Map); Abel 1967: II, 247, 318, 402; Bagatti 1979: 31–2).

In the twelfth century *Effraon* (or *Effraim*) was known as *Saint Helyes*, since it was identified as the place where the prophet Elijah had been given bread and water by an angel before fasting forty days on his way to Mount Horeb (1 Kings 19.4–8; *Eracles*, XXIII, 10 (RHC Occ, II, 14–15); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 126); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, x (ed. Morgan, 24–5)). In view of the village's important strategic position, it seems likely that a royal castle would have been built there in the early years of the Frankish occupation. It is not until the last quarter of the century, however, that we hear anything of it. Sometime after the release of Joscelin III, titular count of Edessa, from his captivity in Aleppo in 1175, Baldwin IV granted him the castle of St Elias (*castrum sancti Helye*), possibly when he appointed him seneschal the following year. In February 1182, Joscelin surrendered the castle to the king along with other properties in return for the lordship of *Castellum Novum* (Mi'iliya) in Galilee (Strehlke, 13–14, no. 14; RRH, 163, no. 614). In 1185, the castle was granted by the child king Baldwin V to his grandfather William III of Montferrat, who had set out for Outremer on hearing of his grandson's accession (*Eracles*, XXII, 10 (RHC Occ, II, 14–15); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 125–6); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, x (ed. Morgan, 24–5)). He would not have enjoyed possession for long, however, for the fall of *Castrum sancti Helye* to Saladin is mentioned in a letter of Patriarch Heraclius to Pope Urban III in September 1187 (ed. Kedar, 122, cf. 119; cf. *Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIX.ii, 24) (*Castellum Sancti Petri* ?); 'Imad al-Din (trans. Massé, 99) ('Afrā); cf. Pringle 1994a: 45–6).

Although the village was still known as 'Afrā in the late twelfth century, the connotations of the name, implying 'evil' in Arabic, subsequently caused it to be changed to at-Taiyiba, 'the good' (Abel 1967: II, 402; Benvenisti 1982: 131).

The village covers a hill on the west side of the road. It is dominated by the remains of the Crusader castle. This consists of a compact inner ward, some 28 m square, with solid clasping turrets at the corners and on the sides, enclosing vaults opening on to a small central courtyard or light-well. This may have been built against an earlier tower, some 15 m square, whose remains may be discerned on the south-east. Lower down the hill on the northern side are the remains of an outer *talus*, which seems to have described a polygon enclosing the hilltop (see Pringle 1989: 22–5, fig.; 1994a: 45–6, fig. 4; Benvenisti 1982: 147–50, figs. 19–20).

The village population is still entirely Christian. While

the church of the Latins and Greek Catholics is modern, built in 1971 to replace one of 1860–5 (Bagatti 1979: 34, pl. 10), the Greek Orthodox church of St George, though built only in 1931, has a longer pedigree. Part of the north colonnade and aisle of a Byzantine church, paved with mosaics, may be seen on the north side of this church, and other mosaics inside the building include one with the inscription: + K(YPI)E BOHΘ[E . . . KYPIA]KON + (Lord, assist Kyriacos). The church also contains a monolithic quatrefoil baptismal font, similar to the one in the church of St Elias (no. 250). The date of the mosaics appears to be late fifth to early sixth century. But although Guérin and Schneider saw *spolia* from this early church built into the building that was demolished for the present church in 1931, there is no evidence to indicate that there was a church in use on this site in the twelfth century (Guérin 1868: III, 45; Schneider 1931: 20, fig. 8; Avi-Yonah 1934: 43, no. 311; Bagatti 1979: 33–4, pls. 7–9).

No. 250 Church (of St Elias ?) 1787.1511

History

The ruins of a church, known as al-Khidr (the green), lie to the east of the village, beyond the main road. Although the personage of al-Khidr is identified locally today as St George (Mar Jirjis), there is good reason to think that in the twelfth century he would have appeared in his alternative Christianized guise as St Elias. As noted above, at that time ancient *Effraon* was identified as the place where Elijah had rested on his way to Mount Horeb, and for that reason the place was called *saint Elye*, or *saint Helyes* (*Eracles*, xxiii, 10 (RHC Occ, II, 14–15); Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 126); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, x (ed. Morgan, 24–5)). A cave in which St Elias is supposed to have slept on the south-eastern flank of the hill also appears to have been made into a chapel in the Byzantine period (Augustinović 1972: 25–8, fig. 16).

The site of al-Khidr was visited in the 1860s by V. Guérin (1868: III, 45–6) and in June 1881 by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine, who identified a Byzantine and a Crusading phase (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 293, 324–6, fig.). A more detailed survey was undertaken by A.M. Schneider after the site had been cleared of rubble (1931; cf. Augustinović 1972: fig. 17; Bagatti 1960b; 1979: 35, fig. 8).

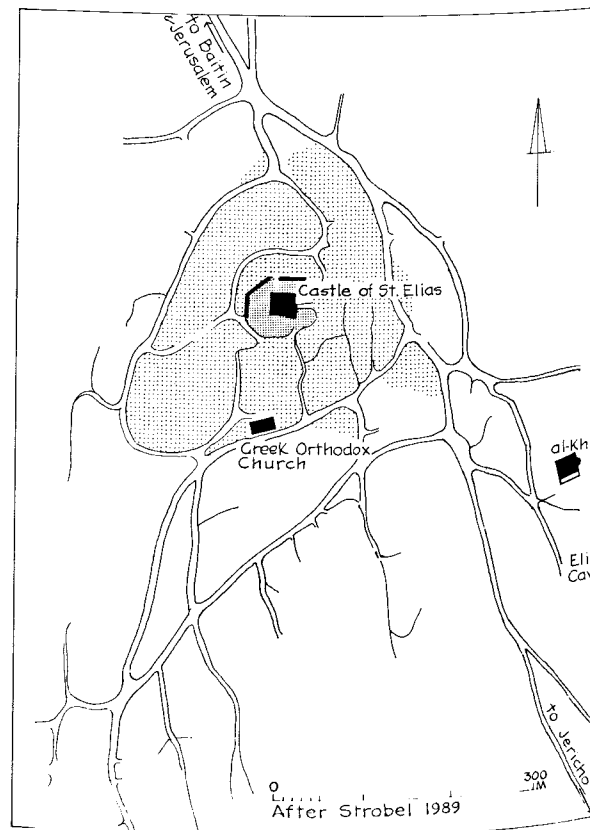
Description

The ruins of the church stand on a rise to the east of the main road (fig. 95). The medieval church occupies the

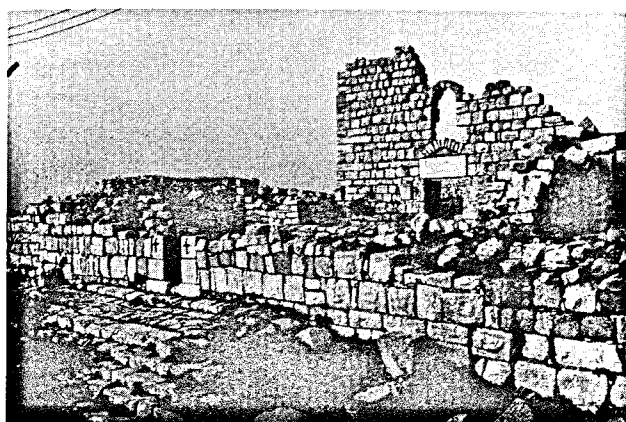
central part of an earlier Byzantine complex, and remains are in turn partly enclosed by still later constructions (fig. 96; pls. CLXXXVI–CLXXXVII).

The Byzantine church appears to have consisted of a basilica, probably of three aisles, 14.77 m wide and of uncertain length, approached from the west up a monumental flight of steps. To north and south this was flanked by apsed subsidiary chapels which appear to have been secondary, and along the west front of the church and chapels there appears to have been a narthex. Overall the complex would have extended 28.6 m north–south by at least 28.5 m east–west, excluding the steps, though it is uncertain how far it went towards the east.

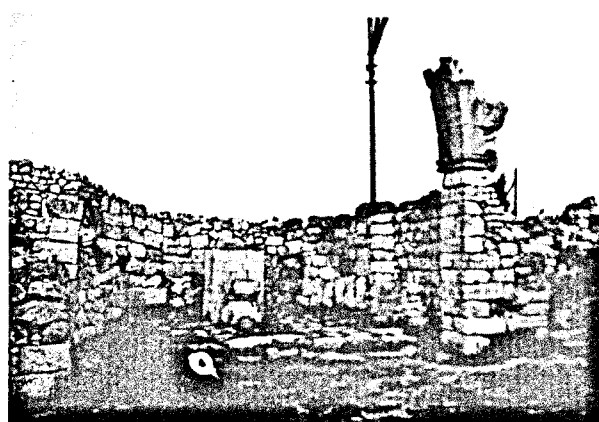
The ruins of the medieval church occupy the central nave area of the Byzantine church. Although the west front is relatively intact, the building becomes increasingly dilapidated towards the east, with the exception of the south-east crossing pier, which still survives beyond the spring of the pendentive (fig. 97; pl. CLXXXVIII). The walls of the church (1.13–1.32 m thick) are built of roughly squared blocks, including a great quantity of reused material, laid in rough courses with smaller pieces inserted as pinnings. The external facing and



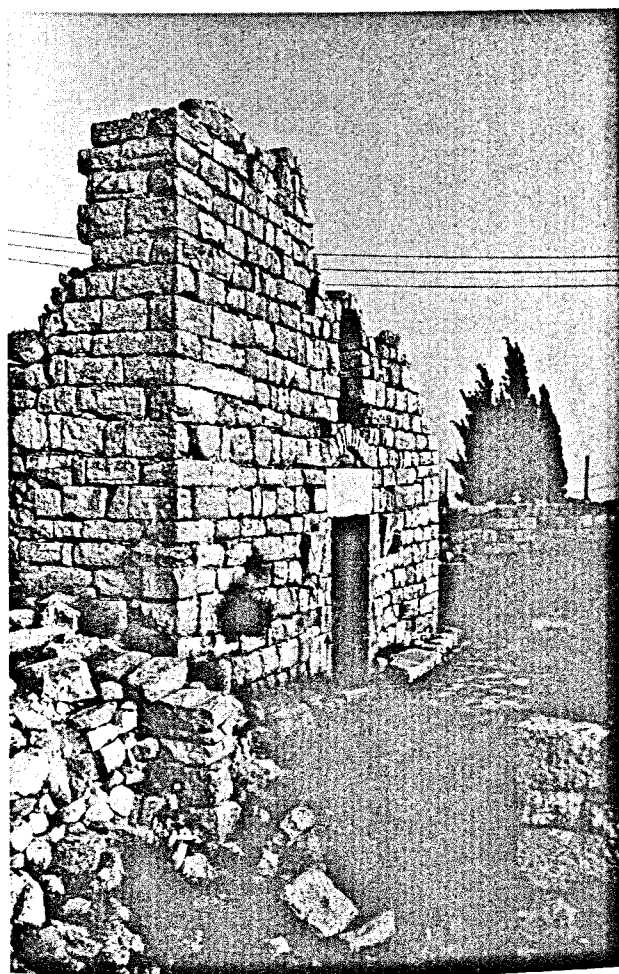
95 At-Taiyiba: plan of the village showing the location of the church of al-Khidr (no. 250).



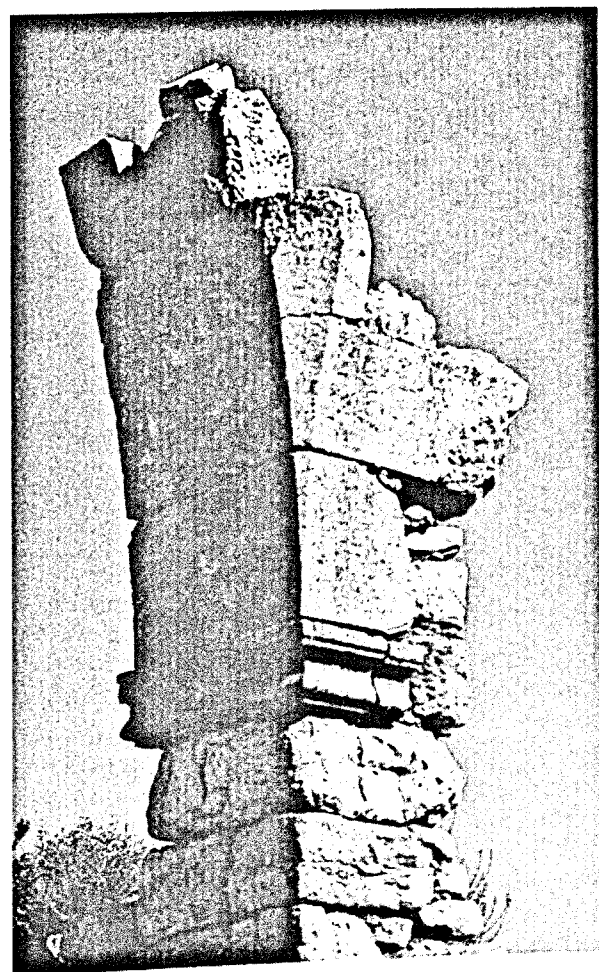
CLXXXVI At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): from the south-west.



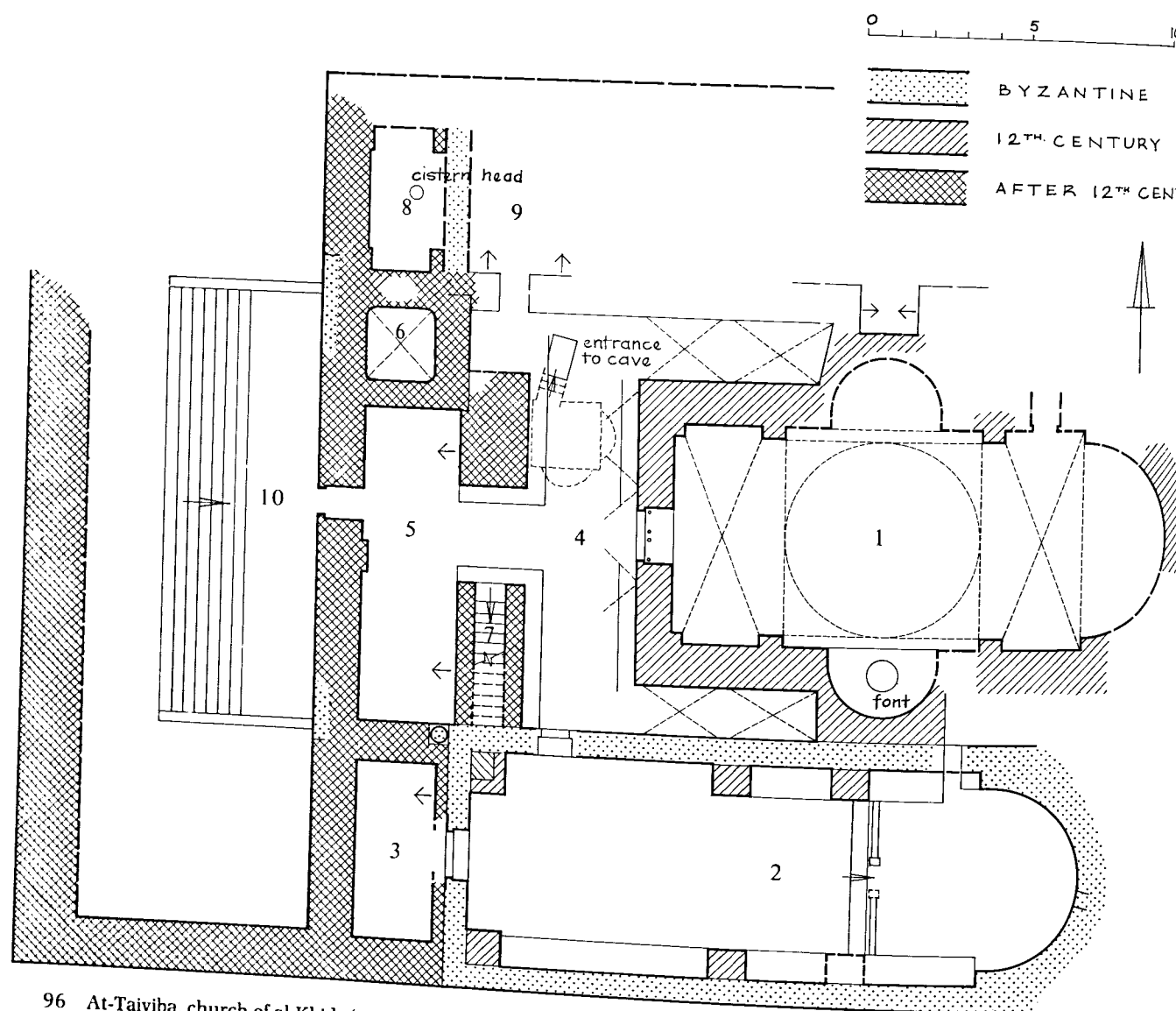
CLXXXVIII At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): interior of the east end.



CLXXXVII At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): west front, from the north-west.



CLXXXIX At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): pendentive at the south-eastern corner of the crossing.

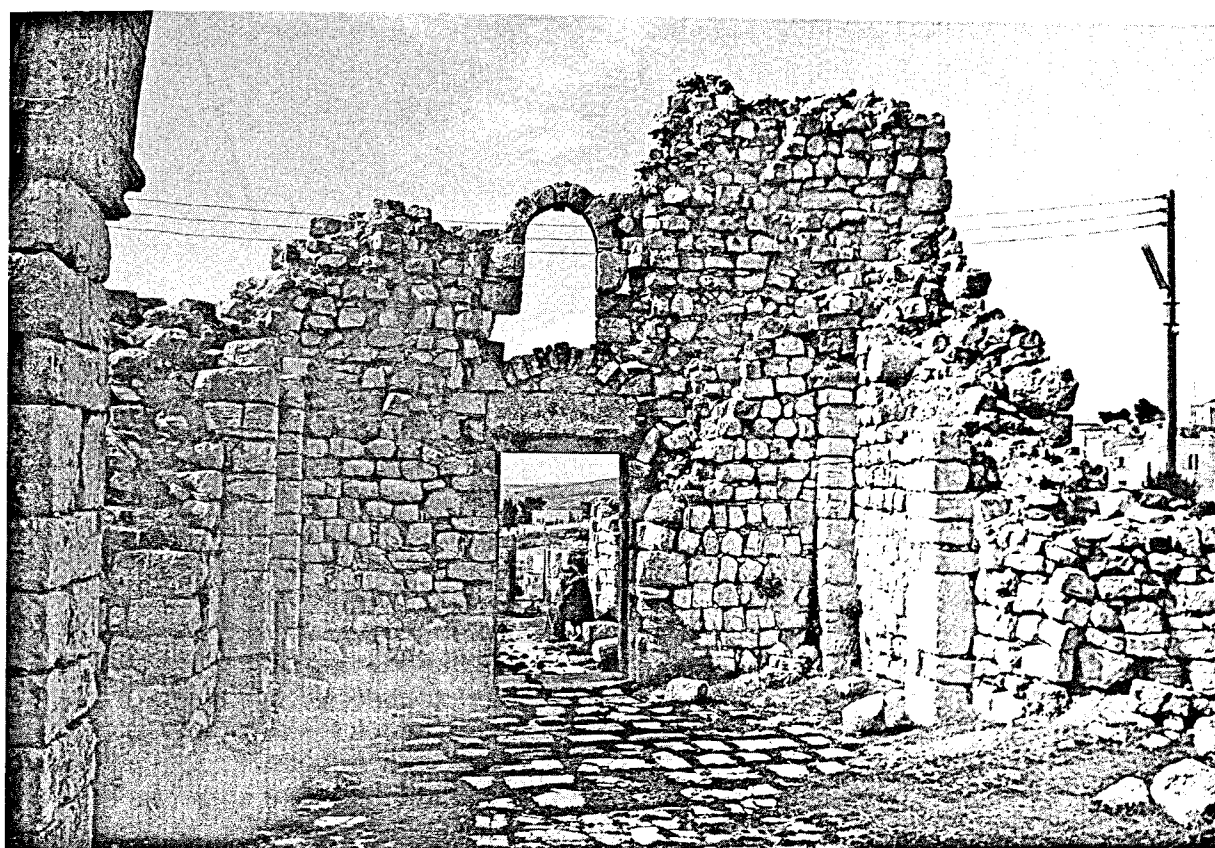


96 At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): plan.

internal pilasters are generally more regularly built than the internal wall-face; in places the two faces are bonded together with through-columns. The finest masonry, however, dressed with a toothed chisel, appears at the springing of the vaults. It seems likely that the whole interior would have been plastered, though no plaster now survives.

The nave had three bays separated by plain rectangular pilasters, the central one being square in plan and surmounted by a dome on pendentives, of which only part of the south-eastern one survives (pl. CLXXXIX). The outer two bays were shorter and covered by groin-vaults. Where the vault springing survives, it rests on a cyma-recta impost moulding. On the east are remains of a semi-circular apse (5.93 m wide and 3.2 m

deep). Although Schneider indicates this as belonging to the Byzantine phase, very little of the masonry that now forms the hemicycle is *in situ*; that which is, consisting of two lower courses on the north-east side (course heights: 33 and 36 cm), is similar in composition and dressing to the upper courses of the south apse (see below), and therefore seems more likely to be medieval. Schneider also recorded a door, 0.81 m wide, in the north wall of the eastern bay (1931: pl. 1). To the north and south the central bay is also flanked by smaller semi-circular transepts (3.35 m wide and 2.1 m deep), which would presumably have been covered by semi-domes like the main apse. Internally the church would have measured some 15.45 m east-west (including the apse) by 6.65 m north-south (excluding the transepts).



cxc At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): interior of the nave, looking west.

The main door, in the centre of the west front, is 1.49 m wide and surmounted by a reused Byzantine lintel covered by a low relieving arch, which also forms the rear-arch (pl. cxc). Surviving holes for the pivots and bolts indicate that the door had two leaves. Above it is a rounded-arched window; and above this the SWP noted an oculus in part of the façade which has since collapsed (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 326).

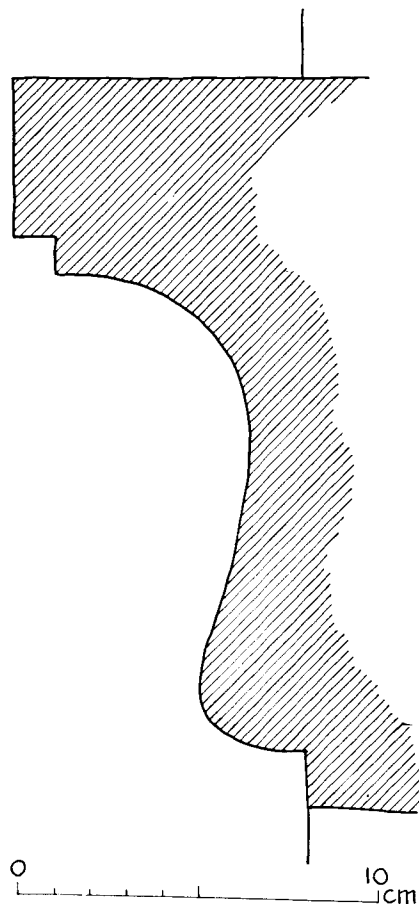
The present stone paving of the church appears to be of relatively recent date; possibly it was laid when the building was cleared of rubble.

The south annexe (2) was essentially a Byzantine structure, rebuilt in the same period as the medieval church. Internally it was 6.6 m wide and 18.8 m long, including the apse. Although its medieval function is unknown, it would originally appear to have been arranged liturgically, with a slot for a chancel screen and posts set into the step leading up to the apse. The lower four courses of the apse are built with hard limestone blocks dressed with a point (course heights from the bottom: 41, 34, 42, 34 cm). Above these are two courses of a softer darker stone with medieval tooling (heights: 32, 33 cm). A door in the north wall of

the presbytery has been remade, but its east jamb at least appears to be original. The other medieval alteration to this room seems to have been the replacement of what was probably originally a timber roof by one of stone. The new vaulting was carried on six rectangular pilasters, built in blocks of the softer limestone with medieval toothed chisel dressings, that were applied to the inside face of the walls. The original Byzantine west door remains *in situ*, surmounted by a lintel with a *tabula ansata* but no inscription. The door had two leaves, and the position of the draw-bar slot indicates that they were c.10 cm thick.

Little now remains of the northern annexe; it is therefore uncertain whether it was utilized in the Middle Ages. A short distance from the north-east corner of the medieval church is the entrance to a rock-cut cave: the arch covering this has a slightly pointed profile, suggesting that the cave remained accessible after the church was rebuilt.

Most of the post-twelfth-century work is confined to the western part of the complex. It is roughly built, mostly in dry-stone. Apart from numerous vaults built against the medieval and Byzantine walls it included a



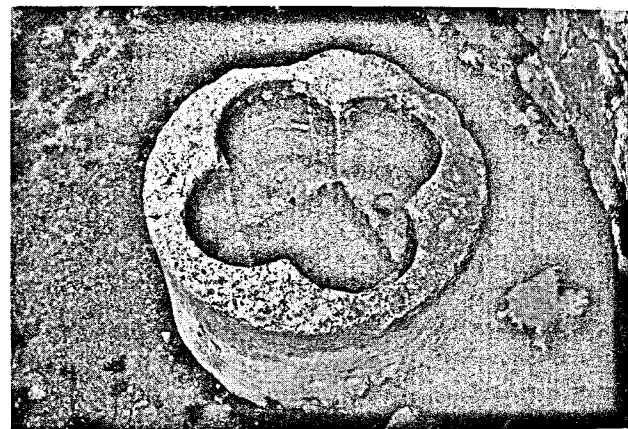
97 At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): impost moulding from the spring of the south-east pendentive.

two-storey construction on the site of the former narthex (3, 5, 8), incorporating a staircase (7) and a plaster-lined cistern (6). The wall between areas 3 and 5 encapsulates a Byzantine column, though it is uncertain whether it is *in situ* (Schneider 1931: 19, fig. 5). In the south annexe (2) the walls were thickened between the medieval pilasters.

Decoration and Furnishings

The south transept contains a monolithic baptismal font, consisting of a cylindrical stone, 0.67 m high and 1.06 m in diameter, with a quatrefoiled basin, 0.62 m deep, set into its upper surface (pl. cxci); it seems that it is not in its originally intended position, for the external dressing indicates that it was meant to rise only 0.24 m above the floor level (Schneider 1931: 20, fig. 7).

Remains of a Byzantine chancel screen and posts, which may have been reused in the medieval period, also survive on site (Schneider 1931: pls. 3–4); and two stone reliquary boxes have been recorded, one being



CXCI At-Taiyiba, church of al-Khidr (no. 250): baptismal font in the south transept.

inscribed: K(YPIE) Θ(E)E KI[.]ΓA[.]X[.] (Schneider 1931: 19–20, fig. 6, pl. 2).

Discussion

The singular design of the church, which may be paralleled by those of St Mary in Choziba (Vol. 1, no. 77) and St Theodosius (no. 221), points to its having been an Orthodox building. Although it might possibly have been built in the eleventh century, the likeliest period for it to have been constructed would seem to be the mid to late twelfth century, when other Orthodox churches and monasteries in the wilderness, including Choziba, were being rebuilt.

Visited 8.4.79, 5.10.81, 11.2.82.

Sources

Abel 1967: II, 402; Augustinović 1972: 25–8, figs. 14, 16–17; Bagatti 1960b; 1979: 35, fig. 8, pl. 11.1; Baldi 1973: 171; Benvenisti 1970: 19, 259, 346; Bouillon 1898: 338, photo. p. 340; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 293, 324–6, fig.; Crowfoot 1941: 72; Enlart 1925: II, 267; Grant 1926: 195; Guérin 1868: III: 45–6; Hoade 1978: 545; Johns 1937: 28 (H5); Ovadiah 1970: 61 (no. 49), pl. 23; 66–7 (no. 56), pl. 27; Palestine 1929: 52; 1948: 105; Prandi 1959; Pringle 1982b: 11, 18 n.43, pl. 1.6b; Schneider 1931.

TAL'AT AD-DAMM

Khan al-Hathrura, Qal'at ad-Damm; Cr. Rouge Cisterne, Rubea Cisterna, Turris Rubea, Maledoim, Castrum Dumi, Adumim; Hebr. Ma'ale Adumim

No. 251 Chapel and Road-Station 1841.1361

History

Tal'at ad-Damm, or the Ascent of Blood (Ma'ale Adumim), is located midway along the Roman road from Jerusalem to Jericho; at this point, where the rocks are tinged with red, the road climbs through a pass before continuing its descent into the Jordan valley. By AD 331 a fort had been built here, and around 395–408 it was being garrisoned by the *Cohors I Salutaris*, an auxiliary unit to which was assigned the duty of protecting travellers (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 24, lines 9–11); *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Seeck, 74, no. 48); Jerome, *Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 25, lines 7–16); Avi-Yonah 1976a: 78). When Jerome accompanied Paula along the road in 385 and recalled at this point Jesus' parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10.30–7), his description of the place to which the injured man was taken as an 'inn of the church' (*stabulum ecclesiae*) may perhaps indicate that a road-station and chapel also existed by that date. Jerome is also responsible for the idea, repeated by medieval writers, that *Adummim* was so called because of the blood shed there by robbers (*Epist.*, CVIII, 12, 3 (CSEL, IV, 321; ELS, 348, no. 547; trans. Wilkinson, 51)).

By the twelfth century, Jerome's 'red ascent' (*ascensus ruforum siue rubrantium*) had come to be known as the 'red cistern' (*rubea cisterna*) (*Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), XLIV (IHC, II, 106; PPTS, v, 44); Fretellus (1137), LXXI (ed. Boeren, 40); RRH, 53, no. 210 (1142)). The pilgrim Theodoric gives a full description around 1169–72:

Beyond Bethany to the east, four miles from Jerusalem, is located on a mountain the Red Cistern (*Cisterna Rubea*), with a chapel. Into this cistern Joseph is said to have been thrown by his brothers. Here the Templars have built a strong castle. (ch. xxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 175))

In fact the name Red Cistern is more likely to have been the result of a mis-reading of Jerome's words; other writers place Joseph's Pit with more authority in the plain of Dotan (see Vol. I, pp. 106–7).

After the battle of Hattin in July 1187, the Templar castle was abandoned by its garrison and occupied by the Ayyubids (*de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, XLVI,

234; IHC, III, 114); cf. *Gesta Regis Henrici II* (RS, XLIX.ii, 24); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Mass, 99) (*Tall al-Aḥmar*); Prawer 1975a: I, 664). It does not appear to have been reoccupied, though on a map attributed to Matthew Paris and dated around 1252 it is still marked as *cast(ellum) Ruge cist(er)ne*. A French text of c.1231 also records:

Between Jericho and Jerusalem there is a place called *le Rouge Cisterne*. There used to be there a hostelry, where those who were going to Jericho and to the river would lodge.

It is not quite clear, however, whether the writer is describing something that existed before 1187 or in the time of Christ, for he continues, 'And there it was that the Samaritan carried the man . . .' (Ernoult (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 70; de Mas Latrie, 79; ELS, 352, no. 557)). In view of the important role that the Templars are known to have played in protecting pilgrims on their way to and from the Jordan, however, it is plausible to assume that they would have maintained a road station for travellers here in the twelfth century, just as the Roman administration had in the fourth (cf. Barber 1994a: 88–9; Pringle 1994c).

Later travellers indeed refer both to a ruined khan beside the road and to the remains of the Templars' castle on the hill behind it. An English pilgrim of 1344–5, for example, describes the road east from Bethany as passing first through a valley.

And after a time we ascended to the place where, as the Gospel relates, a man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among robbers; and there is a guard-house (*custodia*) there for travellers, and there we paid tribute.

Four miles further on, at the entrance to the plain of Jericho, the pilgrims were shown the underground inn (*stabulum subterraneum*) to which the Samaritan took the wounded man (Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 74; Baldi 1955a: 354, no. 563). A few years later, Nicolas of Poggibonsi mentions a khan just beyond Bethany; and 4 miles further on, at the top of a climb in a place called Red Tower (*Torre rossa*), he came to a house (*casa*) inhabited by 'evil Saracens' to whom the pilgrims had to pay half a *drama* each (1346–50: 82). This was probably the same khan as that in which the Italian pilgrims of 1384 spent the night (Frescobaldi 1384: 79).

The khan was still functioning in the fifteenth century (Mariano of Siena 1431: 106; cf. Bagatti 1979: 77). In 1483, Felix Faber and the large pilgrimage group of which he was part reached it and its well late at night after a long climb from Jericho:

Round about this fountain there is an ancient and ruinous building, whereof the four walls alone remain standing, which was once a caravanserai, or inn, and is called the Red House.

which name also comes from the name of the desert, Adummim. We entered into this house, lighted candles, and made the place fit for us by clearing away the ordure of man and beast, whereof it was full, and putting stones to sit on and sleep on.

... It was dangerous to sleep in that place ... because the walls were ruinous, and stones detached from the mortar hung above our heads, threatening to fall ... (1480–83: II, 68–9; cf. Prescott 1954: 164)

The ruins of the same khan were seen by Giovanni Mariti at Easter 1767. He calls it the Khan of the Samaritan and describes it as having been very large and constructed throughout in good squared masonry. Further to the left, on the hill, he also saw and described the castle with its rock-cut ditch, adding:

This was a fortress at the time of the Christians, and now it is called the Castle of the Samaritan, after the nearby khan ... There was there a church, but now this too is destroyed. (1769: III, 96–7)

Unfortunately it is not certain whether Mariti actually saw the remains of a church or simply knew of its existence from earlier sources; nor is it entirely clear whether he considered it to have been associated with the castle or the khan.

Only a few piers and some of the walls of the khan (Khan Hathrura) were standing in 1873. The Survey of Western Palestine also recorded at that time that there were well-built cisterns containing water beneath it (Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 207). The khan was rebuilt in 1903, but partially destroyed in 1917 (Bagatti 1979: 78; Hoade 1946: 354; 1978: 473; cf. Schiller 1980: 179). In more recent times it has been used as a police station.

Description

The castle occupies the summit of a hill on the north side of the road and is defined by a rock-cut ditch, possibly a feature surviving from the original fourth-century fort. The ditch is 4.5–6 m wide and up to 8 m deep; it encloses a quadrangular area measuring some 49 m NE–SW by 59/63 m NW–SE, with the position of the entrance indicated by a break near the western corner. In the centre, at the highest point, stands a tower, measuring 9.28 by 8.5 m, with a stair to the now-vanished upper floor leading off from the right-hand side of the entrance door on the west. To the west of this are the remains of an L-shaped barrel-vault, some 5.6 m wide internally, whose upper floor has likewise gone. The rest of the interior is taken up by the remains of other structures and rock-cut cisterns. (For a detailed description of the castle, see Pringle 1994c; cf. Bagatti

1979: 76–9, fig. 25, pls. 23–4; Benvenisti 1970: 324–5, pl. p. 327; Conder and Kitchener 1881: III, 172, 207–9, fig.; Pringle 1997: no. 162).

The modern Inn of the Good Samaritan, built in 1903, stands on the north side of the old road (just south of the modern road). In 1939, Fr B. Bagatti was able to record the existence of a mosaic floor beneath one of its rooms, suggesting that it occupied the site of the late Roman road-station (Bagatti 1979: 78, pl. 22.2; cf. Hoade 1946: 354–7; 1978: 473–4; Schiller 1980: 179).

Discussion

It appears from the accounts of Theodoric and later travellers, including the SWP, that the cistern from which the place took its name was associated with the caravanserai, rather than the castle. This would suggest that the chapel that Theodoric saw was also associated with the road-station, as indeed its fourth-century predecessor had most probably been. No trace of either now remains, though the existence of Byzantine mosaics beneath the present Turkish khan suggests that excavation might one day reveal some.

Visited 1.10.83, 23.8.88, 26.8.88, 19.9.94, 5.5.95.

Sources

ELS, 351, no. 554 (1172); 352, no. 557 (1128–31); Ernoul (c.1231) (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 70; de Mas Latrie, 79); Theodoric (1169–72), xxviii (CCCM, cxxxix, 175; PPTS, v, 45).

Anon. Anglicus 1344–5: 74; Bagatti 1979: 75–9, pl. 22; Baldi 1955a: 354, no. 563; 1973: 147; Faber 1480–3: II, 68–9; Frescobaldi 1384: 79; Hoade 1946: 254–7; 1978: 473–4; Mariano of Siena 1431: 106; Mariti 1769: III, 98; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 82; Palestine 1929: 54; 1948: 190; Prescott 1954: 164; Pringle 1994c.

TALL YUNIS

Hebr. *Tel Yona*

No. 252 Church of St Jonas 1246.1559

History

That it was from Jaffa, or Joppa, that Jonah set sail for Tarsus (Jonah 1.3) is recalled by Jerome in his letter to

Eustochium in AD 404 (*Epist.*, CVIII, 8 (CSEL, IV, 314; trans. Wilkinson, 47)). Theodosius, writing before 518 (ch. IV (CCSL, CLXXV, 116; trans. Wilkinson, 65)), asserts that this was also where the whale cast him up (Jonah 2.10) (cf. Wilkinson 1977: 162). In fact, the points of embarkation and disgorgement may have been differentiated even in the sixth century, for the Madaba Map shows a church of St Jonas by the sea outside the city (Avi-Yonah 1954: 62–3, no. 67; Wilkinson 1977: maps 12a–b).

An Orthodox church still seems to have existed on this site in the twelfth century, for in October 1216 and January 1218 the possessions of the monastery of St Theodosius (no. 221), near Bethlehem, that are mentioned in a confirmation of Pope Honorius III include 'outside Jaffa, the church of St Jonas' (*Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 1–17, no. 1; Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, 13, no. 72; 175–6, no. 1037); *RRH*, 243, no. 909).

The site of the church may be identified with a natural hillock, called Tall Yunis, which rises some 60–70 m in height and is located about 6.5 km south of Jaffa overlooking a sandy beach. The tell is now a military zone. In November 1888, however, the site was described by Conrad Schick:

The top was a platform, surrounded by walls of about 70 feet [21.3 m] long and nearly 70 feet [21.3 m] broad. A building once stood in the middle of it, measuring 45 feet [13.7 m] from west to east in length, and 40 feet [12.2 m] from north to south in breadth.

This building was divided into three apartments, the middle one being wider than the outer two, and very much resembling a small Basilica. A smaller platform, having ruins also, is in front of the east side of the platform, but on a lower level, which I consider to have been the entrance, having a tower with gate, &c., as from these ruins a kind of road descends through a small ravine, first in a northerly and then in a north-westerly direction to the foot of the hill.

Schick also noted fragments of coloured stone, white marble, bricks and pottery lying about the top and brow of the hill (1889: 7).

Not visited.

Sources

Honorius III, *Reg.* (ed. Pressutti, I, 13, no. 72 (1216); 175–6, no. 1037 (1218)); *Pontificia Commissio*, ser. 3, III, 1–17, no. 1 (1216, 1218); *RRH*, 243, no. 909 (1218).

Abel 1946: 9; Bagatti 1979: 179; Israel 1964: 1429; Palestine 1948: 81; Schick 1889.

Khirbat TARAFAIN

Ras at-Turfina; Cr. *Tarphin*, *Tarphyn*, *Tarfin*, *Dalphyim*, *Dalfin*, *Daltim*

No. 253 Parish Church (?) 1701.1556

Daltim was one of two villages held from the king by Godfrey de Cauiis (or de Turri/de Turre David), the other being Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya (no. 141), whose tithes were granted in 1112 to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Delaborde, 21, no. 1; *RRH*, 14–15, no. 67). Both later passed to the Templars, and a dispute arose concerning the tithes. In the settlement agreed with Patriarch Heraclius in 1183 the tithes were split between the two parties, but the Templars were allowed to retain those on fodder for their own animals, their own garden produce and churches, 'when it so happens that they are built in the aforesaid villages, which will belong to the brothers of the Temple together with the parish right' (Delaborde, 89–90, no. 42; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 301–3, no. 126; *RRH*, 167, no. 631).

The existence of a Byzantine church at Kh. Tarafain has been suggested by the remains observed on the site of building foundations, ashlar blocks, column drums and mosaic tesserae (Abel 1928: 51–3; Bagatti 1979: 116; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1984: 148, no. 54). It is uncertain, however, whether the Templars ever constructed a parish church there before the area was lost in 1187.

Not visited.

Sources

Delaborde, 89–90, no. 42 (1183); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 301–3, no. 126 (1183); *RRH*, 167, no. 631 (1183).

Abel 1928: 51–3; Avi-Yonah 1934: 45, no. 324; Bagatti 1979: 116; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 367; Ovadia and Gomez de Silva 1984: 148, no. 54; Palestine 1948: 104; Pingle 1994a: 51–3; Rey 1883: 381.

TEKOA

Khirbat at-Tuqu'; Cr. *Thecua*, *Tecua*

Tekoa (Kh. at-Tuqu') lies some 7 km from Bethlehem on a route leading south-east to 'En Gedi ('Ain Jiddi) on the

Dead Sea; to the south of the site another route also branches south-west to Hebron. Although surface finds suggest that occupation was extensive in the Iron Age, most of the visible remains appear to date from the Byzantine period, when the village's growth seems to have been encouraged by its proximity to the monastery of St Chariton (**nos. 199–200**) and the New Laura of St Sabas (Wilkinson 1977: 173; cf. Hirschfeld 1985: 36–48, 27*–32* (no. 17), 100–5, 54*–56* (no. 87); 1990: 8–12, 36–8). In the eleventh century the village's population included Christians, who in 1099 assisted the Crusaders in obtaining water during the siege of Jerusalem (William of Tyre, I, 6; VIII, 7 (CCCM, LXIII, 114; 394)). Abbot Daniel describes Tekoa as a very large village on a hill, inhabited by Christians and Saracens. He spent a night there in 1106–8, and the following morning was escorted to Bethlehem by the Saracen chief, 'for Saracens abound and carry on brigandage in those mountains' (ch. LVI (trans. Ryan, 149–50)).

In February 1138, Tekoa and the villeins and Bedouin living in and around it were granted by King Fulk and Queen Melisende to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in exchange for Bethany and its appurtenances, which the canons had surrendered to the newly established Benedictine convent of St Lazarus (see Vol. I, **nos. 59–60**). The concession extended as far east as the Dead Sea, and included the right of the inhabitants to collect bitumen and 'salt' from around its shores (Bresc-Bautier, 98–101, no. 34; RRH, 43–4, no. 174). The following year, the village was plundered by a Muslim force that had crossed the Jordan near Jericho; those of the inhabitants who had not already taken refuge with their wives, children, cattle and flocks in the nearby 'cave of Odolla' (Wadi Khuraitun) were slaughtered (William of Tyre, xv, 6 (CCCM, LXIII, 682)). Tekoa continued to be listed among the possessions of the Holy Sepulchre throughout the twelfth century (Bresc-Bautier, nos. 11 (1144), 16 (1146), 38 (1144), 42 (1155), 45 (1160), 135 (1164), 150 (1168–9), 151 (1170), 170 (1196); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, no. 125 (1182)); and around 1225 it was described by Yāqūt as a village famous for its honey (Le Strange 1890: 542).

The remains known today as Khirbat at-Tuqu' extend for some 70 ha or more over the southern, higher part of a hill shaped like an hour-glass; this is aligned north-east to south-west and is some 500 m long (fig. 98). At the north end of the hill, separated from the south by a saddle, stand the remains of a roughly rectangular castle, surrounded by a rock-cut ditch. (On the Byzantine and medieval remains, see Johns 1937: 40; Abel 1967: II, 478–9; Escobar 1976a; 1976b; Benvenisti 1970: 305–6; Kochavi 1972: 47 (no. 62); Bagatti

1983: 64, pl. 11; Hirschfeld 1985: 63–5–6, 39*–40* (nos. 37–8), figs. 44–7.)

No. 254 Church of St Amos (?)1701.1157

History

Tekoa was the birthplace of the prophet Amos (Amos 1.1) and from the fourth century his tomb was reputed to be visible there (Eusebius, *Onomasticon* (ed. Klostermann, 86, lines 13–15; 98, lines 17–18); Egeria (384), in Peter the Deacon, section L2 (CCSL, CLXXV, 96; trans. Wilkinson, 186)). A chapel is also attested in the later sixth century (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita S. Sabae*, xxxvi (ed. Schwartz, 123; trans. Festugière, 49)). The church that contained the prophet's tomb was seen in 724–5 by St Willibald, whose biographer also associated the place with the massacre of the Innocents by King Herod (Hugeburc, xxiii (ed. Tobler, 34; trans. Wilkinson, 131); cf. Wilkinson 1977: 173).

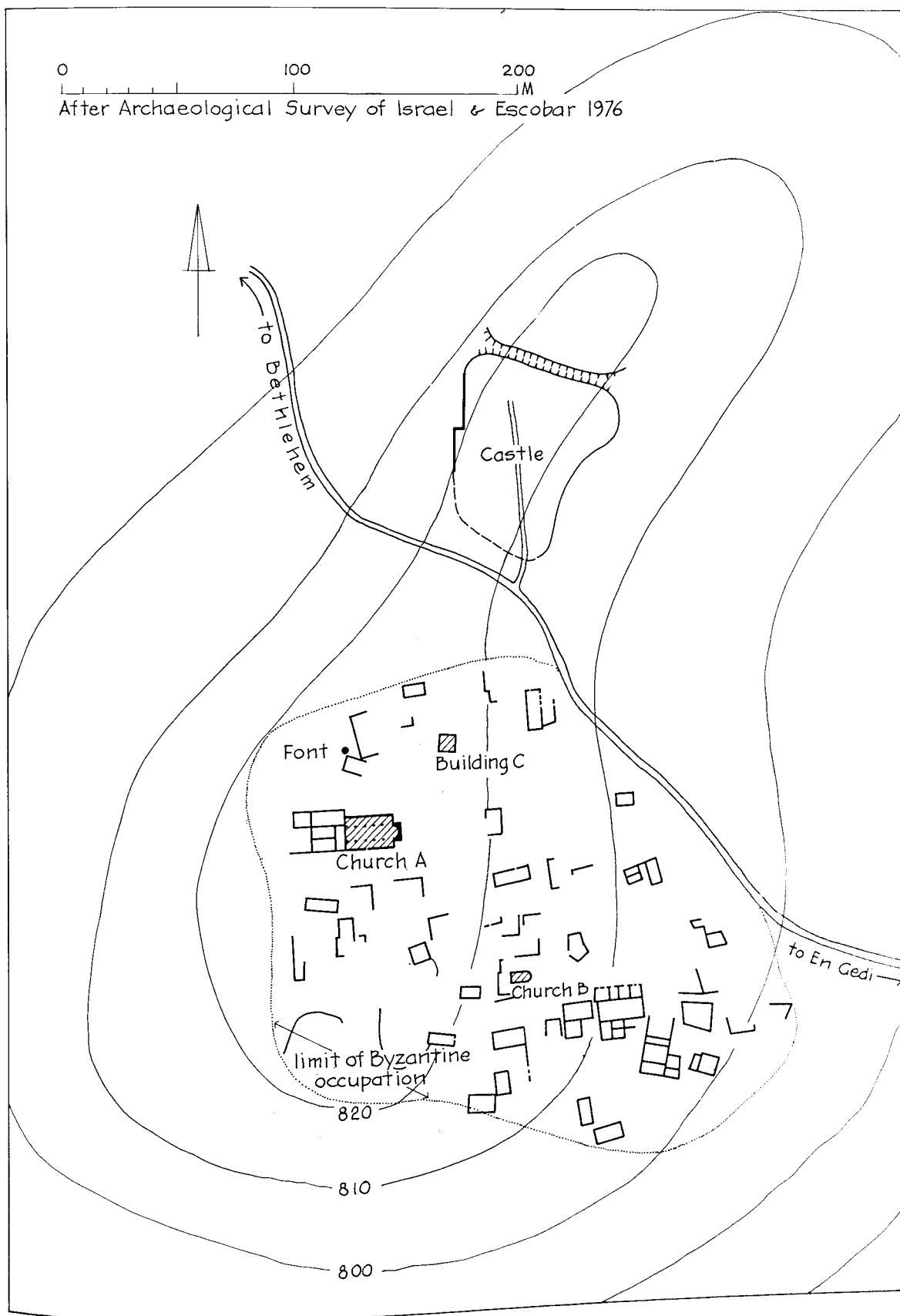
In the twelfth century Tekoa was known as a town of prophets. In addition to its association with Amos, it was now also identified as one of the places from which Habakkuk was supposed to have been transported to Daniel in Babylon (Bel and the Dragon, 33–7; William of Tyre, VIII, 1; xv, 6; xv, 26 (CCCM, LXIII, 382; 682; 709); Daniel, lvi (trans. Ryan, 149); *Descriptio locorum* (1131–43), x (IHC, II, 100; PPTS, v, 36)). The tradition linking it with the massacre of the Innocents also persisted (Anon. vi (1148), 8 (IHC, III, 68); Eugesippus (c.1148) (PG, cxxxiii, 998); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 86)).

In 1106–8, the Russian abbot Daniel approached Tekoa from the church of Habakkuk (**no. 183**), which lay on the outskirts of the village towards St Chariton's monastery.

And near this place is a great square church dedicated to the holy prophets. And there is a great cave beneath the church and in this cave lie the twelve prophets in three sepulchres: Habakkuk, Nahum, Micah, Ezekiah, Abdias, Zachariah, Ezekiel, Ismael, Saveil, Baruch, Amos and Hosea. (ch. lvi (trans. Ryan, 149))

From this church Daniel proceeded to the village, which was on a hill near by.

That the tomb of Amos was to be seen in Tekoa is recorded by a number of Latin writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though it seems that in most cases their information was derived from Jerome (*Liber locorum* (ed. Klostermann, 87, lines 13–15); cf. *Descriptio locorum* (1131–42), x (IHC, II, 100); Fretellus (1137), xlviii (ed. Boeren, 30); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 108); Thietmar (1217), x, 26 (ed.



Laurent, 29); Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), ix, 14 (ed. Laurent, 80; *IHC*, iv, 198)). Philip of Savona (1283), however, gives a more detailed description:

At the sixth milestone from Bethlehem is the town of Tekoa (*Tecua oppidum*), in which Amos the prophet was born. And there he was buried outside the village (*castrum*) in a certain cave, where he remains and there now stands a church; and his tomb may still be seen in that same place, where also at some time many thousand bodies of the Innocents have been buried. (ch. XLIII (*IHC*, iv, 238))

In the fourteenth century Peter de Pennis also refers to the tomb of Amos as being in a cave associated with a church (c.1350: 367). Felix Faber saw Tekoa only from the distant height of the Herodion, but claims to have been able to make out 'an ancient building, beside which is the sepulchre of the twelve minor prophets' (1480-3: II, 404), a description echoed by Fr Suriano (1485b: 133).

In the early seventeenth century Francesco Quaresmi seems to have been unable to reach Tekoa, but was aware of the church containing the prophet's tomb (1626a: II, 517; 1626b: 338). In 1631 what remained of the building was seen by Fr Eugène Roger:

In the burial place [of the prophet] there had been built a church, whose vaults have been knocked down by the Turks; and there still remains the greater part of the enclosure, in which there is a small mosque where the Mohammedans do their ceremonies. (1664: 211)

A little later, the Jesuit Fr Nau met a villager who told him that the church had been dedicated to St Nicolas, and that within his lifetime Greek Orthodox priests had still officiated in it (1679: 440); however, a similar claim was made to Fr B. Bagatti by a Roman Catholic inhabitant from Tekoa in 1976 (1983: 65).

When Pococke visited Tekoa, the ruins of the castle were pointed out to him as the remains of a church. His own estimation, however, was that the church 'seems to have been about the middle of the hill; in it there is a deep octagon font of red and white marble; I saw also in several places, pieces of broken pillars, and bases of the same kind of marble' (1743: II, 41).

Description

Remains of two churches of the Byzantine period have been identified at Kh. at-Tuqu'. The one recognized by Pococke was evidently the principal one. It stood at the highest point of the southern part of the elongated hill, at the centre of the Byzantine village (fig. 98.A); the font now lies about 40 m north of it. Excavations carried out in the 1960s have shown that the building was a three-aisled columned basilica of five bays, measuring intern-

ally some 19.7 by 14.7 m, with an apse (diameter 5.9 m) contained within a rectangular eastern projection. Remains of other structures to the west and north suggest that it formed part of a sizeable complex, including no doubt a baptistery (Escobar 1976a: 46-51, figs. 1.1, 7-13, fig. m; 1976b: 5-19, fig. 7, pls. 2-10; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1981: 256-7 (no. 74), fig.; 1984: 148 (no. 55); Guérin 1868: III, 141; Bagatti 1971d: 305, 308, figs. 4-5; 1983: 63-4, pl. 10; Hirschfeld 1985: 63-5, 39* (no. 37), fig. 45.A; Wilson 1880a: III, 190, fig. p. 188; 1880b: III, 126, fig. p. 124; Wylie c.1883: 321).

The remains of a second church, or chapel, have been identified more recently, lying some 90 m south-east of the first (fig. 98.B). They appear to represent a single-celled building with an east-facing apse (Hirschfeld 1985: 63-5, 39* (no. 37), fig. 45.B).

Neither of these two Byzantine church buildings, however, appears to have been associated with a burial cave of the kind described by medieval writers; nor is there any evidence for either of them having been vaulted as described by Roger or in use as late as the sixteenth century.

A plausible identification for the burial cave has none the less been proposed by J. Escobar on the north-east side of the site (fig. 98.C). This cave was approached through a pointed barrel-vault, apparently medieval, and was overlain by remains of a rectangular building measuring some 14 by 15 m and perhaps to be identified as the church (1976a: 44-6, figs. 1.3, 3-4; 1976b: 10-12, figs. 1.3, 3-4; Bagatti 1983: 64). Further excavation is required, however, to confirm the identification.

Not visited.

Sources

Burchard of Mount Sion (1283), ix, 14 (ed. Laurent, 80; *IHC*, iv, 198); Daniel (1106-8), LVI (trans. Ryan, 149; de Khitrowo, 48-9); *Descriptio locorum* (1131-42), x (*IHC*, II, 100; PPTS, v, 36); Fretellus (1137), XLVIII (ed. Boeren, 30); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 108; PPTS, v, 55); Philip of Savona (1283), XLIII (*IHC*, iv, 238); Thietmar (1217), x, 26 (ed. Laurent, 29).

Bagatti 1983: 63-5; Baedeker 1876b: 146; Escobar 1976a: 42-6, figs. 1.3, 3-4; 1976b: 8-12, figs. 1.3, 3-4; Faber 1480-3: II, 404; Hoade 1978: 420; Kochavi 1972: 47 (no. 62); Nau 1679: 440; Palestine 1929: 175; 1948: 182; Peter de Pennis c.1350: 367; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 517; 1626b: 338; Roger 1664: 211; Suriano 1485a: 121; 1485b: 133; Wilkinson 1977: 173.

TIBERIAS

Tabariya; Cr. *Tyberias*, *Tabarie*, *Thabaria*, *Tiberias*, *ciuitas Tiberiadensis*; Hebr. *Teverya*

Tiberias stands on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, otherwise known as Lake of Tiberias or Kinneret. The city was founded by Herod Antipas in AD 17–22 and is thus barely mentioned in the Gospels (cf. John 6.23). The Gospel traditions that were attached to it in the Middle Ages were therefore either appropriated from other sites around the lake or derived from apocryphal gospels and legends which associated Tiberias with the otherwise undocumented years of Jesus' childhood (see, for example, Daniel (1106–8), LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158–9); Governanti 1946: 21–38; Kopp 1952: 195–204).

A half-century before the Crusader conquest, Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) described Tiberias as walled only on the landward side, and with houses built out into the water of the lake. Like al-Muqaddasī (c.985), he also saw the great mosque standing in the centre of the town, and some way to the south the famous baths, fed from hot mineral springs, which had been renowned for their medicinal properties from Roman times (Le Strange 1890: 334–7; Marmardji 1951: 127–8).

Archaeological evidence suggests that in the mid eleventh century the southern quarter of the city seen by these two writers came to be abandoned (see below). The Tiberias that Godfrey of Bouillon entered, probably in September 1099, would thus have been smaller in extent than its Byzantine and early Muslim predecessors. Godfrey granted the castellany of Tiberias to Bohemond of Taranto's nephew, Tancred, and in early 1100 he enfeoffed him with the principality of Galilee, with Tiberias as its capital (William of Tyre, ix, 13 (CCCM, LXIII, 437–8; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 399); Albert of Aachen, VII (RHC Occ, iv, 517); Riley-Smith 1983: 726–7; Tibble 1989: 11; cf. Runciman 1951: I, 304; Prawer 1975a: I, 255). Through the twelfth century, the principality was to remain one of the most significant seigneuries of the kingdom, and one in which successive kings took a particular interest (on the principality, see Razi 1970; Grabois 1987; Tibble 1989: 11–12, 84–6, 153–68; Rheinheimer 1990).

One reason for the principality's importance was its strategic situation, bordering the lands of Damascus. In 1106 and 1108, the outskirts of Tiberias were raided by Toghtekin of Damascus, who on the latter occasion captured the prince of Galilee, Gervase of Basoches, later putting him to death when Baldwin I refused to

negotiate his release (Runciman 1951: II, 96). In May to June 1113, the city successfully withstood another attack by Toghtekin, assisted by Mawdūd of Mosul (Runciman 1951: II, 126–7; Prawer 1975a: I, 291). The city was also used in the early decades of the century as a marshalling area for Frankish military expeditions into Transjordan; and in 1179 and 1182 it served as base for the Frankish army operating against Saladin in Galilee (Prawer 1975a: I, 559–61, 602).

On 1 July 1187, Saladin's army crossed the Jordan south of the lake and captured Tiberias. The prince of Galilee, Raymond III of Tripoli, was at this time with the king's army, but his wife, Eschiva, held out in the castle after the town had fallen (*de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 220); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 111); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 24, 95); Runciman 1951: II, 455; Prawer 1975a: I, 647). Three days later the royal army was destroyed at the Horns of Hattin, above the city; and on 5 July the countess surrendered the castle in return for a safe conduct to Tripoli (*de Expugnatione* (RS, LXVI, 228); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 116); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 30, 97); Runciman 1951: II, 460–61; Prawer 1975a: I, 657).

Saladin dismantled the defences of Tiberias in 1190 ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 231); Abū Shāmā (RHC Or, iv, 462); Razi and Braun 1992: 218). In 1217, the German pilgrim Thietmar wrote of it:

The town formerly had a bishop and a noble lay ruler, called the lord of Tiberias. It was strongly fortified and renowned . . . Destroyed by the Saracens, it is now inhabited by a few Saracens and Christians. (ch. II, 1–6 (ed. Laurent, 6))

Under the terms of the agreement made between Count Tibald IV of Champagne and al-Malik al-Šālih Ismā'il of Damascus in 1240, it was proposed that the Muslims and Franks should exercise joint control over Sidon, Safad and Galilee including Tiberias (Prawer 1975a: II, 279). The following year, however, Richard of Cornwall secured complete control of Tiberias for the Franks (Matthew Paris, *Chron. maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142); al-Makīn (ed. Cahen, 153; trans. Eddé and Micheau, 73); Runciman 1951: III, 218–19; Prawer 1975a: II, 286, map VIII). Odo of Montbéliard, prince of Galilee and constable of the kingdom, began to refortify the city soon afterwards (*Eracles* (RHC Occ, II, 432); Prawer 1975a: II, 292; Razi and Braun 1992: 218).

In 1244, the Khwarizmian Turks swept past Tiberias, apparently without attacking (Prawer 1975a: II, 310); but, on 17 June 1247, Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykh took it for the Ayyubids of Egypt and massacred the defenders (Runciman 1951: III, 228–9; Prawer 1975a: II, 315; Razi and Braun 1992: 218). Tiberias was confirmed in Egyptian hands in June 1283 (RRH, 378, no. 1450;

Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 75; Prawer 1975a: II, 524). In the early fourteenth century, Abū'l-Fidā' (1321) describes the town as lying in ruins, having never recovered from its destruction by Saladin (Le Strange 1890: 341; Marmardji 1951: 132).

The population of Tiberias and its immediate hinterland in the twelfth century seems to have included indigenous Christians, Jews and Muslims. According to Yāqūt (c.1225), when Tiberias fell to the Arabs in 13 H/AD 634, the Muslims appropriated one half of all the houses and churches, leaving the Christians the remainder (Le Strange 1890: 340). In the early eighth century, St Willibald found there 'a large number of churches and Jewish synagogues' (Hugeburc, xiv (ed. Tobler, 26; trans. Wilkinson, 128; *ELS*, 250, no. 343); Kopp 1952: 196). Some fifty Jewish families are recorded by Benjamin of Tudela around 1169–71 (ed. Adler, 44–5; trans. 28–9), and a synagogue and numerous holy tombs in the vicinity were visited by Jewish pilgrims in the twelfth century (Prawer 1975a: II, 408–9; 1988: 57–9, 187–8, 224). Local Christian veneration for one particular Jewish tomb provoked an incident, recorded by Jacob b. Nathanel (1153–87), which illustrates well the contrasting ways in which Jewish–Christian relations operated at the popular and official levels:

A knight from Provence saw that [the uncircumcised] are lighting many candles. He said to them: who is he [that is buried here]? They told him: a Jew, a *sadiq* and he heals the sick and helps barren women. He answered: you are fools to venerate a Jew so highly. He took a stone and threw it to the earth and then he raised his hand to throw another, and as he was riding a horse he immediately fell and died. And immediately the clergy and bishops (or prelates: *hegemōnim*) gathered [and said:] this happened not because he [the *sadiq*] is a Jew, but because he injured the teacher of Jesus. This angered him [Jesus] and it is he who killed him. (ed. Grünhut, 8; trans. Prawer 1988: 187–8)

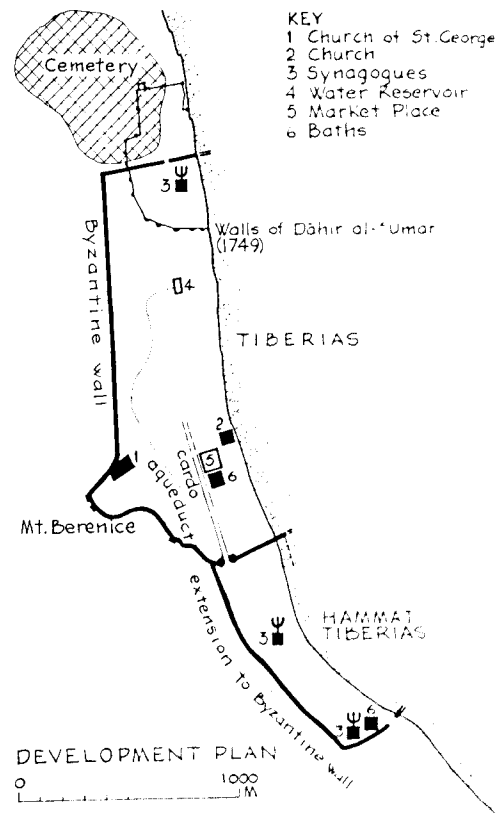
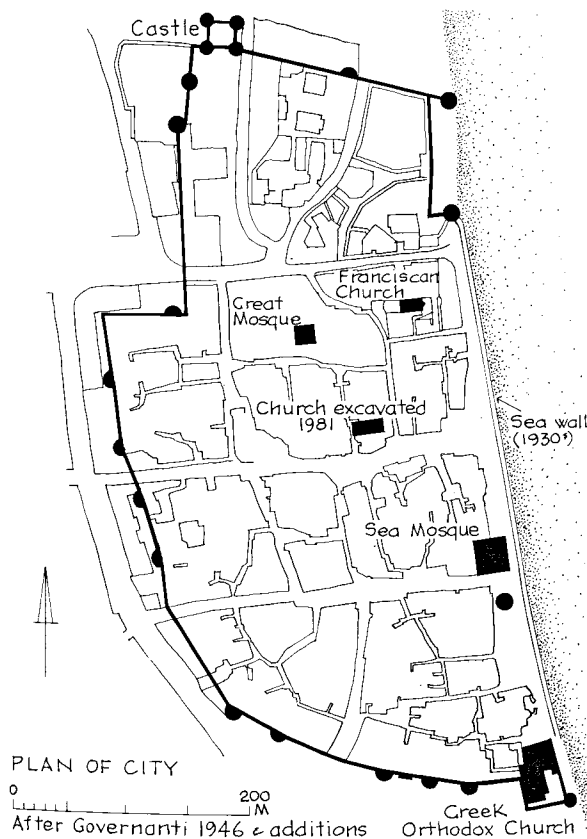
Among the various tombs around Tiberias visited by Muslim pilgrims in this period were those supposedly of King Solomon and Abū Hurayra, a companion of the Prophet, and that of Sukayna, daughter of al-Ḥusayn (al-Harawī (trans. Sourdel-Thomine, 48–50); Marmardji 1951: 128–30; Le Strange 1890: 337–40). The tomb of Joshua, son of Nun, which Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) saw in the eastern *riwāq* of the Jasmine Mosque to the west of the town (Le Strange 1890: 337; Marmardji 1951: 128; *ELS*, 251–2, no. 346), is also mentioned by the Russian Orthodox pilgrim Daniel in 1106–8 (ch. LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 159)).

After the final loss of Tiberias in 1247, Western pilgrims continued to visit the city; but although they

speak of its supposed Biblical associations, they generally say little about its churches, those that remained being at this time in the hands of the oriental Christians. A Slav visitor of the mid fourteenth century, however, lists a monastery, three churches and three holy houses (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393), while a French pilgrim mentions a little later no less than seven churches (Lannoy 1401: 64; Kopp 1952: 198–9). Since it is highly improbable that these would have been established after Tiberias returned to Muslim control, it may be assumed that they also existed at the time of the Crusader Kingdom. However, the tendency of different writers to refer to the same church by different names makes it difficult to distinguish the histories of individual buildings; as a result, the number of churches listed below may be somewhat inflated.

In addition to the ecclesiastical institutions which possessed churches in Tiberias during the time of the Crusader Kingdom, the church of Bethlehem had a house, confirmed to it by Gregory IX in 1227 (*Hiestand Vorarbeiten*, III, 377–83, no. 190; Riant, *Études*, I, 144, no. 9; *RRH*, 258–60, no. 983) and by Clement IV in 1266 (Riant, *Études*, I, 152, no. 11), and the abbey of Mount Tabor was granted an annual 20 bezants from the market by Walter, prince of Galilee in April 1171 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 906, appx., no. 15; *RRH*, 29, 488a). The market is also mentioned in 1170 (de Marsy 143–4, no. 26; *RRH*, 126, no. 479), and a burghess court is also attested (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxx (*RHC Lois*, I, 419)).

A rapid and intensive programme of urban redevelopment carried out in the late 1970s and 1980s has unfortunately resulted in the destruction of much of the archaeology of the centre of medieval Tiberias, with only limited opportunities being allowed for excavation and recording (cf. Stephanski 1987; Hirschfeld, Foerster and Vitto 1993). Such archaeological work as has been possible has shown that the walled Byzantine and early Muslim cities extended more than a kilometre south of the town of the Crusaders and that which Ḍāhīr al-ʿUmar fortified in 1749 with the walls that still exist today (see fig. 99). The southern part of Byzantine Tiberias, enclosed by the walls built by Justinian in the mid sixth century (Procopius, *de Aedificiis*, v, 9, 21 (*Loeb*, 358)), seems to have been abandoned as late as the mid eleventh century (Oren 1971a; 1971b; 1971c; Foerster 1978); but unfortunately, the precise extent of the town that the Crusaders captured and rebuilt in the course of the twelfth century is not yet fully understood. Archaeological remains dating from the twelfth century are known to extend well to the north of the northern Byzantine city wall (Harif 1984: 107–8, fig. 8; Yizaki



99 Tiberias: plans of the city in the 1940s and in the Roman-Byzantine period, showing the locations of the church of St George (no. 257), the Franciscan church of St Peter, formerly St Nicolas (no. 264), and the church excavated in 1981 (no. 268).

1987: 139), suggesting that as well as contracting the medieval town also shifted its nucleus to the north; but finds of the same period have also been made to the south of the eighteenth-century enceinte (Dar and Adan-Bayewitz 1983a; 1983b), implying that the twelfth-century and eighteenth-century towns were not precisely coterminous. Indeed, where they have been investigated, Dāhir al-'Umar's fortifications appear to have been built on new foundations (Feig 1982). But an engraving made by Cornelius van Bruyn at the end of the seventeenth century and Frankish masonry surviving in the southern part of the sea wall suggest nevertheless that the extent of the pre-existing walls (repaired in 1560) would not have been very different (1725: pl. 173; cf. Schiller 1981: 168–9; Yizaki 1987; Hirschfeld 1992b: 36–8). The principal deviation made by the later walls is on the north, where they extended up to a new four-towered citadel built by Dāhir's son Sulaybi on high ground to the north-west. The Frankish castle that this replaced is shown by van Bruyn on the lake shore, just south of the centre of the town. Remains of it have recently been identified below and to the west

of the eighteenth-century Sea Mosque (Jami' al-Bahri) (Razi and Braun 1992); they include a beaked tower, which formerly protruded into the lake, a substantial drain or water channel and a standing vault (a survey of which has been published, but with a description misleadingly interpreting it as an Ottoman khan: Bernie, Milwright and Simpson 1992: 124–9, figs. 33–4, 38–41).

A large medieval building excavated near the Jordan River Hotel in 1981 by R. Sivan and G. Solar was found to have a cross-incised lintel reused as a threshold (Stephanski 1987: 142); however, there is nothing to indicate that this was ever a church.

No. 255 Cathedral Church of St Peter (?)201.243

History

Tiberias is specifically mentioned as one of the places in which the Jewish convert, Count Joseph, received permission from the emperor Constantine to build a

church, though what measure of success he achieved is uncertain (Epiphanius of Salamis, *Adv. Haer.*, xxx, 11–12 (PG, xli, 424–5; ed. Holl, i, 346–7); *ELS*, 248–9, no. 337). A bishop named John, however, is recorded attending the council of Chalcedon in 451 (Schwartz, II.vi, 37; Governanti 1946: 10–11; Kopp 1952: 195–6; Bagatti 1971a: 51). In 1964, an early fifth-century church with an *atrium* and surrounding structures was excavated in the southern quarter of Tiberias by A. Druks and A. Kempinski; the nave had been extended east in the late fifth century or early sixth. If this was the Byzantine cathedral, however, it can have had no influence on the location or design of its medieval successor, for it appears to have had no subsequent structural history (Bagatti 1971a: 53–4, fig. 32; Ovadia 1970: 180–1 (no. 178), pls. 70–1).

None the less, an early ninth-century source records in Tiberias a bishop named Theo[dore] and thirty priests, monks and canons serving five churches, as well as a community of nuns (*Commematorium de Casis Dei* (c.808), xlv (ed. Tobler and Molinier, 304; *ELS*, 250, no. 344; trans. Wilkinson, 138)). One of these churches, no doubt the cathedral, is also mentioned in a *Life of Constantine*, written sometime between 715 and 1009, which records how St Helena 'erected a very beautiful church of "Holy Peter, the Leader of the Apostles"' in the centre of the town on the site of the house of Peter's mother-in-law, whom Jesus cured of a fever (*Vita Constantini*, viii (ed. Guidi, 50; trans. Wilkinson, 203; *ELS*, 251, no. 345)). As Kopp observes, it seems likely that this tradition was transferred to Tiberias from Capernaum, where the Bible places it (Matthew 8.14–15), sometime after the destruction of the church there (1952: 196).

According to William of Tyre, the church of Tiberias was established and richly endowed by Tancred soon after he received the principality of Galilee from Duke Godfrey (William of Tyre, ix, 13 (CCCM, LXIII, 438; trans. Babcock and Krey, i, 399); Hamilton 1980: 88). As was the case at Mount Tabor (no. 155) and Nazareth (no. 169), two other churches established by Tancred, it seems likely that this church occupied the site of a former Orthodox building. Indeed, the old Byzantine church may still have been standing. This supposition is reinforced by the account of the principal church in Tiberias given in 1106–8 by the Russian abbot Daniel:

There is in the town the place where Christ cleansed the leper; here once stood the house of the mother-in-law of Peter the Apostle, and Christ entered this house and cured Peter's mother-in-law of the burning fever, and in this place a round church has been built dedicated to St Peter. (ch. LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158; de Khitrowo, 62; *ELS*, 253–4, no. 349))

The building described here appears to be that mentioned in the *Vita Constantini* (715–1009). It was certainly not the former great mosque, which al-Muqaddas (c.985) and Nāṣir-i Khusraw (1047) had seen in the centre of the town (Le Strange 1890: 335, 337; Marmardji 1951: 127, 128; *ELS*, 251–2, no. 346), but which by this date may possibly have been outside it.

Before the twelfth century, the Orthodox bishop of Tiberias had been a suffragan of Scythopolis, or Baisan (Tobler and Molinier, i, 324; *ELS*, 249 n.1). After the Crusader conquest, no immediate appointment was made to the see; indeed it was not until 1125–8 that a metropolitan see covering all Galilee was firmly established in Nazareth (Hamilton 1980: 67). To begin with Tiberias's position was therefore somewhat anomalous. The church seems to have been placed in the charge of an archdeacon, Adelelmus, who is mentioned in 1109 as witness to an act of Bishop Bernard of Nazareth (Kohler, 7–8, no. 3; *RRH*, 3–4, 56a) and in 1121 styled 'archdeacon of Tiberias and all Galilee' (Delaborde, 35–6, no. 9; cf. *RRH*, 25, no. 106 (1125); 31, no. 127 (1129)). A successor, named Herbert (*archidiaconus Tyberiadis*), witnessed a charter of King Fulk on 5 February 1138 (Bresc-Bautier, 98–101, no. 34; *RRH*, 43–4, no. 174). The first Latin bishop of Tiberias to be recorded is Elias, in 1144 (Bresc-Bautier, 107–9, no. 38; 163–4, no. 67; *RRH*, 57, no. 226; 58, no. 229). Like his Orthodox predecessors he would have been a suffragan, but of Nazareth rather than Baisan (John of Ibelin, *Livre CCLXIV* (*RHC Lois*, i, 416); *Tractatus de locis* (c.1200) (ed. Thomas, 149); Hamilton 1980: 72, 84, 100; Beyer 1945: 216; Mayer 1977: 81–97; Rheinheimer 1990: 168–71). The size of the chapter is unknown, though five canons, including the precentor, Robert, appear as witnesses to a charter of Bishop Gerald in 1174 (*RRH*, 136, no. 515; cf. Delaborde, 87–8, no. 40 (1178); *RRH*, 150, no. 563 (1178); cf. Röhrich 1887a: 31–3).

By the time of its re-establishment, the resources of the diocese had already been diminished by the granting of a third of its tithes to the abbey of Mount Tabor by the bishop of Nazareth in 1112 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 109–11, no. 11; *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 899, appx., no. 4; *RRH*, 15, no. 69). This may partly explain why, when Robert, archbishop of Nazareth, remitted the tithes in the whole of his archdiocese to the Hospitallers in November 1150, he explicitly excluded those in the see of Tiberias (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 151–2, no. 196; *RRH Ad.*, 17, no. 259a). The bishop of Tiberias's military obligation amounted to 100 sergeants (John of Ibelin, *Livre CCLXXII* (*RHC Lois*, i, 426); Hamilton 1980: 153).

Although Tiberias was in Muslim hands from 1187, a new bishop was appointed by 1199, when we find him

attempting to regain possession of 1,300 bezants and other valuables which his predecessor had entrusted to the Templars (Innocent III, *Reg.*, II, no. 257 (PL, ccxiv, 816-18); *RRH*, 203-4, no. 764; Hamilton 1980: 246-7). There is no further record of any bishop until 1241 (Thietmar (1217), II, 3 (ed. Laurent, 6); Hamilton 1980: 250 n.4), when, following the conclusion of Richard of Cornwall's treaty, Geoffrey, chancellor of Antioch, is referred to as bishop elect of Tiberias (*Jofrey elit de Tabarie*) in November 1241 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 596, no. 2280; *RRH*, 286-7, no. 1102; Röhrich 1887a: 30 n.26; Hamilton 1980: 262).

When Tiberias fell to the Ayyubids of Egypt on 17 June 1247, the bishop, who was absent, finally lost his see. The hopelessness of his situation, however, with Tiberias lying on the borders of Muslim-held territory, had already been recognized before this. On 29 July 1243, Pope Innocent IV had ordered the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by then in Acre, to grant the bishop of Tiberias a subsidy (Kohler, 73-4, no. 72; *RRH*, 69-70, no. 1111a), and on 4 August he also agreed to permit the patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, to release the bishop from the 'shackle of the church of Tiberias' if another see could be found for him (*Reg.* (ed. Berger, I, 13, no. 49); Hamilton 1980: 297-8). The opportunity arose with the death of the bishop of Sidon in 1247, but the chapter elected their own archdeacon, Peter, instead (Innocent IV, *Reg.* (ed. Berger, 494, no. 3286); Hamilton 1980: 264). Two further bishops are recorded, both of them apparently resident in Acre (Hamilton 1980: 274, 276, 279 n.5, 300; Dichter 1979: 75).

The fate of the cathedral after the fall of Tiberias is unknown. No doubt the old building seen by Daniel in 1106-8 had been replaced by a more modern structure by 1187; this might possibly have been converted to Muslim use at that time (cf. Rheinheimer 1990: 83), or simply demolished when Saladin dismantled Tiberias in 1190. Some building work might perhaps have been possible in the 1240s, when Odo of Montbéliard was at work on the castle; but it is not even certain whether the bishop returned to his see in this period. A Slav pilgrim mentions a house of St Peter in Tiberias in the fourteenth century, but it is uncertain whether this was an actual building or merely a memory (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Kopp 1952: 198-9).

In 1560, Sultan Sulaymān granted Tiberias to his Jewish favourite Don Josef Nasi, and reconstruction of the town walls began. A Hebrew source records:

a whole church was found full of marble, pictures, and altars, as used in Christian churches. The four servants of Don Josef wrecked it, and filled it with earth. Also three church bells

were found there, which the Christians, in the days of Guido, the last Christian king to rule in that territory, had buried there, at the time when their destroyers came forth against them. Cannon were made of these. (Joseph le Cohen 1858: 105; Kopp 1952: 204 n.582)

This account suggests an important Latin church, very possibly the cathedral. Evidently it had not been converted into a mosque, as its decoration was still recognizably Christian; it is unlikely, in any case, that the sultan would have allowed the destruction of a Muslim building.

Epigraphy

The seal of Bishop Gerald (*Jl.* 1174-8) displays on its reverse two haloed figures casting a net over the side of a boat, with the inscription: + *navicel(l)a Petri et Andree*. The seal of a Bishop William, either William I (1273-4) or William II (1274-c.1283), is also known (Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 116, no. 115; 117, no. 118; de Sandoli 1974: 296-7, nos. 399-400).

Discussion

The location of the Latin cathedral is uncertain. C. Enlart (1925: II, 374) and B. Bagatti (1971a: 59) suggest that its site may be that now occupied by the great mosque, a building constructed by Dāhir al-Umar in 1156 H/AD 1743 (cf. Mayer and Pinkerfeld 1950: 49-50; Bernie, Milwright and Simpson 1992: 105-20, figs. 14-27); the idea is plausible, though unproven. The alternative view, that it lay on the site of the eighteenth-century Sea Mosque (Governanti 1946: 18; Boase 1977: 105; Hoade 1978: 728-9), can be discarded, as that is now known to have been built on the site of the Crusader castle (Razi and Braun 1992: cf. Bernie, Milwright and Simpson 1992: 120-9, figs. 28-32, 35-7; Pringle, Petersen, Dow and Singer 1994: 163). Rheinheimer implies that the church excavated in the early 1980s (**no. 268**) was the cathedral (1990: 83; cf. Hirschfeld 1992b: 38); but this view is unsubstantiated and possibly negated by the fact that the church had latterly been converted into a mosque.

Sources

Daniel (1106-8), LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158; de Khitrowo, 62); *ELS*, 252-7, nos. 347-58; John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXIV (*RHC Lois*, I, 416); *Tractatus de locis* (ed. Thomas, 149) (c.1200); William of Tyre, IX, 13 (*CCCM*, LXIII, 438; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 399) (1099).

Abel 1967: II, 483; Bagatti 1971: 57, 59; Boase 1977: 105; du Cange 1869: 807-8; Enlart 1925: II, 374; Governanti

1946: 12, 18; Hamilton 1980: 88; Hirschfeld 1992b: 38; Hoade 1978: 728–9; Joseph le Cohen 1858: 105; Kopp 1952: 195–7, 199, 204 n.582; Lannoy 1401: 64; Mayer 1977: 81–97; de Sandoli 1974: 296–7, nos. 399–400; Rheinheimer 1990: 83, 171, 246; Röhrich 1887a: 31–3; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet 1943: 116, no. 115; 117, no. 118; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.

No. 256 Church of St Andrew (?)201.243

History

In 1383 an unnamed French pilgrim visited a church of St Andrew that was associated with Christ's Feeding of the Five Thousand. It appears to have been located either in Tiberias or between it and the hot springs to the south (Anon. 1383: 459; Baldi 1955a: 288, no. 424). Earlier the same century Sir John Mandeville had placed the same event on a hill near Tiberias (c.1356–66: 187), rather than in its more usual location at at-Tabgha (q.v.). This seems to have been an intermediate step in the transference of the traditional site of the Feeding to the Horns of Hattin, where it was fixed from the later fifteenth century onwards (Kopp 1952: 185–93).

Sources

Anon. 1383: 459; Baldi 1955a: 288, no. 424.

No. 257 Church of St George 2008.2423

History

The church of St George, situated 'above Tiberias', was granted by Bishop Bernard of Nazareth to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat in 1109 (Kohler, 6–8, nos. 2–3; RRH *Ad.* 3–4, no. 56a). The dedication and early date of the grant suggest that this was a pre-existing Orthodox church building. It should not be equated (*pace* Tibble 1989: 157) with the village of St George *de Chaman*, which lay in the *Terre de Sueth* east of the Sea of Galilee and was granted to the same abbey by William I of Bures, prince of Galilee, in 1126 (see **no. 206**). The grant of the church above Tiberias was confirmed to the abbey by Pope Anastasius IV in March 1154 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70 (1154); 211, no. 72 (1155); Delaborde, 64, no. 28 (1154); RRH, 73, no. 290 (1154)), by Pope Hadrian IV a year later (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 209–12, no. 72 (1155)), and by Pope Alexander IV in 1255 (Delaborde, 100–5, no. 49).

In 1178, an agreement between Gerald, bishop of Tiberias, and John, abbot of St Mary in the Valley of

Jehoshaphat, concerning the church of St George and the abbey's payment of tithes in the diocese was mediated by the archbishop of Nazareth and the bishop of Acre. The abbot agreed not to receive into his church any of the bishop's parishioners, persons whom he had excommunicated or women seeking purification; burials were only permitted there for brothers, the abbey's servants, and Syrians; and no Latins or Syrians were to be baptized or married there. Two wax candles were to be paid to the church of Tiberias on St George's day, and 10 bezants on All Saints in respect of tithes (Delaborde, 87–8, no. 40; RRH, 150, no. 563; Hamilton 1980: 100, 149).

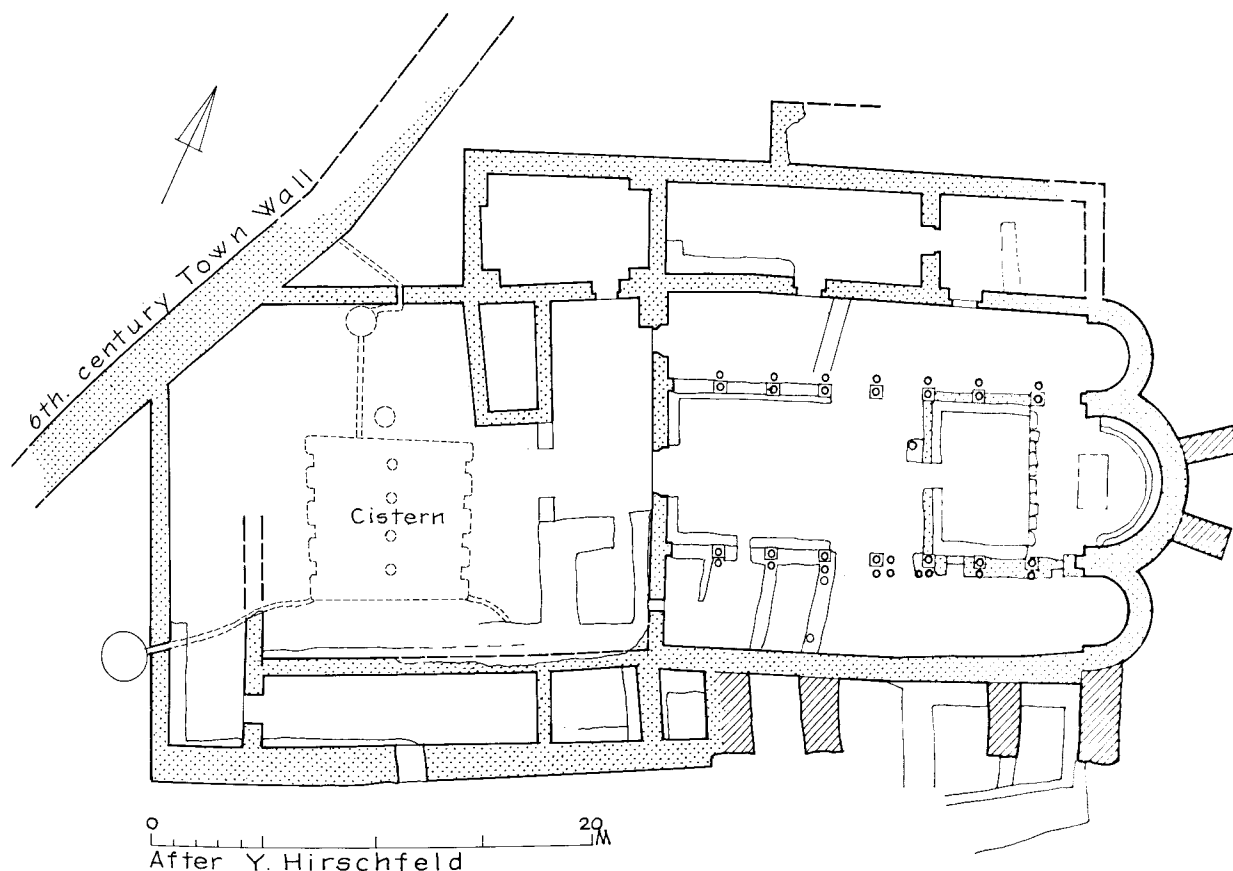
The hill from which St George was thrown is mentioned as lying 'below Tiberias' by a fourteenth-century Slav pilgrim (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393). It is uncertain, however, whether the (presumably Orthodox) monastery of St Mark (**no. 266**), which the same source locates in its vicinity, may have represented the continuation of the same house under a different name.

Description

In 1990–1, the remains of a church were excavated at Kh. Qasr Bint al-Malik (Qa'qa'iya), on the slopes of Mount Berenice, some 240 m south-south-west of the walled Ottoman town and just within the sixth-century city wall built by Justinian (Hirschfeld 1991: 94–6, figs. 97–9; 1992b: 41–4; 1994; cf. Palestine 1948: 39; Israel 1964: 1393). Four principal phases were identified (see fig. 100).

Dating evidence from the first phase indicates that the first church was erected at the time of Justinian, but little is known of its layout. The principal surviving feature is a large cistern, situated below the central part of the *atrium*; this was 7.5 m square and 5 m deep, with a roof supported on four transverse arches.

The church was rebuilt in a second phase, dated to the eighth century, probably following the destruction of the first building by an earthquake in 749 (cf. Amiran, Ariei and Turcotte 1994: 266–7). The rebuilt church was a three-aisled basilica, measuring 48 by 28 m overall; this terminated at the east in three semi-circular apses with rounded external walls and was preceded on the west by a large atrium, paved with black and white mosaic and covering the earlier cistern. The church walls survive to a maximum height of 3.5 m. The aisles were separated by arcades of eight bays, whose rounded arches (only one of which survives) were supported on paired columns no more than 1.35 m high. It may be assumed that these supported a clearstorey, possibly with galleries over the aisles. In a secondary phase, the chancel area, occupying the central apse and the first



100 Tiberias, church of St George (no. 257): plan.

three bays of the central nave, was separated from the rest of the church by a solid masonry wall, with a door in the centre. The eastern bay was raised one step above the rest and supported a stone-built altar sited roughly on the chord of the apse. Below the altar table was placed a large stone block, measuring 0.3 by 0.5 by 1.02 m, with a circular hole, 18 cm in diameter in its centre. The church had three doors in its west wall and one in the north, covered by a lintel with a segmental relieving arch. The floors and walls of the church were plastered, the former incorporating in places patches of mosaic apparently derived from the first phase; the plaster of the south apse was decorated with coloured geometrical designs. The church evidently had a timber roof covered with tiles, a large number of which were recovered by the excavators.

The third phase is dated to the twelfth century, and consisted of the thickening of the outer walls by 1 m and the addition of buttresses to the south wall and to the central apse. This work does not appear to have been related to any change in the system of roofing.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the building lay abandoned from the late twelfth century until sometime

in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, when, in a fourth phase, it was divided up by rough walls for use as a dwelling. Sometime in the fourteenth century the building was finally destroyed by an earthquake.

Decoration

A small fragment of wall painting (8 by 5 cm) depicting a human face was found below the altar; its date appears to be eleventh-century (Ben-Arieh 1993; Hirschfeld 1994: 513, fig. 39).

Not visited.

Sources

Delaborde, 64, no. 28 (1154); 87–8, no. 40 (1178); 100–5, no. 49 (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205–8, no. 70 (1154); 209–12, no. 72 (1155); Kohler, *Chartes*, 6–8, nos. 2–3 (1109); *RRH*, 73, no. 290 (1154); 150, no. 563 (1178); *RRH Ad*, 3–4, no. 56a (1109).

Ben-Arieh 1993; Governanti 1946: 41; Hamilton 1980: 87, 98, 100, 149; Hirschfeld 1991: 94–6, figs. 98–9; 1992b: 41–4, figs.; 1993b; 1994; Rheinheimer 1990: 171–2; Röhrich 1887: 215; Tibble 1989: 157.

No. 258 Church of St James and St John (?)201.243

History

In 1137, Peter the Deacon wrote, in a passage probably derived from Egeria (c.384):

In Tiberias there is now a church on the spot where once stood the house of the apostles James and John. (section v2 (CCSL, clxxv, 98; ELS, 254, no. 351; trans. Wilkinson, 194))

Although J. Wilkinson suggests that Peter may have made a confusion here with an actual building seen by Egeria in Bethsaida or Capernaum (1977: 174), it seems as likely that his account is simply reflecting another case of the migration to Tiberias of traditions (in this case, Mark 1.19–20) generally associated with other places around the Sea of Galilee. Whether such a church existed in Tiberias in the twelfth century is unknown. A fourteenth-century Slav pilgrim, however, refers to the house of St John as existing in Tiberias (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393), and a few decades later a French pilgrim mentions a church on the lakeside where James and John were called to be apostles (Lannoy 1401: 64; cf. Kopp 1952: 198–9).

It seems possible therefore that a church of St James and St John did exist in Tiberias in the twelfth century, though direct evidence is lacking.

Sources

Kopp 1952: 198–9; Lannoy 1401: 64; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Wilkinson 1977: 174.

No. 259 Hospital of St Julian (later St John?) (?)201.243

History

On 1 February 1121, William I of Bures, prince of Galilee, granted to the hospital of the church of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, 'the hospital of St Julian which I have built in Tiberias on my domain, on such condition that for as long as Amalric shall live and legally rule it, he shall remain guardian and steward (*custos et dispensator*) of the hospital and all its appurtenances' (Delaborde, 36–7, no. 11; RRH, 21–2, no. 93). Since we hear nothing further of this foundation and, unlike St Mary in Jehoshaphat's possessions in Lajjun that were granted on the same occasion (Delaborde, 36, no. 10; RRH, 21, no. 92), it is not included in any subsequent confirmation of the abbey's possessions, it seems likely that the hospital soon passed to the order of St John (Hamilton 1980: 364 n.4).

The Hospitaller brothers Ranerius and Peter of

Tiberias, who are mentioned in 1126 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 71, no. 74; RRH, 27–8, nos. 112–13), may well have had connections with a Hospitaller establishment in the town. That the Hospital had properties in Tiberias in the early twelfth century is made clear by a confirmation of their possessions by Pope Eugenius III in January 1153 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 166–8, no. 217; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 210–12, no. 7; RRH Ad, 18–19, no. 280b), though it is uncertain how extensive they were at that time (cf. *Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 21–2, no. 20; RRH, 12–13, no. 57; Tibble 1989: 158–9). In October 1153, however, William II of Bures granted to the Order of St John the whole of the square near the house of the hospital (*domus Hospitalis*) as far as the house of Peter, son-in-law of John the Venetian; and Peter Godfrey gave them his house situated next to the hospital, together with the square, the house and courtyard of John Bufile, and the *curia* of Rossellus Buhcerus. Although Delaville le Roulx considered that these properties lay in Jerusalem, a near contemporary endorsement indicates that they were in Tiberias (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 168–9, no. 219; RRH, 72, no. 283; Rheinheimer 1990: 267).

Another Hospitaller brother, Raymond of Tiberias, is mentioned in January 1163 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 328, no. 317; RRH, 99, no. 378; RRH Ad, 23, no. 378); and in June 1164 he is described as preceptor (or grand commander) of the Hospital (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 234–5, no. 333). The nature of his connections with Tiberias, however, is uncertain; and he seems unlikely to be the same person as another Raymond, who, combining the office of marshal of the Hospital with that of commander of the house in Tiberias (*domus Tiberiadis magister*), received two *casalia* in Galilee from Walter II, prince of Galilee, in April 1165, in the company of the order's master, Gilbert of Assailly, and the new preceptor, Guy of Mahone (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 240–1, no. 345; RRH, 107–8, no. 414; cf. Riley-Smith 1967: 429–30). Two *confratres* of the hospital in Tiberias are also mentioned in 1168 (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 271–2, no. 398; RRH, 116–7, no. 448). In 1182 the chapter general of the order decreed that the bailiff of Tiberias should provide the Hospital in Jerusalem each year with two quintals of sugar (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 427, no. 627; King, *Rule*, 37; Riley-Smith 1967: 433).

The bailiwick of Tiberias is not mentioned in the thirteenth century and it seems that the hospital was not re-established after 1187 (Riley-Smith 1967: 430).

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., I, 166–8, no. 217 (1153); 168–9, no. 219 (1153); 240–1, no. 345 (1165); 271–2, no. 398 (1168); 427.

no. 627 (1182); Delaborde, 36-7, no. 11 (1121); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, II, 210-12, no. 7 (1153); King, *Rule*, 37 (1182); *RRH*, 21-2, no. 93 (1121); 72, no. 283 (1153); 107-8, no. 414 (1165); 116-17, no. 448 (1168); *RRH Ad*, 18-19, no. 280b (1153).

Bagatti 1971a: 57; Governanti 1946: 16; Hamilton 1980: 98, 364 n.4; King 1934: 14; Rheinheimer 1990: 158-9, 265, 267, 268; Riley-Smith 1967: 429-30, 433.

No. 260 Church and Hospital of St Lazarus (?)201.243

History

Abbot Daniel says of Tiberias in 1106-8: 'There is in the town the place where Christ cleansed the leper' (ch. LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158)). This event is placed by Matthew 8.1-4 and Mark 1.40-45 on the outskirts of Capernaum, though the account in Luke 5.12, which relates merely that it occurred 'in one of the cities', would seem to have afforded sufficient licence for moving it to Tiberias in the Middle Ages.

Whether the miracle was associated with any particular medieval church in Tiberias is altogether unknown. A church of St Lazarus, however, is recorded in 1154, when Ermengarde, viscountess of Tiberias, granted to it and to the brothers dwelling in it two carrucates of the land called *Mahum*, and a certain villein (*quandam villam*, recte *quendam villa(nu)m*) called Caliph and all his heirs (de Marsy, 132-3, no. 13; *RRH*, 76, no. 297). In 1170, Walter, prince of Galilee, with the consent of his wife, Eschiva, granted to the church of St Lazarus and the sick serving God there 8 bezants annually from the market of Tiberias (de Marsy, 143-4, no. 26; *RRH*, 126, no. 479). The fact that these two documents are preserved in the cartulary of the Order of St Lazarus suggests that the church would have been dependent on the order's hospital in Jerusalem (q.v.).

Sources

de Marsy, 132-3, no. 13 (1154); 143-4, no. 26 (1170); *RRH*, 76, no. 297 (1154); 126, no. 479 (1170).

Bagatti 1971a: 57; Clermont-Ganneau 1901: 111 n.2; Governanti 1946: 41; Hamilton 1980: 109; Rheinheimer 1990: 158, 268, 269; Tibble 1989: 159.

No. 261 Church of St Mary (?)201.243

A church of the Mother of God is mentioned in Tiberias by an unnamed Slav pilgrim in the fourteenth century (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393). The churches listed in

this text seem likely to have existed also in the time of the Crusader Kingdom (cf. Kopp 1952: 198-9), though in this case there is no corroborative evidence.

Sources

Kopp 1952: 198-9; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.

No. 262 Church (of St Mary Magdalene, or Mary of Bethany ?) (?)201.243

Michael the Syrian (1166-99) refers to Tiberias as the seat of a Jacobite bishop between c.793 and c.1032 (trans. Chabot, III, 503, appx. IV; cf. Bagatti 1971a: 54). It seems likely that a Jacobite church also existed in the twelfth century, though the evidence is slight. The Russian abbot Daniel, who visited Tiberias in 1106-8, writes:

Here too was the house of Simon the Leper, where the harlot washed with her tears the most pure feet of Our Lord Jesus Christ . . . (ch. LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158))

The Gospels locate the house of Simon the Leper in Bethany (Matthew 16.6-13; Mark 14.3-9; Luke 7.36-8; John 12.1-8). In the twelfth century, however, the Jacobites, or Syrian Orthodox, identified the house of Simon the Leper, in which Mary Magdalene had performed this act of penitance, with their church of St Mary Magdalene in Jerusalem (q.v.), while maintaining that Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus (John 11.1-2) was another person. John of Würzburg, whose conversation with the Jacobites in Jerusalem occurred around 1160-5, also adds in relation to the latter Mary:

And they say that her tomb is shown in Tiberias, her body being buried therein. (CCCM, cxxxix, 111)

This seems to point to the existence of a Jacobite church in Tiberias dedicated either to Mary of Bethany or to Mary Magdalene (or possibly a conflation of both), the latter's association with Tiberias being quite possibly inspired by the town's proximity to Magdala (q.v.) itself.

Sources

Daniel (1106-8), LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 158; de Khitrowo, 62); John of Würzburg (c.1160-5) (CCCM, cxxxix, 111); Michael the Syrian (trans. Chabot, III, 503, appx. IV).

No. 263 Church of St Michael (?)201.243

A fourteenth-century Slav pilgrim mentions the existence of a church of St Michael in Tiberias, 'where Jesus

Christ told the disciples to throw the nets, which brought in 153 fat fish' (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393). This church was evidently by the shore, and was close to that of St Nicolas (**no. 264**) (cf. Kopp 1952: 198–9). It seems likely that it was an Orthodox church and very possible that it existed in the twelfth century. It is less certain, however, whether the tradition of the miraculous catch would already have been located in Tiberias at that time, or whether it migrated here from at-Tabgha after the destruction of the Latin church there in 1263 (see **no. 249**).

The site of the church might possibly be that of the present Greek Orthodox church of the Twelve Apostles (**no. 265**).

Sources

Kopp 1952: 198–9; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.

No. 264 Church of St Nicolas (now St Peter) 2011.2436

History

The earliest record of the church which today is the Franciscan church of St Peter appears to be made by a fourteenth-century Slav pilgrim, who describes a church of St Nicolas standing 'at the place where Our Lord appeared to the disciples and showed them some bread and some fish' (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; cf. Kopp 1952: 198–9). Christ's post-Resurrection appearance is also located in Tiberias by the anonymous late twelfth-century author of the *de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 220–1) and by John Mandeville (c.1356–66: 187). The site of this event may possibly have been transferred there after the destruction of the church of at-Tabgha (**no. 249**) in 1187 (or 1263), though it is not impossible that parallel traditions associating the event with both places already existed before then (cf. Kopp 1952: 197–8, 200; Governanti 1946: 33–4).

The church is also mentioned by Guillebert de Lannoy, who, after describing the church of St James and St John (**no. 258**), which he associates with the miraculous catch of 153 fish, writes:

Near here is another church where Jesus Christ showed Himself to His apostles after His resurrection when He was on the edge of the lake. There His apostles saw the burning coal and above it the glow. (1401: 64; trans. Kopp 1952: 199)

The father guardian, Boniface of Ragusa, knew the same church between 1552 and 1564:

On the shore of this town Jesus stood after His resurrection and left His footprints stamped on a stone which we Christians venerate highly and regard as sacred. A church which was

erected on this site by Mother Helena was beautiful in its splendour, and is still beautiful, but is visited only once a year by the brethren. (1577: 268; cf. Baldi 1955a: 258–9, no. 362; trans. Kopp 1952: 200)

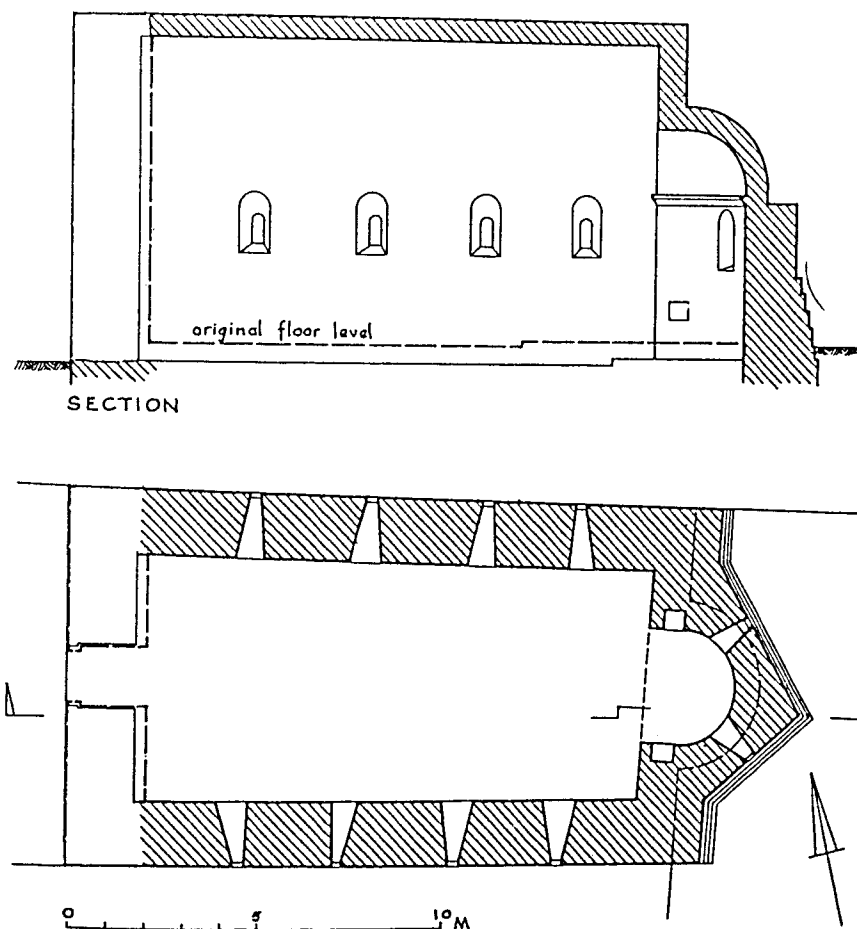
Fr Boniface also relates how while guardian he had enlisted the help of the Turkish governor to prevent the church being turned into a synagogue (1577: 268; Baldi 1955a: 259).

The church containing the footprints was also apparently seen by J. Zvallart later in the same century (1595a: 250–1). By the early seventeenth century, however, the building had become a mosque. Francesco Quaresmi writes:

On the shore of the lake, in the northern part of the town, is a church which, even though it has been turned into a mosque by the Turks, and is used as a stable for animals and has lost its former glory, nevertheless has retained its structure unimpaired. It is about 24 paces long and 12 broad. It is dedicated to St Peter, as it is believed that here the holy apostle was appointed chief pastor by our Lord when He appeared at the lakeside after His resurrection. (1626a: II, 650; 1626b: 404; Baldi 1955a: 259, 363; trans. Kopp 1952: 200)

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the church was described by a large number of travellers. Most base their accounts on Boniface of Ragusa, though Fr Nau attributes its construction to Tancred (1679: 595) and Reland also expresses doubt about its connection with St Helena (1719: II, 1042; Governanti 1946: 40, 43). Some writers describe a stone built into the inside face of the south wall that was decorated with what appears to have been a representation of a seven-branched candlestick flanked by a pair of figures (de Monconys 1647: 324; Surius 1661: 379–80; 1666: 323; Myller 1735: 91; cf. Kopp 1952: 201). The footprints were seen by B. Surius and A. Gonsales (1673: I, 785–6), though other visitors had less success in finding them (Morone 1669: I, 369–70; Kopp 1952: 201–2).

In 1641, the Franciscans of Nazareth obtained *firmani* permitting them to visit and reside in Tiberias (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: I, 261–4, nos. 171–2) and by August 1649 they had begun purchasing property there (Governanti 1946: 51). In 1667, they tried to establish a residence, but were prevented by the local Muslims because of the existence of a *mihrāb* in the church's south wall (Gonsales 1673: I, 785–6). However, they were still allowed to visit and to say Mass in the building (Hussein, Sciad and Gosselin 1934: II, 409–10, no. 254 (1685); 478–9, no. 288 (1710); Morison 1705: 203; Governanti 1946: 51; Kopp 1952: 202). It was only in the mid eighteenth century that the Franciscans obtained the keys to the place, and were thus able to clean it and arrange it for services (Leandro di Santa



101 Tiberias, Franciscan church of St Peter, formerly St Nicolas (no. 264): plan and section.

Cecilia 1753: 73; Antonio da Milano 1764-8: 174; Kopp 1952: 202). According to Giovanni Mariti, their success in obtaining the building was due to Dāhir al-'Umar (1749-75) (1769: II, 201), who is also known to have issued a *firmān* upholding their rights against claims made by the Greeks (Governanti 1946: 52).

Subsequently, the Franciscans installed Greek Catholics in the church, visiting the church themselves only once a year on the feast of St Peter (Buckingham 1822: II, 325-30, 358-9; Kopp 1952: 202-3). Because of its solid construction, the building was undamaged in the earthquake of 1837 (Cassini da Perinaldo 1885: v, 151). In 1847, the Franciscans obtained formal legal title to the building, undertook repairs and constructed a residence for a priest beside it. A more extensive restoration was carried out in 1870, when the west wall was replaced by a classical façade and portico (Governanti 1946: 56, fig. 15). A new main altar was installed in 1883, and two lesser ones in 1889 (Governanti 1946: 57). A bell-tower and hospice buildings were added later, and in 1933 the church became the Roman Catholic parish church for Tiberias (Governanti 1946: 58-61).

In 1944-5, a thorough restoration of the church was undertaken, involving the total removal of the internal plaster and the excavation of some trial trenches in the nave and apse. An archaeological watching brief was maintained during these works by Fr B. Bagatti (Governanti 1946: 62-75, figs. 8-14).

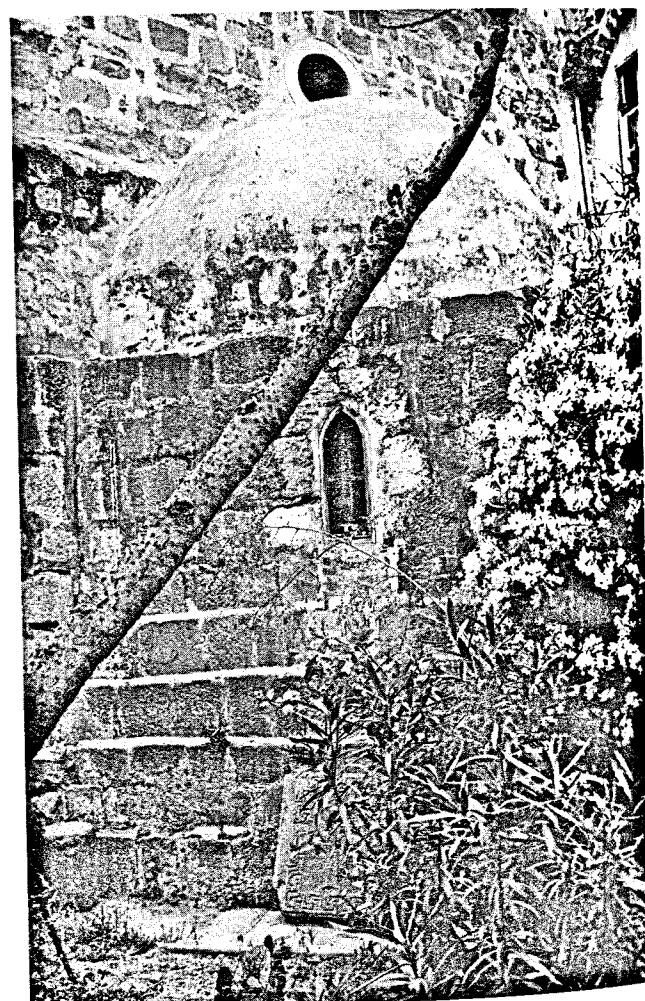
Description

Bagatti's excavations demonstrated that the church had been built at the time of the Crusader Kingdom, its foundations and pavement overlying beach sand containing fragments of water-abraded Roman pottery (Governanti 1946: 64-6, fig. 10). It is built for the most part in black basalt. The masonry is coursed, though somewhat rough and with more finely dressed ashlar reserved for the quoins and the interior and exterior of the apse; in the apse, white limestone is also employed for some of the window surrounds. Bagatti noted a considerable quantity of reused material in the walls, some of it Roman (Governanti 1946: 63-4, fig. 9).

The church has a simple rectangular nave, with a



cxcii Tiberias, church of St Nicolas (now St Peter) (no. 264): interior, looking east.



cxciii Tiberias, church of St Nicolas (now St Peter) (no. 264): exterior of the apse, from the south-east.

stilted semi-circular apse on the east contained in a triangular external projection (fig. 101; pls. cxcii–cxciii). The nave is 14 m long internally and tapers slightly in width from 6.4 m at the west end to 6 m at the east: it is enclosed by a pointed barrel-vault, whose soffit rises 8.6 m above the original pavement level. The side walls of the church are 1.6–1.7 m thick; and except for the west wall, which has been rebuilt (apparently in 1870), with its internal face set back 10–25 cm on the underlying medieval foundations, the original structure appears to be virtually intact. Bagatti's investigations convincingly disprove the claim by C. Kopp that the apse was a later addition (Governanti 1946: 62; Kopp 1952: 204).

On the exterior the lower courses of the beaked apse are stepped back, 5–7 cm per course, evidently with the intention of providing additional buttressing to the part of the building facing the lake and most exposed to

storm action. Each oblique facet contains a lancet window which is splayed internally. In the outer wall above the apse may be seen an oculus, probably dating in its present form from 1870; this no longer registers on the inside, but may nevertheless replicate an original feature.

Inside the apse small rectangular aumbries are set in the north and south walls. The spring of the semi-dome is defined by a plain chamfered cornice, which continues across the east wall of the nave; only the two extremities appear to be original, the rest being a restoration. Each side wall of the nave has four windows, 2.85 m above the original pavement level. Though now restored, the form of their arches appears to have been rather more rounded than pointed. They are 1.55–1.6 m high and 0.78–0.88 m wide on the inside, narrowing to 0.87 m high and 0.32–0.36 m wide on the outside. Before the restoration of 1944–5, C. Enlart noted a plain rounded

arched door in the south wall (1925: II, 375); this may possibly have been original, but has since been suppressed. The main door seems always to have been in the west wall, where Buckingham saw it in the early nineteenth century, surmounted by a small window (1822: II, 358; Kopp 1952: 203).

Excavation beneath the modern floor in 1945 revealed traces of a medieval pavement consisting of basalt stones laid on a layer of white lime mortar containing ashes (Governanti 1946: 64-6; cf. Buckingham 1822: II, 358).

Decoration and Furnishing

Remains of wall paintings were noted in the church by the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1735: II, 276). In 1945, Fr Bagatti found only a small fragment of red-painted plaster on the east wall near the north angle (Governanti 1946: 64); this may possibly have been part of the border of a larger picture. Seven paintings representing scenes from the lives of St Peter and St Paul by the late fifteenth-century Tyrolian painter Frederick Pachet of Brunnecken were donated to the church by Professor J.N. Sepp in 1861; they were subsequently removed for conservation, and are now in the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem (Governanti 1946: 57-8; Bagatti 1939: 142-5).

A stone door from an antique tomb, decorated with a Latin cross, was found near the church and taken by G. Governanti to be Crusader; but it is clearly Byzantine (1946: 68, fig. 11; cf. Bagatti 1971a: fig. 33).

Associated Buildings

Walls of the Crusader period were found in excavations to the west of the church in September 1945, suggesting that it was not an isolated structure (Governanti 1946: 66-7).

Epigraphy

Among the *spolia* built into the walls, Cdrs Irby and Mangles saw an Arabic inscription built in upside down (1823: 294; 1861: 111).

Discussion

C. Kopp, while accepting the nave of the church as Crusader, argued that its original purpose had been secular and that the apse, west wall and windows were all later Franciscan additions; however, his conclusion was based largely on the descriptions of the building

made by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors, rather than on any technical examination of the structure (1952: 203-4). While it is certain that the west wall has been rebuilt, Fr Bagatti's investigations have proved that it stands on the foundations of an earlier, medieval wall; the apse and windows also appear to be integral medieval features. C. Enlart, who visited the building, was left in no doubt as to its twelfth-century date (1925: II, 374-5).

Fr G. Governanti, who considered the church to have been built by Tancred (1946: 41-2), put forward the idea that it had been made in the shape of an upturned boat to recall that of Peter and Andrew (1946: 31-8). The beaked external face of the apse, however, is more likely to have been so designed in order to resist the wave action of the lake, on the edge of which the building stood. A similar prow-shaped projection, formerly part of the Frankish castle, could still be seen on the side of the Sea Mosque facing the lake, until the construction of the new sea wall after the great flood of 1934 (Razi and Braun 1992: 219, 227, pl. 12).

A. Harif has suggested that the church may have been the castle chapel (1984: 107); however, Z. Razi and E. Braun have since shown the castle to have been elsewhere (1992: 226; see no. 267). It is uncertain therefore with which, if any, documented Crusader church it should be identified. Its association with St Peter is only documented from the sixteenth century onwards.

Visited 17.12.79, 13.5.81.

Sources

Alcarotti 1587: 74; Antonio da Venezia 1715: 290; Antonio del Castillo 1627: 324ff.; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 276; Bagatti 1971a: 59-61, figs. 35-7; Bassi 1857: I, 169; Beauprand 1760: 22; Besson 1659: 397-8; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 268; Brémond 1679: 223; van Bruyn 1725: II, 323, pl. 173.A; Buckingham 1822: II, 358; Cassini da Perinaldo 1885: v, 151; Castelas 1612: 487; Clarke 1812: 465-6; Conder and Kitchen 1881: I, 362; Dall'i 1875: IV, 169; Enlart 1925: II, 374-5; Fournier 1896; Gonsales 1673: I, 785-6; Goujon 1670: 83-4; Governanti 1946; Guérin 1880: I, 253; Guide Bleu 1932: 520; de Guinaumont 1867: 539; Harif 1984: 107; Hasselquist 1769: 230; de Hayes 1621: 438; Hietling fig. 6; Hasselquist 1992b: 38-40, fig.; Hoade 1946: 1713: I, 294; Hirschfeld 1992b: 38-40, fig.; Hoade 1946: 473-4; 1978: 728-9; Irby and Mangles 1823: 294; 1861: 89-90, 111; Kinglake 1844: 95; Kopp 1952: 198-204; Korte 1751: 310; Laffi 1683: 441; Langé 1965: 140, 159, 187, figs. 76, 105; de Lannoy 1401: 64; Icandro di Santa Cecilia 1753: 73; López 1762: 60; Mariti 1769: II, 201; Martorelli 1865: 311; Meistermann 1936: 578; da Milano 1764: 174; de Monconys 1647: 324; Morison 1705: 203; Morone 1669: I, 369-70; Myller 1735: 91; Nau 1679: 594-5; Nietzsche 1587: 74; Antonio da Venezia 1715: 290; Antonio del Castillo 1627: 324ff.; d'Arvieux 1735: II, 276; Bagatti 1971a: 59-61, figs. 35-7; Bassi 1857: I, 169; Beauprand 1760: 22; Besson 1659: 397-8; Boniface of Ragusa 1577: 268; Brémond 1679: 223; van Bruyn 1725: II, 323, pl. 173.A; Buckingham 1822: II, 358; Cassini da Perinaldo 1885: v, 151; Castelas 1612: 487; Clarke 1812: 465-6; Conder and Kitchen 1881: I, 362; Dall'i 1875: IV, 169; Enlart 1925: II, 374-5; Fournier 1896; Gonsales 1673: I, 785-6; Goujon 1670: 83-4; Governanti 1946; Guérin 1880: I, 253; Guide Bleu 1932: 520; de Guinaumont 1867: 539; Harif 1984: 107; Hasselquist 1769: 230; de Hayes 1621: 438; Hietling fig. 6; Hasselquist 1992b: 38-40, fig.; Hoade 1946: 1713: I, 294; Hirschfeld 1992b: 38-40, fig.; Hoade 1946: 473-4; 1978: 728-9; Irby and Mangles 1823: 294; 1861: 89-90, 111; Kinglake 1844: 95; Kopp 1952: 198-204; Korte 1751: 310; Laffi 1683: 441; Langé 1965: 140, 159, 187, figs. 76, 105; de Lannoy 1401: 64; Icandro di Santa Cecilia 1753: 73; López 1762: 60; Mariti 1769: II, 201; Martorelli 1865: 311; Meistermann 1936: 578; da Milano 1764: 174; de Monconys 1647: 324; Morison 1705: 203; Morone 1669: I, 369-70; Myller 1735: 91; Nau 1679: 594-5; Nietzsche 1587: 74;

1636: 227; Parmensi 1893: pl. 141; Pococke 1743: II, 68; Pringle 1993: 34; Quaresmi 1626a: II, 650; 1626b: 404; Razi and Braun 1992: 226; Reland 1719: II, 1042; Robinson 1841: III, 257; Rochetta Aquilante 1630: 108; Roger 1664: 70ff.; de Saulcy 1853: II, 484; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; Stochove 1631: 341; Surius 1661: 379–80; 1666: 323; de Thévenot 1687: I, 213–14; Troilo 1676: 429; Wilson and Warren 1871: 360; Yves de Lille 1624–6: 220; Zvallart 1585a: 250–51; Zwinner 1661: 516.

No. 265 Church (of the Twelve Apostles) (?)201.243

The present Greek Orthodox church of the Twelve Apostles occupies a position beside the lake in the southern angle of the Turkish town walls. C. Enlart claimed that when the church was rebuilt in 1869, it replaced an earlier church of the Crusader period (1925: II, 374). C. Kopp, on the other hand, has argued that the present building consists of two Crusader vaults, made into a church (1952: 204).

The identification of a twelfth-century church here is therefore somewhat doubtful, though it remains possible that this was the location of the otherwise unidentified church of St Michael (**no. 263**).

Not visited.

Sources

Enlart 1925: II, 374; Kopp 1952: 204; Mamalades 1961: 85–6.

No. 266 Church of the Tree (or St Mark ?) (?)201.243

History

The Muslim traveller al-Harawī visited Tiberias around 1171.

At Ṭabariya is the spring named after Jesus, the son of Mary ('Isā Ibn Maryam), and the church of the Tree (*kanīsat ash-shajara*); this was the place of an astonishing story, that of Jesus, son of Mary, and the dyer, which is recounted in the Gospel and which constituted the first of his miracles. (trans. Sourdél-Thomine, 49; ELS, 25 n.1; Le Strange, 339; Marmardji, 129)

A cave containing a spring, into which Jesus fled when the people wished to make Him king, is mentioned by Abbot Daniel in 1106–8 (ch. LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 159)). The other allusion made by al-Harawī is to one of the apocryphal gospels, which tells how in His childhood Jesus used to visit Tiberias from Nazareth (Baldi 1955a: 255 n.1; Sourdél-Thomine 1957: 49 n.5; Governanti

1946: 30–1). Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth (1137) was also aware of this tradition, though he furnishes no details (ch. xxxvi (ed. Boeren, 24); cf. Anon. VI (1148) 5 (IHC, III, 60); John of Würzburg (c.1160–5) (CCCM cxxxix, 107); Anon. II (c.1170), 1 (IHC, III, 10); Oliver of Paderborn (1196–1227), v (IHC, IV, 384); Thietmar (1217), II, 5 (ed. Laurent, 6); James of Verona 1335 277).

The story of Jesus and the tree was still current in the thirteenth century, and is repeated both by the Muslim writer Yāqūt around 1225 (Marmardji 1951: 130), and by Western sources. A French pilgrim text of c.1231, for example, relates:

At Tiberias is the fire-brand which the Jews threw after Our Lord, when He showed them how they ought to do their dying and the fire-brand lodged in a wall and has now grown into a large tree. (*Pelerinages* (c.1231), xx; cf. *Sains Pelerinages* (c.1230), v, 20 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 102–3, 104²))

Philip of Savona (1283) describes the tree as an oak which still produced flowers and fruit; 'which tree is commonly called *caror* in Syrian' (ch. LIX (IHC, IV, 248) cf. Anon. Saec. XIII, 4 (IHC, IV, 344); Oderic of Friuli 1330: 147; Mandeville c.1356–66: 187; Baldi 1955a: 257, no. 359).

The church that was seen by al-Harawī may possibly be that recorded in the fourteenth century by Nicolas of Poggibonsi, 'where Christ as a little boy used to retire' (1346–50: 77; Baldi 1955a: 258, no. 361). A Slavonic pilgrim of the same period also notes:

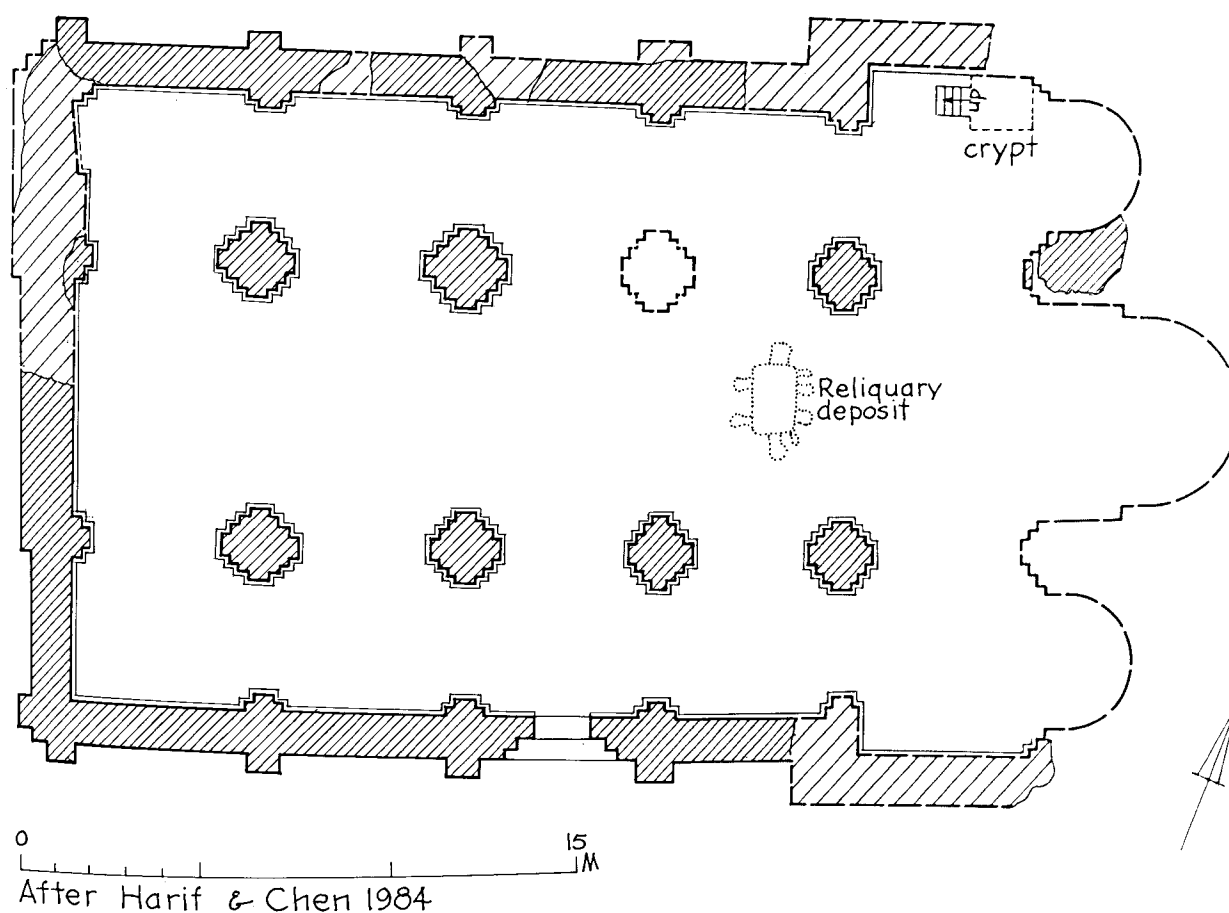
Below Tiberias is the hill from which St George was thrown and on the hill the cave where Our Lord frolicked with the Jewish children; there is also found the monastery of St Mark (Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393; cf. Kopp 1952: 198)

The location of these sites is uncertain, save that they appear to have been outside the town, possibly towards the south (cf. Kopp 1952: 199). It is possible that the building known to al-Harawī as the church of the Tree was the same as that known in the twelfth century as St George (**no. 257**) and as that known in the fourteenth as St Mark; however, by the latter date the church of St George was no longer in Christian use.

Sources

Daniel (1106–8), LXXIX (trans. Ryan, 159); ELS, 25 n.1; al-Harawī (trans. Sourdél-Thomine, 49; Le Strange, 339; Marmardji, 129).

Bagatti 1971a: 57–9; Baldi 1955a: 258, no. 361; Kopp 1952: 197–8; Nicolas of Poggibonsi 1346–50: 77; Slavonic Anon. c.1360: 393.



102 Tiberias, church excavated 1981 (no. 268): plan.

No. 267 Castle Chapel (?) 2011.2436

In 1131–2, Godfrey, chaplain of Tiberias, appears among the men of the prince of Galilee, William I of Bures, in the list of witnesses to a charter made by him in favour of the canons of the Holy Sepulchre (Bresc-Bautier, 155–6, no. 62; *RRH*, 36, no. 142). He was probably chaplain to the prince, rather than a servant of the church of Tiberias, which at this time appears to have been in the care of an archdeacon (see no. 255).

The 'castle' that Nāṣir-i Khusraw saw on a hill to the west of the city in 1047 (*PPTS*, iv, 18; Le Strange 1890: 337) appears to have been an ancient structure of some kind, possibly part of the Byzantine town walls. The hasty fortification undertaken by Godfrey in 1099 (Albert of Aachen, vii (*RHC Occ*, iv, 517)) is more likely to have been in the area of the later Crusader castle. This evidently contained a chapel and lay within the Frankish (and Turkish) walls, on the site that has been occupied since the eighteenth century by the Sea Mosque (see Razi and Braun 1992).

Sources

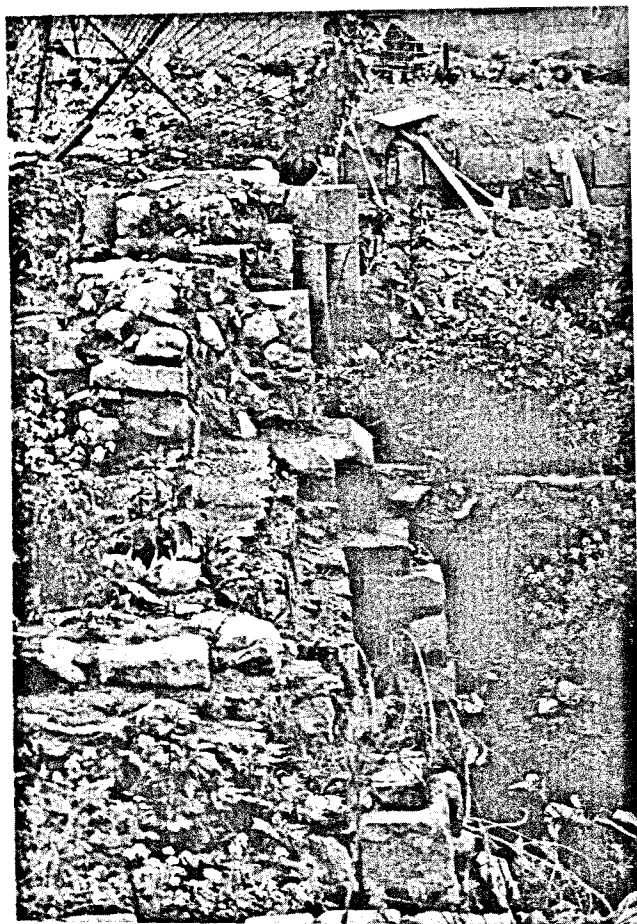
Bresc-Bautier, 155–6, no. 62 (1131–2); *RRH*, 36, no. 142 (1131–2).

No. 268 Church (excavated in 1981) 2011.2436

Description

The foundations of a large church of the Crusader period were excavated in 1981 during the redevelopment of the central part of Tiberias (fig. 102; pl. cxciv). The remains are now preserved below a raised timber floor in the courtyard of the Jordan River Hotel. Since they are not easily examinable, the following description is based largely on the brief preliminary report and plan published by A. Harif (1984).

The church consisted of a three-aisled basilica of five bays, the easternmost bay forming a slightly projecting transept which opened directly into three semi-circular apses. It was built in black basalt, but had evidently been



cxciv Tiberias, church excavated in 1981 (no. 268): west end, looking north.

dismantled in a deliberate fashion, probably for reuse of its building material, with the result that little survived above the level of the chamfered plinth course.

The plan of the building is somewhat irregular. Internally it measured some 16 m north-south by 26 m east-west, excluding the apses, with walls some 1.2 m thick and rectangular external buttresses. Nothing survives of the apses save part of the south side of the northern one. The plan of the central apse is therefore unknown, though it would seem likely to have been preceded by a barrel-vaulted choir.

The nave piers are cruciform, with two 'dosserets' in each re-entrant angle; the responds are T-shaped. This suggests that the nave and aisles would have been groin-vaulted, probably with transverse arches between the bays. The fact that the nave bay of the transept is the same width as the others (that is, its breadth is greater than its length) indicates that it would have been vaulted in the same manner as the other bays of the nave and not, for example, with a lantern or dome. The

north and south bays of the transept would have been roughly square in plan, and would probably have been vaulted at the same height as the nave.

The position of only one door was located, in the central bay of the south wall. It was 1.5 m wide, but had latterly been blocked and made into a *mihrāb*, indicating that the building had been converted into a mosque before its eventual demolition. It is probable that there would have been other doors, particularly after this conversion, but their locations are uncertain.

The western wall of the north aisle is somewhat thicker than the other walls, suggesting that the western bay may perhaps have supported a bell-tower. A recess set in the inside face of this wall may possibly have been for a tomb. On the north side of the north transept, a flight of steps leading down indicates the possible existence of a crypt; but this was unfortunately not investigated further. The excavator identifies as a 'reliquary' a sub-rectangular pit, some 1.8 by 1.3 m and of unstated depth, dug below the second bay of the central nave.

Discussion

The style of the building appears to have been austere Romanesque, similar to that of St Anne's church in Jerusalem (q.v.) and probably dating from the early years of the twelfth century. The existence of projecting transepts is unusual in churches of the Crusader Kingdom, the closest parallels to this example being at Jacob's Well (Vol. 1, no. 108) and Tall Qaimun (no. 179); Enlart's plan of the cathedral at Caesarea (1925: pl. 6, fig. 9) might seem to suggest another example, as Harif argues (1984: 103, fig. 4), but it has since been shown to be entirely false (see Vol. 1, no. 68).

Rheinheimer (1990: 83) and Hirschfeld (1992b: 38) imply that this church was the cathedral of Tiberias (no. 255), but this identification is quite unsubstantiated.

Visited 8.3.82, 11.10.91.

Sources

Feig 1982; Harif 1984; Hirschfeld 1992b: 38, fig.; Hirschfeld Foerster and Vitto 1993: 1470; Razi and Braun 1992: 226.

TIBNIN

Cr. Toron, le Thoron, li Thorons, Tibenin;
Med. Ar. Tibnīn, Tamānīn

The castle of Tibnin was built by Hugh of St Omer, prince of Galilee, in 1106, to serve as a fortified base between Tiberias and Muslim-held Tyre; the Franks called it Toron after the hill on which it was built (William of Tyre, xi, 5 (CCCM, LXIII, 502–3; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 469); Prawer 1975a: I, 273, 306). Soon after completing the castle, Hugh perished in battle against the Tyrians, and it seems that King Baldwin I took this opportunity to detach Tibnin from the principality of Galilee (Tibble 1989: 13–14). At about this time, in late 1106 or early 1107, the Muslim governor of Tyre, 'Izz al-Mulk, raided the *faubourg* of Tibnin, killing all the inhabitants and carrying away much booty (Ibn Qalānisi (trans. Gibb, 75)).

Tibnin formed the *caput* of an independent lordship of Toron until 1180, when it passed into the hands of King Baldwin IV on the betrothal of his sister Isabella to the young Humphrey IV of Toron (William of Tyre, xxii, 5 (CCCM, LXIII, 1012; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 451–2); Tibble 1989: 90, 96–8; Prawer 1975a: I, 476). In October 1186, King Guy granted it to Joscelin of Courtenay along with Hunin (*Castellum Novum*) and, should it be retaken, Banyas (Strehlke, 19, no. 21; RRH, 173–4, no. 653; Prawer 1975a: I, 637); but four years later, when Queen Isabella was forced to divorce Humphrey IV of Toron and marry Conrad of Montferrat, she returned her former husband's fiefs to him (*Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, cvi (ed. Morgan, 107); *Eracles*, xxv, 12 (RHC Occ, II, 154); Tibble 1989: 90–1).

In July 1187, after the battle of Hattin, the castle repelled an attack by Taqī al-Dīn, Saladin's nephew; but when the sultan himself arrived on 19 July and began directing the siege the garrison surrendered after a week (26 July) and was escorted to Tyre (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 63); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 116); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 37–8, 99, 100); al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 83; Prawer 1975a: I, 664–5; Lyons and Jackson 1982: 269). Saladin granted the castle to his *mamlūk*, Sunqur al-Dawawī, with orders to refortify it ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 38–9, 40)). Accounts of his subsequent attempt to ambush the Franks near Tibnin in July 1189 reveal that it was also garrisoned (Bahā' al-Dīn, LIV (PPTS, XIII, 148–9); 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 166–8); Lyons and Jackson 1982: 297–8). Further repairs were ordered in November 1192 ('Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 398)).

From 26 November 1197 to 2 February 1198, Tibnin

was besieged unsuccessfully by German Crusaders under the duke of Brabant (Ernoul (ed. de Mas Latrie, 316); *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, CLXXXV–CLXXXVIII (ed. Morgan, 195–7); Prawer 1975a: II, 117). In 1219, however, while the Franks were besieging Damietta, al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā destroyed the castle's fortifications in case it should be necessary to return it to them (James of Vitry, *Lettres*, vi, 41–4 (ed. Huygens, 124); Prawer 1975a: II, 154, 156); the destruction was completed in October 1227 (Prawer 1975a: II, 179).

Tibnin was finally returned to the Franks under the terms of the treaty negotiated by Frederick II in February 1229 (al-Makin (ed. Cahen, 138; trans. Eddé and Micheau, 41); al-Maqrīzī c.1400a: 207; Prawer 1975a: II, 198–200, 442 n.38). Faced with competing claims for the lordship made on the one hand by Alice, a niece of Humphrey IV of Toron, and on the other by the Teutonic Order, anxious to complete its acquisition of the inheritance of Joscelin of Courtenay, the High Court ruled in favour of Alice, leaving the emperor to compensate the Teutonic Order with what Humphrey IV had been given in exchange for Toron, Hunin and Banyas in 1186 (Strehlke, 54, no. 66; RRH, 263–4, no. 1001; Tibble 1989: 91–2, 97–8).

Tibnin was confirmed to the Franks in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142); Prawer 1975a: II, 286, map VIII), but fell to Sultan Baybars on 15 August 1266 (Prawer 1975a: II, 475). It is listed as being in Muslim hands in the treaty between Qalāwūn and the Franks of Acre of 1283 (RRH, 378, no. 1450; Prawer 1975a: II, 524).

In his description of the foundation of the castle, William of Tyre speaks of the excellence of the region's climate and soil, which allowed for the cultivation of vines, fruit trees, legumes and corn crops (ch. xi, 5 (CCCM, LXIII, 502–3; trans. Babcock and Krey, I, 469)). However, despite the existence of a burgess court (John of Ibelin, *Livre*, CCLXX (RHC Lois, I, 421)). Frankish settlement seems to have been on a limited scale. Ibn Jubayr, who travelled with a caravan of merchants from Damascus to Acre in 1185, identifies the officials from the castle who collected customs duty from passing travellers as mostly North Africans. The regime in the countryside was also operated largely by Muslims, who collected the rents levied on their co-religionists' crops and trees on behalf of their Frankish landlords (trans. Godefroy-Demombynes, III, 352–3; Le Strange 1890: 546; cf. de Marsy, 129–30, no. 9 (1151)).

The ecclesiastical institutions which had interests in Tibnin in the twelfth century included the lepers of St Lazarus in Jerusalem, to whom in May 1151

Humphrey II of Toron granted 30 bezants a year from the rents paid by the peasants 'in the village of Tibnin' (in *casali Turrone*) (de Marsy, 129–30, no. 9; 153, no. 36 (1234); RRH, 67, no. 266; 276, no. 1056 (1234)); and the archbishop of Tyre, who by 1182 had a house in Tibnin which served as a collection point for all the tithes payable within the lordship (Strehlke, 14–15, no. 15; RRH, 163, no. 615).

The walls of the castle follow the contours of the hill on which it stands, enclosing a roughly rounded area measuring some 530 m north–south by 430 m east–west. Most of the surviving structure dates from the time of the castle's refortification by Ḍāhir al-'Umar in the eighteenth century. At present it still serves a military function, as headquarters of the United Nations peace-keeping forces (UNIFIL) in southern Lebanon. Until peace returns and it is possible to carry out a modern survey, the best account of the castle will therefore remain that by the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 116, 133–5, 207–8, fig., pl.; cf. Robinson 1841: II, 451–3; Rey 1871: 141–2; Dussaud, Deschamps and Seyrig 1931: pl. 156; Deschamps 1934: pl. xxia; 1939a: 117–18, pls. xxxii–xxxiii; Eydoux 1982: 225–7; Lawrence 1988: 65–6; Kennedy 1994: 40–2).

No. 269 Church of St Mary (?) 1888.2889 *History*

Humphrey II of Toron, constable of the Kingdom, died at Hunin (*Castellum Novum*) on 22 April 1179, after being mortally wounded in battle near Banyas. He was buried 'in the church of the Blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, at his noble and famous castle, *Toron*' (William of Tyre, xxi, 26 (27) (CCCM, LXIII, 999)). It seems likely that this church was located inside the castle rather than in the *faubourg*, which appears to have been unwallled.

Sources

William of Tyre, xxi, 26 (27) (CCCM, LXIII, 999; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 440) (1179).

Deschamps 1939a: 131; Prawer 1975a: I, 558; Pringle 1995: 74; Rey 1883: 500.

No. 270 Hospital (of St John ?) **(?) 1888.2889**

History

On 4 October 1157, Baldwin III confirmed Humphrey II

of Toron's grant to the Hospitallers of two vineyards in the territory of Tibnin, which had been given to them by Guy of Scandalion, together with a hospital located in Tibnin itself (*Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 195–6, no. 258; RRH, 83–4, no. 325). Nothing more is known of this hospital, though in September 1231 the order was also given a house in the *bourg* of Tibnin by Alice, lady of Toron, together with an unidentified village called *Tortiafa* (cf. Prutz 1881: 176; Dussaud 1927: 32) and a *khirba* dependent on it (*Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 423–4, no. 1993; Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 82, no. 236; RRH *Ad.*, 63, no. 1028a; cf. RRH, 358, no. 1372).

Sources

Cart. des Hosp., I, 195–6, no. 258 (1157); RRH, 84, no. 325 (1157).

Tibble 1989: 18, 19.

Khirbat at-TIN'AMA

Kh. at-Tinani; Cr. Tymini, Thymini, Galgala, Galilea; Hebr. Haifa – Ramat Shaul

No. 271 Parish Church (?) 1463.2475 *History*

A confirmation of privileges granted by King Baldwin I to the abbey of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat in 1115 records:

Tancred gave to the aforesaid church the village (*casale*) by the name of *Tymini*, which is called by another name, *Galgala*, situated on the side of Mount Carmel. . . (Delaborde, 29–32, no. 6; RRH, 19, no. 80)

The grant had probably been made by Tancred in 1100, after he received the lordship of Haifa from Duke Godfrey and before Baldwin I granted it instead to Galdemar Carpenel after the city itself was captured in August of the same year (cf. Tibble 1989: 11–12). The site of the medieval village may be identified with Khirbat at-Tin'ama (or Tinani), corresponding to the suburb of modern Haifa known as Ramat Shaul (Rey 1883: 432; Röhrich 1887b: 216; Palestine 1929: 249; 1948: 23; Beyer 1945: 238; Friedman 1979: 107, 124, 128–9, 135). This lies on the western slope of Mount Carmel, overlooking and possibly replacing the ancient town of

Sycaminum (Tall as-Samak, Tel Shiqmona, Grid ref. 1461.2478), where occupation seems to have come to an end in the early Islamic period (Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 352-3; Palestine 1948: 23; Abel 1967: II, 472; Ovadiah 1970: nos. 165-6; Bagatti 1971a: 107-8; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 98; Cohen 1977: 883-4; Elgavish 1978; Ovadiah and Gomez de Silva 1982: 162-3, nos. 49-50; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 237). *Galgala*, the other name given in the document, probably represents a mistaken identification of the site with Biblical Gilgal, inspired by the prophet Elisha's association with Carmel (1 Kings 4.38; cf. William of Tyre, VIII, 1 (CCCM, LXIII, 381)). The village is referred to by both names in the twelfth century.

Tancred's grant of the village to the abbey of Jehoshaphat was confirmed by Baldwin II in 1120 and 1130 and by Baldwin III in 1152 (Delaborde, 33-5, no. 8; 45-7, no. 18; 67-70, no. 29). In 1126, Evremar, archbishop of Caesarea, also granted the abbey a remission of half of the tithes payable on produce resulting from the work of the monks or their own servants in the village of *Galgala* (Kohler, *Chartes*, 17-18, no. 15; *RRH Ad*, 9, no. 114e). Although this suggests that the abbey had begun to exploit its lands at Tin'ama, there is still no mention of any buildings; possibly the estate was being run in this period from the abbey's house in Haifa itself (see Vol. I, no. 97). The abbey's possessions and remission of tithes in both places were confirmed by Pope Anastasius IV in March 1154 (Delaborde, 63-7, no. 28; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205-8, no. 70; *RRH*, 73, no. 290). However, when the same general diploma was reissued by Hadrian IV almost exactly a year later, a clause was added to the list of *spiritualia* to include 'in the castle of Tin'ama (*in castro Thymini*) another church with a parish and cemetery' (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 209-12, no. 72; cf. Delaborde, 72, n.2). Although the term *castrum* does not necessarily mean that the site was fortified, it does seem to imply, as does the existence of a parish church, the existence of Latin settlers living alongside the inhabitants of the native village (*casale*).

The pilgrim Wilbrand of Oldenburg travelled along the coast road south from Haifa in 1211-12, and after visiting the dwelling place of Elijah (*mansio Helie*) (no. 203) he says: 'Next to that place lies *Galilea*, a fine village (*casale bonum*)' (ch. II, 1 (ed. Laurent, 183; *IHC*, III, 232)). Fr E. Friedman is doubtless correct in identifying this village as *Galgala* (1979: 134-5), which would thus seem to have emerged in a sound condition from the Muslim occupation and subsequent Frankish reconquest that followed Saladin's victory at Hattin (1187-92).

In January 1255, Pope Alexander IV reconfirmed the abbey's possession of the village, the remission of tithes and the church, parish and cemetery in the same terms as Hadrian IV had done in 1155 (Delaborde, 100-5, no. 49). This does not necessarily mean that the village and Latin settlement were still intact at this time, though that remains possible. Under the terms of the treaty made between the Franks and Sultan Qalāwūn on 3 June 1283, Tin'ama should be expected to appear in the list of places dependent on Haifa that were accorded to the Franks. Unless it is the otherwise unidentified village of *Kafr Tūthā*, however, it is not mentioned in the surviving list, though al-Qalqashandī's text is incomplete in the crucial section (Barag 1979: 201-2 (line 13), 208). Pottery of the Crusader and Mamluk periods recovered from the site, however, suggests that if the site was abandoned, it cannot have been left unoccupied for long (Friedman 1979: 128).

No trace of any medieval buildings has so far been found at the site; since it is now largely covered by modern structures, it seems unlikely that remains of the medieval church will now be found.

Sources

Delaborde, 63-7, no. 28 (1154); 72 n.2 (1155); 100-5, no. 49 (1255); Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 205-8, no. 70 (1155); 209-12, no. 72 (1155); Kohler, *Chartes*, 17-18, no. 15 (1126); *RRH*, 73, no. 290 (1155); *RRH Ad*, 9, no. 114e (1126).

Beyer 1945: 238; Friedman 1979: 124, 128-9.

at-TIRA

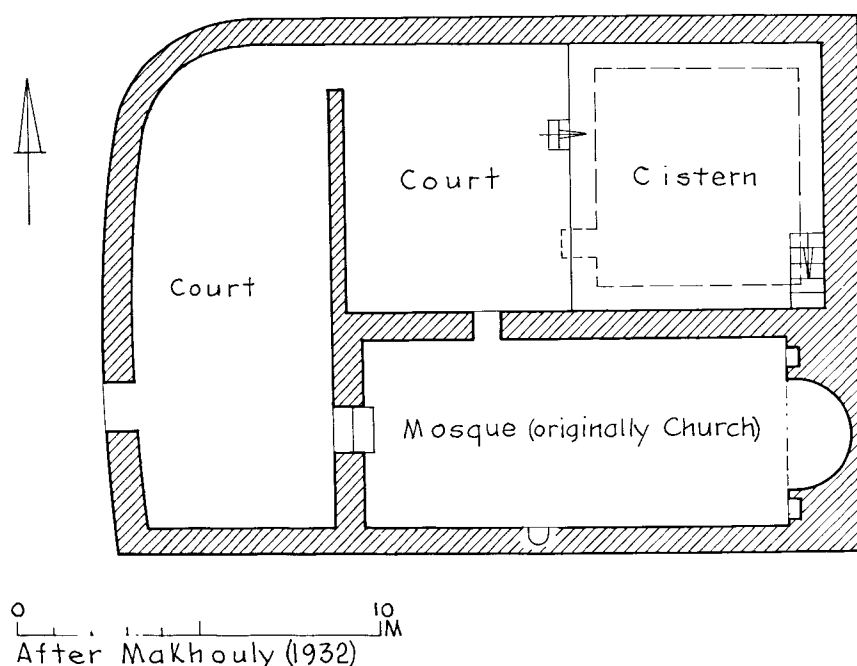
Saint Iohan de Tire, Seynt Iohan de Tyr;
Med. Ar. *al-Tīrah*; Hebr. *Tirat ha-Karmel*

Nos. 272-3 Churches associated with the Abbey of St John (?)1480. 2410

History

A French pilgrim text of around 1230 records:

On the side [of Mount Carmel] facing Pilgrims' Castle, there is a place that is called *Saint Iohan de Tire*. In that place there is a monastery (*mostier*) of Greeks, where there are many good sanctuaries; and there St John performed many fine miracles. (*Sains Pelerinages*, VII, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 104³))



103 At-Tira, church (no. 272): plan.

Another roughly contemporary text makes it clear that the site lay between *Anne* (Bir Bait Hanna/Hanun: Grid ref. 146.244) and *Capharnaon* (Kh. al-Kanisa, Grid ref. 146.241), though instead of 'sanctuaries' it reads 'relics' (*Pelerinages*, II (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 90)). Later pilgrim texts which mention the monastery add little further information, beyond clarifying that it was an 'abbey of Greek monks' and that the saint was John the Baptist (*Chemins et pelerinages* B (1268), I, 2; cf. A (-1265), I, 2; *Pelrinages . . . de Acre* (c.1280), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180, 190, 229)). The tradition that connected St John the Baptist with Mount Carmel probably arose because of his association with the prophet Elijah in the minds of New Testament readers (e.g. Matthew 11.14; 17.10–13; Mark 9.11–13; John 1.21; cf. Kopp 1929: 150–1).

The site of the monastery may be identified with at-Tira, on the south-western slope of Mount Carmel. *Al-Tirah* is listed in the lands dependent on Haifa that were accorded to the Franks in the treaty made with Sultan Qalāwūn in 1283 (Barag 1979: 208 (H5)). Otherwise it appears to have passed unmentioned in sources of the Crusading period.

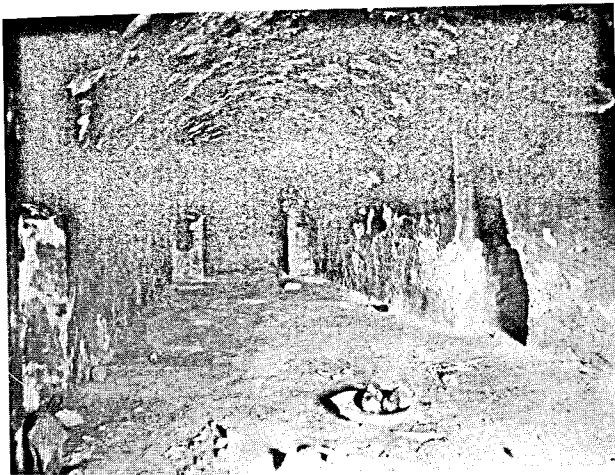
The buildings of the Arab village of at-Tira, which existed up to 1948, have now been almost completely destroyed, and the site partly overlain by houses of the modern Jewish town of Tirat ha-Karmil (cf. Khalidi 1992: 195–8). Remains of two medieval churches were recorded in the nineteenth century, one of which was still standing in 1945.

The Smaller Church (no. 272)

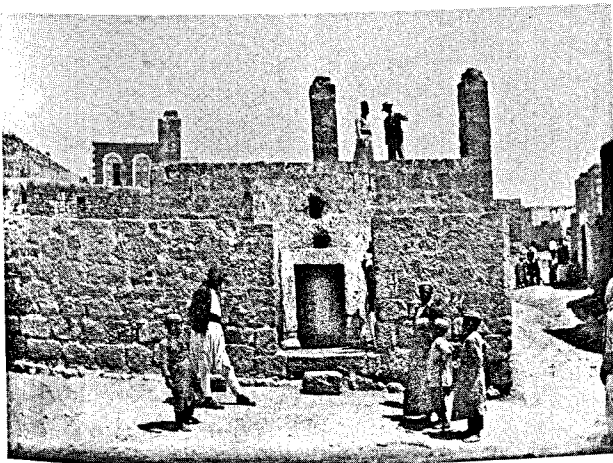
Victor Guérin visited at-Tira in the 1870s:

I first examined a small mosque, which appears to have been formerly a Christian church. Aligned from west to east it has only a single nave and is terminated towards the east by an apse. One enters through a rectangular door crowned by a fine monolithic lintel. This church, which has been constructed with very regular ashlar, is covered by slightly pointed vaults, above which there is a flat terrace roof. (1874: II, 282–3)

A sketch plan of this building was made by N. Makhoul, of the Palestine Department of Antiquities, on 1 May 1932 (see fig. 103; pls. cxcv–cxcvi). By this time the mosque was no longer functioning. From Makhoul's plan and photographs it is clear that the small mosque had indeed formerly been a church. Its nave was elongated, measuring internally some 11.25 m by 5 m, and it was covered by a barrel-vault with an elliptical profile. The building was plastered internally and blackened by smoke. The semi-dome of the apse was also somewhat elliptical in shape. It was some 2.9 m wide and accommodated within the thickness of the east wall; to either side of it the nave walls contained round-headed rectangular niches, some 50 cm wide. The main door was in the centre of the west wall. A photograph (pl. cxcvi) shows it to have been a plain rectangular opening with a raised frame and two small openings for ventilation and light above it; by this time, however, the door had been painted over, and it is therefore uncertain whether it corresponds to what Guérin had seen at an



cxcv At-Tira, the smaller church (no. 272): interior looking east, photographed in May 1932.



cxcvi At-Tira, the smaller church (no. 272): photograph taken from the west in May 1932.

earlier date. There was a secondary door, apparently arched, towards the west end of the north wall; and just east of it in the south wall a plain *mihrāb* had been inserted subsequently, partly intersecting the vault.

The church formed the south side of a walled enclosure, containing courtyards to the north-west and west and a vaulted cistern to the north-east, which also provided stepped access to the roof.

The Larger Church (no. 273)

After describing the smaller church, Guérin writes:

Elsewhere in the same village, I entered a mill which has equally replaced a former church, two-thirds destroyed. This church had three naves, each one with a corresponding apse towards the east. It had been built with very regular ashlar. (1874: 282-3)

It seems that no trace of this building has remained.

Associated Buildings

Other Frankish buildings recorded in the village include a tower (11.6 m by some 12 m, with walls 2.3 m thick), with long round-headed slits lighting its lower floor and a door apparently in the missing west wall; this appears to have formed part of a larger rectangular complex, possibly fortified, which itself included another tower and some barrel-vaults (Guérin 1874: II, 282-3; Johns 1947: 26; von Mülinen 1908a: 59-60, figs. 29-30; Pringle 1997: no. 224). However, there is nothing to indicate that these buildings were connected in any way with the abbey.

The principal Friday mosque of at-Tira still survives, though converted into a synagogue. In its present form it is largely late nineteenth-century, though the masonry of the southern part of the prayer hall appears to be earlier. This probably represents part of the mosque which an inscription above the door informs us was built by the amir 'Assāf, son of Nimr Bay, in 987 H/AD 1579 (Guérin 1874: II, 382-3; von Mülinen 1908a: 60-62, fig. 31). There is no evidence for there ever having been a church on this site.

Discussion

C. Kopp suggested that at-Tira had formerly belonged to the Teutonic Order (1929: 165-6); however, *La Tyre*, with which he proposed equating it, lay in the territory of *Casal Imbert* (az-Zib) (RRH, 328, no. 1250; Frankel 1988: 264; Friedman 1979: 126). C.N. Johns, on the other hand, has suggested that the rectangular complex of Crusader buildings in the village may have belonged in the thirteenth century to the Templars and have formed part of their estate dependent on Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit) (1947: 26). In support of this idea it may be noted that although in 1283 Muslim sources place at-Tira in the territory of Haifa, rather than 'Atlit (see above), the Templars had been in possession of St Margaret's Castle (no. 212) on the promontory of Carmel to the north and the castle of *le Destroit* (Kh. Dustray) to the south since the mid twelfth century (cf. Pringle 1997: nos. 90 and 196).

The identity of the village's Frankish owner, however, whoever that may have been, does not necessarily affect our interpretation of the evidence for an abbey; the case of al-Ba'ina (Dair al-Asad) shows how a Frankish estate centre and an Orthodox abbey could exist almost side by side in the same village (see Vol. I, nos. 28-9). Thirteenth-century French sources make it clear that

St John's Abbey was an Orthodox house and imply that there was more than one church. The principal abbey church seems likely to have been the larger of the two seen by Guérin in the 1870s; we may assume that the abbey buildings would have been adjacent to it. The smaller church appears to have had no buildings attached to it, other than a cistern and yards, and would possibly have been a village church or one serving a particular cult. The profile of its vaults raises the possibility that it predates the Frankish conquest, though if so it would no doubt have remained in Christian use during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and possibly for some time afterwards.

Visited 19.11.83, 28.4.95.

Sources

Chemins et pèlerinages A (-1265), I, 2; B (1268), I, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 180, 190); *Pèlerinages ... de Acre* (c.1280), I (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 229); *Pèlerinages* (c.1231), II (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 90); *Saints Pèlerinages* (c.1230), VII, 2 (ed. Michelant and Raynaud, 1043).

Barag 1979: 208 (H5); Benvenisti 1970: 344; Beyer 1936: 5; Friedman 1979: 80-2, 87-8, 98, 126, 128; Giambattista 1780: 309; Guérin 1874: II, 282-3; Hoade 1978: 661; Israel 1964: 1375; Johns 1937: 22 (c4); 1947: 26; Jotischky 1995: 111, 131, 140-1; Kopp 1929: 150-4, 165-6; von Mülinen 1908a: 59; 1908b: 150; Palestine 1929: 255; 1948: 23; Prawer 1975a: II, 80 n.7; Rey 1883: 432.

TIRUN AN-NIHA

Qal'at an-Niha; Cr. *Cave de Tyron*, *Cauea de Tyrum*, *Canan Turoriis*; Med. Ar. *Shaqif Tirūn*

No. 274 Rock-Cut Castle Chapel 207.331 (L138.183)

The *Cave de Tyron* was a rock-cut fortress, similar to 'Ain al-Habis (see Vol. I, p. 26), situated in the Jabal Niha east of Sidon within the geographical borders of the lordship of the *Schuf*. It was evidently occupied by the Franks before 1133, when it fell to the Muslims; but it would have been reoccupied by 1165, when it was surrendered to Nūr al-Dīn's commander, Shīrkūh (Tibble 1989: 54-5, 179-80). It was returned to Frankish hands possibly between 1182 and 1187 and

more certainly in 1240-1 (Prawer 1975a: II, 286 n.50). In 1257, Julian Garnier, lord of Sidon, granted it to the Teutonic Order (Strehlke, 89-90, no. 110), but it seems to have been abandoned in 1260 (Deschamps 1939a: 211-17).

In 1936, the site was investigated by Commandant Bigeaud, whose report forms the basis for the account given by P. Deschamps (1939a: 217-20; 1939b). Among the various rock-cut chambers was one which Deschamps suggests may have been a chapel (1939a: 220).

Sources

Deschamps 1939a: 220; 1939b.

'ULAM

'Aulam; Cr. *Heulem*

No. 275 Church 1972.2298

History and Discussion

In 1174, Gerald, bishop of Tiberias, conceded the tithes of *Heulem* to the church of Mount Tabor, to which the village had been granted during the pontificate of Lucius II (1144-5) (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, III, 179-80, no. 57; *Cart. des Hosp.*, II, 906, appx., no. 16; *RRH*, 136, no. 515; cf. Beyer 1945: 221).

When the village was visited by Victor Guérin in the 1870s, it was already deserted.

Ancient materials are plentiful there. I noticed in particular a number of column stumps and various fragments of sculptures coming from some building now destroyed. A church, converted later into a mosque, then into a stable, is quite well preserved. It had been built with alternately white and black stones, the former limestone, the latter basalt. On the lintel of the main entrance door one may observe, in the centre, a small circle, which formerly enclosed a cross, today completely effaced. Inside, some column shafts are lying on the ground, with their capitals broken. (1880: I, 136-7)

Camille Enlart, pondering possible Islamic or Italian influence for the bichrome masonry effect, appears to have thought that the church belonged to the Crusader period (1925: II, 41). The cross-in-circle on the lintel and the columns drums, however, suggest an earlier, pre-Islamic date as more probable. It is uncertain.

however, exactly when the building was converted into a mosque; the possibility therefore remains that it was still being used as a church in the twelfth century.

The village buildings were all demolished in or after 1948 (Khalidi 1992: 514).

Not visited.

Sources

Enlart 1925: II, 41; Guérin 1880: I, 136-7; Israel 1964: 1396; Palestine 1929: 13; 1948: 42.

Khirbat UMM TUTA

Kh. Umm at-Tut; Cr. *Thabata*; Gk. *Thauatha*

No. 276 Church of St Hilarion (?)090.095

In February 1331, the pilgrim Antony of Cremona passed through Gaza on his way from St Catherine's monastery (no. 150) to Jerusalem:

Near Gaza, five miles distant, is the village called *Thabata*, where St Hilarion was born; and there is there a church, which is called St Hilarion. (1327-31: 171)

Antony appears to be the only medieval writer to refer to a church at *Thabata* (though see below). The question must therefore be asked whether he was referring to a building which still existed or was simply retelling information derived from an earlier source.

That St Hilarion (d.307) had been born in a village called *Tabatha*, 5 miles south of Gaza, was certainly known to earlier writers (Jerome, *Vita S. Hilarionis* (387-9), II (PL, XXIII, 29); Sozomen (439-50), III, 14 (PG, LXVII, 1076)). The biographer of Peter the Iberian, Monophysite bishop of *Maiumas*, writing shortly after his subject's death in 488, also records that Peter had lived for three years at *Migdal Tūtā*, south of Gaza, where there was a church of St Hilarion (*Vita Petri Iberiani* (ed. Raabe, 100-1; trans. Chabot, 382-3)). *Thauatha* is shown inland, just south of Gaza on the late sixth-century Madaba mosaic map (Avi-Yonah 1954: 74, no. 112). It can be identified with Kh. Umm Tuta, or Kh. Umm at-Tut (Avi-Yonah 1940: 20; 1976a: 80), lying just south of the Wadi Ghazzah, which other sources refer to as 'the river of *Thauathōn*', or *Thabatha* (Abel 1967: I, 474). However, this was not necessarily the place of Hilarion's burial, which Jerome merely states

was in an ancient monastery at or near *Maiumas* (al-Mina, Grid ref. 197.104) (*Vita S. Hilarionis*, XLVI (PL, XXIII, 52); cf. Avi-Yonah 1976a: 77) and the Piacenza Pilgrim (c.570) locates 'two miles from Gaza' (ch. XXXIII (CCSL, CLXXV, 145; trans. Wilkinson, 85)).

In the late fifteenth century, Francesco Suriano calls the place where Hilarion was born *Gabathon* and refers to the existence there of a Greek monastery of St Hilarion (1485b: 30, 181, 185-6). His evidence might seem at first sight to substantiate Antony of Cremona's claim. However, it is evident that Suriano has conflated *Thauata* and *Darum* (Dair al-Balah), and that his story of a Greek monastery is derived from a false etymology for the name *Darum* (i.e. *Dār al-Rūm*, house of the Greeks) perpetuated by William of Tyre (ch. xx, 19 (CCCM, LXIII, 936-7); see Vol. I, no. 82).

While there is therefore every possibility that there may still have been a Greek church of St Hilarion near Gaza in the early fourteenth century, and thus very possibly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well, doubts remain concerning Antony of Cremona's source of information for it and its precise location.

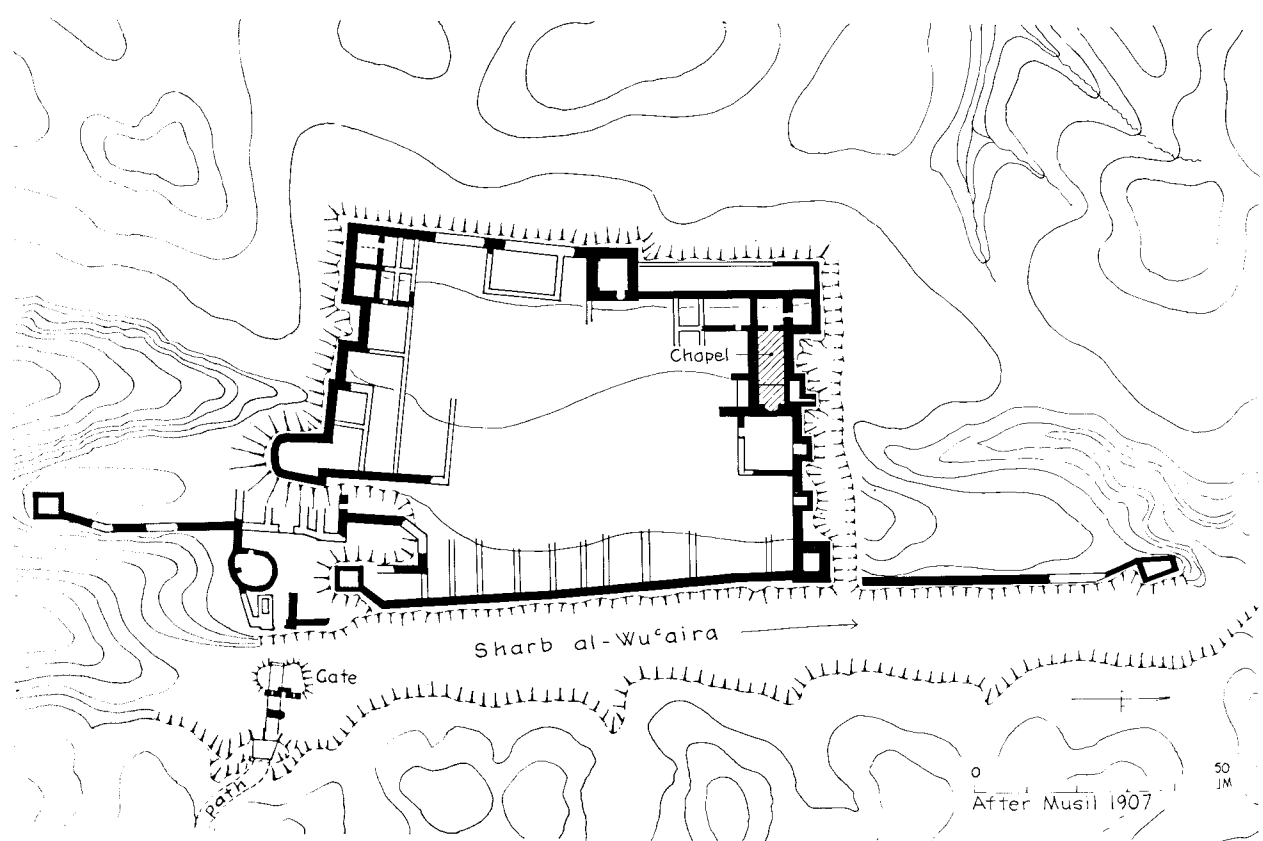
Sources

Abel 1967: I, 474; Antony of Cremona 1327-31: 171; Avi-Yonah 1940: 20; 1954: 74, no. 112; 1976a: 80; Bagatti 1971d: 108; 1983: 172-4; Hoade 1978: 648; Palestine 1948: 194; Suriano 1485b: 30, 181, 185-6; Wilkinson 1977: 174.

WADI MUSA

al-Wu'aira; Cr. *Castellum Vallis Moysis*, li Vaux Moysi; Med. Ar. *al-Wu'ayra*

In the Middle Ages Wadi Musa, to the east of Petra, was well known to Christians and Muslims as the place where Moses had struck the rock with his staff and produced a flowing stream of water (e.g. Theodoric (1169-72), XXXI (CCCM, CXXXIX, 178); cf. Numbers 20.11). Towards the end of 1100, Baldwin I led a force east of the Dead Sea and penetrated the valley before withdrawing to Jerusalem (Fulcher of Chartres, II, 5 (RHC Occ, III, 380-1); William of Tyre, x, 10 (11) (CCCM, CXXXIX, 464-5); cf. Deschamps 1939a: 40-1; Mayer 1990: 19-21). He returned with 500 soldiers in 1107 to reduce a castle which the Damascenes had recently built there; but there is no hint at this stage of



104 Wadi Musa: plan of the castle (al-Wu'aira) showing the location of the chapel (no. 277).

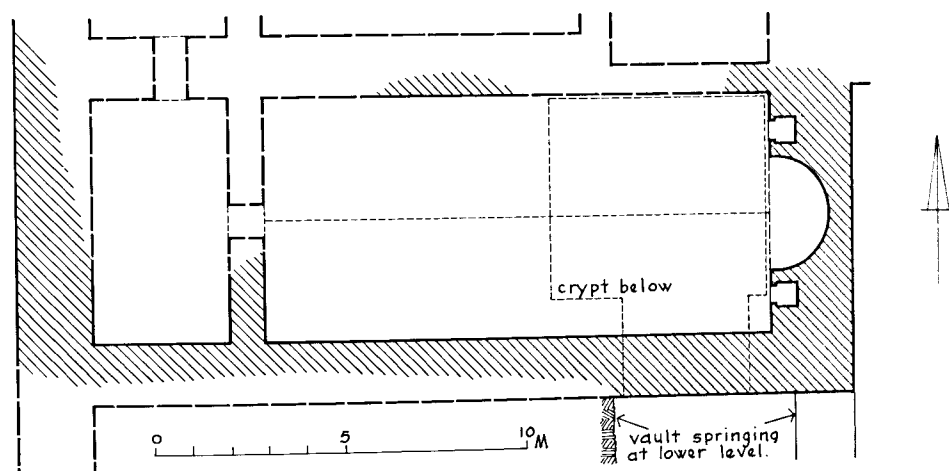
any Frankish settlement in the area. However, there were Orthodox Christians and a priest; and on his return Baldwin took a number of these Christians with him to settle west of the Jordan (Albert of Aachen, x, 28–30 (*RHC Occ.* iv, 644); Ibn al-Qalānisi (trans. Gibb, 81–2); Deschamps 1939a: 41; Mayer 1990: 29–30). A third punitive raid by Baldwin II is recorded in August–September 1127 (Ibn al-Qalānisi (trans. Gibb, 182); Mayer 1990: 97).

The first certain reference to any Frankish castle in Wadi Musa comes in 1144, when, hearing that it had been taken by the Muslims and its Christian garrison killed, the young King Baldwin III led a relief expedition to return it to Frankish hands (William of Tyre, xvi, 6, (*CCCM*, l.xiii, 721–2); Deschamps 1939a: 47; Mayer 1990: 129–30). The date of the castle's foundation is uncertain. It seems unlikely, however, to have been established before Montreal (Shaubak, q.v.), founded in 1115. A more plausible view is that it was built by Baldwin II (1118–31), after his raid in 1127 (Mayer 1990: 97–9, 130, 159). The castle was besieged for eight days by the Egyptians in 1158 (Ibn Muyassar (*RHC Or.* iii, 472); Deschamps 1939a: 48; Mayer 1990: 140). The castellan on this occasion may have been

Ulric, viscount of Nablus, or his son and successor, Baldwin, who are mentioned as the previous holders of the place when, in 1161, the *castellum Vallis Moysis* was included among their former possessions beyond the Jordan which Baldwin III granted together with the lordship to Philip of Milly (Strehlke, 3–5, no. 3; Predelli, 1409–10, no. 1; *RRH*, 96, no. 366; Mayer 1990: 154–5, 170–71, 175, 189–91, 279–80).

The castle fell to Saladin in 1188 (Ibn al-Athir (*RHC Or.* i, 735); Abū Shāmā (*RHC Or.* iv, 381–2); cf. Deschamps, 'Étude', no. 12), though it is still mentioned by Yāqūt around 1225 (Le Strange 1890: 550). Although there is archaeological evidence for occupation continuing into the thirteenth century (Brown 1987), there is nothing to suggest that the site was ever refortified or garrisoned once the Franks had abandoned it (cf. Zayadine 1985: 164–5; *pace* Hammond 1970: 32–3).

Al-Wu'aira lies on the north side of the Wadi Musa north-east of Petra. The castle occupies a position of natural strength, surrounded on all sides by ravines, on the western slopes of the Jabal Zubaira (fig. 104; pl. cxcvii). The ravine which separates the castle from the higher ground to the east shows signs of having been



105 Wadi Musa (al-Wu'aira), chapel (no. 277): plan.

artificially deepened; and a rock pinnacle at its southern end would seem formerly to have supported the bridge that led into the barbican and gate at the castle's south-eastern corner. In so far as the natural topography allows, the castle has a roughly trapezoidal plan, measuring overall some 90 m (north-south) by 60–80 m (east-west). The walls are strengthened by a number of rectangular towers; and outworks to the north and south extend the east-facing line of the defences (on the castle, see Vincent 1898: 430–4, figs.; Savignac 1903; Musil 1907: II, 65–70, figs 20–33; Horsfield 1938: 14, pls. XL–XLI; Brünnow and Domaszewski 1904: I, 415–18, figs. 470–4; Eydoux 1982: 139–40; Brown 1987; Beretti 1987; Marino *et al.* 1990a: 5–10; 1990b; Kennedy 1994: 24–7, 30, 45, pls. 2–3, fig. 1).

No. 277 Castle Chapel 1947.9720

Description

The chapel stood in the north-west corner of the castle, a few metres south of the north curtain wall and with only a small rectangular narthex, 3 m wide, separating it from the west curtain (figs. 104–5). Very little of it remains standing (pls. CXCVIII–CXCIX), though the plans and illustrations made by Savignac (1903) and Musil (1907: II.i, figs. 27, 31) provide details of much that is now lost.

The building was constructed in roughly squared blocks of different types of stone, including some classical *spolia*. The wall-face and core are solidly built in courses averaging 25–30 cm in height, and the face contains many quite large pinnings. More finely dressed stone is reserved for the quoins and for the inside facing of the east end, which was also plastered.

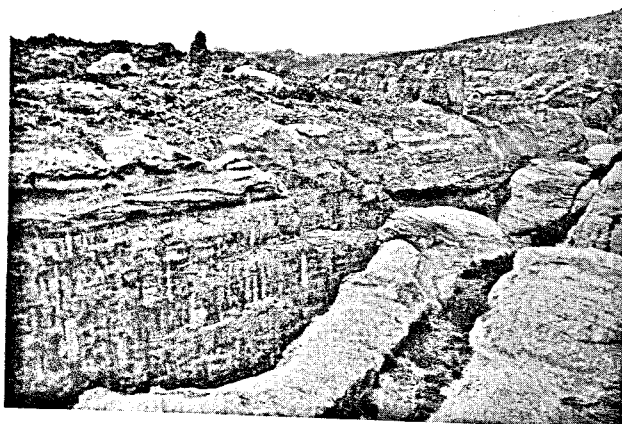
The church itself consists of a rectangular box, 14.1 m long and 6.4 m wide internally, with walls some 1.7 m thick (measured on the south). The nave was enclosed by a steeply pitched pointed barrel-vault, of which nothing now remains (cf. Savignac 1903: fig. A; Musil 1907: II.i, fig. 31). Savignac and Musil indicate a door in the west wall, but none in the south.

Set in the centre of the east wall was an apse, some 3 m wide and slightly more than semi-circular in plan, covered by a pointed semi-dome. The springing of the dome was defined by a cornice, almost identical in profile to that of the chapel at Shaubak (no. 230, see fig. 86) and differing only in that its two ends appear from Savignac's drawing to have returned and extended a short way to either side of the apse, instead of terminating abruptly. In the wall above the apse was a rectangular window, and to either side were rectangular aumbries, rebated on the outside to take door-frames. The right-hand one still survives: its door is 39 cm wide and it opens into a rectangular space, 61.5 cm wide and 53.5 cm deep, covered by a barrel-vault.

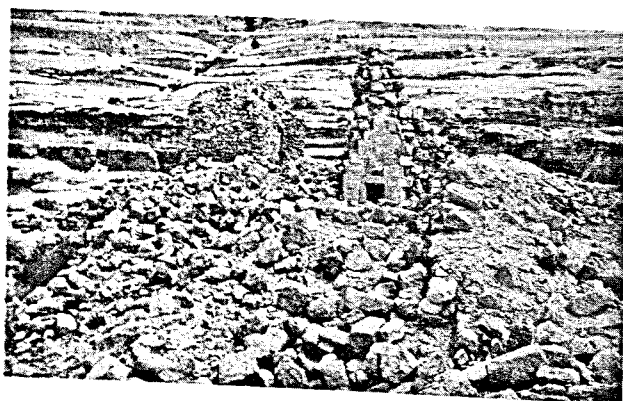
Below the eastern half of the church is a rectangular barrel-vaulted crypt or basement, partly rock-cut and measuring some 6 by 5.5 m. On the south it communicated through an opening some 3.6 m wide with a barrel-vault running due south, built against a scarp in the rock on the west.

Discussion

In the absence of any documentary or epigraphic evidence specifically relating to the chapel, its precise date cannot be known. At its broadest the possible date-range may be set between 1127–31, the likely date of



cxcvii Al-Wu'aira: northern part of the castle, looking north-west across the eastern ravine, with the remains of the chapel (no. 277) upstanding.



cxcviii Al-Wu'aira, castle chapel (no. 277): interior, looking east.



cxcix Al-Wu'aira, castle chapel (no. 277): upstanding section of the east wall to the right of the apse.

Visited 15.4.81.

Sources

Brooker and Knauf 1988: 186; Brünnnow and Domaszewski 1904: I, 416–18, figs. 470–72; Deschamps 1939a: 47 n.2; Enlart 1925: II, 314; Franciscan Fathers 1977: 154; Hammond 1970: pl. v; Johns 1937: 41; Kammerer 1929: fig. 26; Kennedy 1925: 15, fig. 50; Khouri 1986: 145–7, fig.: 1988: 36–40; Langendorf and Zimmermann 1964: 139–43, pl. IV; Lindner 1985: 93–4; Meistermann 1909: 209; Musil 1907: II.i, 65–70, figs. 27, 31; Pringle 1993: 38; Savignac 1903.

No. 278 Parish Church of St Moses (Unlocated)

History

In 1107, Baldwin I found Wadi Musa inhabited by Orthodox Christians, who had their own priest (Albert of Aachen, x, 28–30 (*RHC Occ*, IV, 644)). It may therefore

the establishment of the castle, and 1188, when it fell to Saladin. It may quite reasonably be assumed, however, that a chapel would have been among the first buildings constructed by the Franks when they built the castle; and since the castle is known to have existed by 1144, the chapel may plausibly be accorded a date sometime between 1127–31 and then. The close similarity of the building to the chapel at Shaubak (no. 230) has been remarked upon by Langendorf and Zimmermann (1964: 140); and the fact that the apse mouldings of the two buildings are virtually identical also supports the idea that the same mason or masons worked on both. Unfortunately the dating of the chapel at Shaubak can be no more precisely determined than that at al-Wu'aira; and there are no convincing reasons for accepting the dates of 1115 and 1116 for them respectively, proposed by Langendorf and Zimmermann (1964: 142–3). In view of the general similarity of both chapels to the castle chapel of Karak (Vol. I, no. 130), a date nearer 1140 would seem more likely.

be assumed that there was also a church, though its location is unknown (see also, however, Vol. I, no. 103 (Jabal Harun)).

Sometime around 1160, however, two brothers, Joseph and John, the sons of Saba, son of George (*Saba Géorgien*), gave to the Hospitallers a village (*casal*) called in Arabic *Hara* (or *Bara*, *Ara*), situated in the plain below the hill (or valley) of St Moses, known in Arabic as *Jeham* (or *Sehan*, *Seham*), which had been given to their father by Baldwin II (1118–31). The document recording this transaction is known only from entries in two inventories, dating respectively from the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, of which only the second has so far been published (Delaville, 'Inventaire', 53, no. 62; *Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 210, no. 284; *RRH Ad*, 21, no. 365b). In the 1531 inventory there is also mention of a church of St Moses in the village (Marseilles, Archives départementales, 56 n 68 (Inventaire de Manosque), fols. 414r and 635r, cited in Mayer 1990: 98). In view of the heavily abbreviated nature of both inventory entries and of their evident inaccuracies, interpretation must remain tentative. However, there seems to be every reason to accept the proposal put forward by H.E. Mayer that the village, situated 'beyond the river' (*ultra flumen*), lay below Wadi Musa and that its population comprised Syrian Christians, for whom Saba would have acted as the king's steward, probably in much the same way as Gerard of Valence acted as *locator* in the village of az-Zib (see no. 282) in 1153. St Moses would no doubt have been the parish church (Mayer 1990: 98–9). Whether this was a new or existing settlement, however, is less clear; and its precise location is also unknown.

Sources

Marseilles, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 n 68 (Inventaire de Manosque).

Albert of Aachen, x, 28–30 (*RHC Occ*, iv, 644) (1107); *Cart. des Hosp.*, I, 210, no. 284 (c.1160); Delaville le Roulx, 'Inventaire', 53, no. 62 (c.1160); *RRH Ad*, 21, no. 365b (c.1160).

Mayer 1990: 98–9.

YAZUR

Cr. *Casale/Casellum Balneorum*, *Casel des Plains*, *Casellum de Planis*, *Casellum de Templo*;
Med. Ar. *Yāzūr*; Hebr. 'Azor

An anonymous text of c.1131–43 states:

At the second milestone from *Diospolis* (Lydda) towards the sea is *Casale Balneorum* (the village of the baths), where Nicodemus carved the wooden face in the likeness of the Saviour, which is now venerated at Lucca in Italy. (*Descriptio locorum* (IHC, II, 109))

Although the metrical precision of this source may be questioned, here as elsewhere, it does at least serve to locate the 'Village of the Baths' on the road from Lydda to Jaffa, which is indeed the next place to be mentioned.

The *Casellum Balneorum* is also mentioned by one of the principal sources for the Third Crusade. One of the key strong-points on the Jaffa–Lydda road which features repeatedly in the *Estoire* of Ambroise concerning the course of the campaign between September 1191 and August 1192 is *Casel des Plains*, a village identified by the Arabic chronicler Bahā' al-Dīn as *Yāzūr* (cf. Abel 1927a). In the Latin *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, however, the same place is called *Casellum de Planis* in the passages which correspond with Ambroise, but *Casellum Balneorum* or *Casellum de Templo* in passages which appear to have been based on material from other sources (on the relation between Ambroise and the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, see Mayer 1962; Morgan 1973: 62–4). It would seem therefore that the 'Village of the Baths' and the 'Village of the Plains' were one and the same place, the change of name possibly having been made originally in French quite simply from *bains* to *plains*.

In September 1191, Saladin demolished Yazur (Ambroise, line 3854; *Itin. Ric.*, iv, 23 (RS, xxxviii.i, 280)), but it was refortified by the Templars the following month, while Richard rebuilt neighbouring *Casel Maen* (Bait Dajan) (Ambroise, lines 7177–213; *Itin. Ric.*, iv, 29 (RS, xxxviii.i, 289–90); cf. 'Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 352)). Richard seems to have used it as his base during the negotiations with al-Ādil (Sayf al-Dīn) in November (*Itin. Ric.*, iv, 31 (RS, xxxviii.i, 296); Bahā' al-Dīn, vi: cxxvi: cxxx (PPTS, xiii, 32: 308; 314)); and early in the new year, a Muslim attack on the Frankish rear at Yazur caused Richard to hasten back from his forward position at Bait Nuba to re-establish his threatened line of communications (Ambroise, lines 7717–60; *Itin. Ric.*, iv, 36 (RS, xxxviii.i, 306–7)). In August 1192, when Saladin was

forced to abandon his attempt to take and hold Jaffa, he withdrew to Yazur before ordering it to be destroyed by his miners and retiring again to Ramla (Bahā' al-Dīn, CLXV–CLXVI; cf. CLXII (PPTS, XIII, 371; 373; cf. 361); *Eracles* (RHC Occ, II, 196)). It does not seem ever to have been reoccupied by the Franks (cf. Deschamps, 'Étude', 94, no. 6) and in the fourteenth century *Jessur* is mentioned as a *castrum* . . . *dirutum* by James of Verona (1335: 181).

Lying as it does on a small hillock next to the main road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, Yazur has attracted the attention of a number of travellers since the twelfth century (see Abel 1927a: 87–8). The village was finally abandoned in 1948, and the central part of the site has now been cleared and made into a public garden (cf. Khalidi 1992: 261–2). Its visible archaeological remains include the lower part of a tower, apparently of the twelfth century, and a stretch of enclosure wall running north-west from it (Benvenisti 1970: 313; 1982: 144, fig. 12.13; Pringle 1983: 170, fig. 7; 1989: 16–17, photo). The mosque on the western flank of the hill appears to be a relatively late, Ottoman construction.

No. 279 Church (of St Mary ?) (?) 131.159

In 1158, the list of witnesses to a charter of sale granted to the Holy Sepulchre by Hugh of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, included the name Azo, *capellanus casalis Balneorum*, followed by Radulfus, *capellanus Ramarum* (Bresc-Bautier, 136–8, no. 51; RRH, 87, no. 333). Two years later, the same two chaplains appear, together with a third named Erchenbertus, as witnesses to another charter of Hugh of Ibelin (Bresc-Bautier, 140–2, no. 53; RRH, 94, no. 360). Azo may possibly have been formerly a canon of the Holy Sepulchre (cf. Bresc-Bautier, 160–1, no. 65; RRH, 30, no. 128 (1129)). The church of which he was chaplain in 1158–60, however, would have been dependent on the bishop of Lydda.

Remains of a church in Yazur were noted as late as the seventeenth century. In 1461, Louis de Rochechouart writes of the journey between Jaffa and Ramla:

We saw many destroyed churches. We passed through a place called *Jasur*. There in ancient times there was a beautiful church in honour of the Blessed Mary. (1461: 238)

In 1668, Fr Dominique Borrelly wrote:

We also encountered on our journey a small village situated on a small hill that was formerly called the castle of *Iazor*; one sees there some large ruins of a beautiful church, which had been built of very fine stone by the Christians. (Abel 1927a: 87)

In the following century, Richard Pococke knew of this church but did not visit it (1743: II, 51). No further

reference seems to be made until the end of the nineteenth century. It is possible, however, that Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation of the then-visible remains was based more on knowledge of de Rochechouart's account than on architectural considerations (1874: 5; 1888: II, 128; 1896: II, 5).

No trace of any church building survives at Yazur today. The mosque, which some have sought to identify with it (cf. Palestine 1948: 81; Khalidi 1992: 261), dates from the Ottoman period and is besides orientated north-south.

Visited 13.7.81, 29.7.83.

Sources

Bresc-Bautier, 136–8, no. 51 (1158); RRH, 87, no. 333 (1158).

Abel 1927a: 87–8; Bagatti 1979: 176; Clermont-Ganneau 1874: 5; 1880: II, 137; 1888: II, 128; 1896: II, 5, 489; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 258, 279; de Hamme 1876: 28; Hoade 1978: 611; Israel 1964: 1429; Khalidi 1992: 261; Palestine 1929: 262; 1948: 81; Pococke 1743: II, 51; de Rochechouart 1461: 238; Tobler 1853: II, 639–42.

YIBNA

Cr. *Ibelin*, *Ibenium*, *Gibilinum*, *Hibelinum*, *Ybelinum* (also mistakenly, *Geth*, *Azotus*); Med. Ar. *Yubnā*; Hebr. *Yavne*

The medieval and later village of Yibna occupied the summit of a large tell some 14 km south-west of Ramla and 7 km from the sea. The site is identified as Old Testament Jabneh, or Jabneel, and classical Jamnia. In the fourth century AD, the town was populated by Samaritans and Christians, and had a bishop; and in the 480s, the empress Eudocia established there a hostel and a church containing relics of St Stephen and St Thomas (Bagatti 1983a: 165–6; Wilkinson 1977: 160; Avi-Yonah 1976a: 67; Tsafir, di Segni and Green 1994: 149–50).

Yibna is mentioned by al-Baladhūri among the towns conquered by 'Amr Ibn al-Āṣ (Le Strange 1890: 28; Marmardji 1951: 160), and at the end of the ninth century al-Ya'qūbi refers again to its Samaritan inhabitants. Al-Muqaddasi (c.985) records a beautiful mosque, and a lookout station on the coast near by at *Māhūz*

Yubnā, the port of Yibna (PPTS, III, 60–62; Le Strange 1890: 24, 553; Marmardji 1951: 207).

The strategic importance of Yibna, lying between Ramla and the Egyptian stronghold of Ascalon, became apparent from the early years of the Crusader conquest. Battles against the Muslims were fought and won here on 12 August 1099, 27 August 1105 and 29 May 1123 (Runciman 1954: I, 296; II, 89–90, 166; Prawer 1975a: I, 252, 271, 305). In 1101, Yibna was said to be deserted, but at the time of the battle of 1123 Fulcher of Chartres describes it as reduced to the size of a small village (ch. II, 13, 2; III, 18, 3 (RHC Occ, III, 394; 451; trans. Ryan, 160; 242)). In 1141, in an attempt to contain the continuing threat posed by the Fatimid presence in Ascalon, King Fulk constructed on the tell (which William of Tyre identifies wrongly as the site of ancient Gath)

a fortress of very strong masonry with deep foundations and four towers. From the old buildings, of which many vestiges remain to the present day, an abundant supply of stones was obtained. The wells of olden times, which existed in large numbers in the vicinity of the ruined city, also offered an abundance of water, not only for use in the building operations, but also for the needs of man. (William of Tyre, xv, 24 (CCCM, LXIII, 706–7; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 130))

The lordship of Ibelin and the custody of its castle were granted at this time to one Balian (or Barisan) the Elder, from whom was to be descended the Ibelin family, which played such an important role in the subsequent history of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus (William of Tyre, xv, 24 (CCCM, LXIII, 706–7; trans. Babcock and Krey, II, 130); James of Vitry, *Hist. Or.*, I, 41 (IHC, III, 312; PPTS, XI, 15); Runciman 1951: II, 229; Rüdte de Collenberg 1965; Mayer 1982).

William of Tyre also credits Balian I of Ibelin with establishing a town at Yibna (ch. xv, 24 (CCCM, LXIII, 707)). Indeed, a viscount of *Ybelinum* is mentioned in 1158, implying the existence by then of the burgess court later recorded by John of Ibelin (Bresc-Bautier, 136–8, no. 51; RRH, 87, no. 333; John of Ibelin, *Livre*, cclxx (RHC Lois, I, 419)). The *Templum Domini* possessed some houses and land at Ibelin in April 1166 (RRH Ad, 25, no. 422a).

Yibna was raided by Saladin in the autumn of 1177, and was taken and burnt in 1187 (*de Expugnacione Terrae Sanctae* (RS, LXVI, 229); Ralph of Diss (RS, LXVIII.ii, 56); Bahā' al-Dīn, xxxv (PPTS, XIII, 117); Prawer 1975a: I, 553, 668). During the Third Crusade it was occupied alternately by the Muslims and by the Christians in the autumn and winter of 1191–2 (Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 345, 347, 374–5); Bahā' al-Dīn, cxxi (PPTS, XIII, 296); Prawer 1975a: II, 85–6, 90).

but it was excluded from the area accorded to the Franks by the Treaty of Jaffa in September 1192 (Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 393); Bahā' al-Dīn, clxx (PPTS, XIII, 381); Runciman 1951: III, 73; Prawer 1975a: II, 99). The *castrum de Hybilis* was included in the territory ceded to Richard of Cornwall in 1241 (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (RS, LVII.iv, 142)), but it would have been definitively lost some ten years later (Prawer 1975a: II, 335, map VIII; Prawer and Benvenisti 1970).

In the 1170s, al-Harawī had seen at Yibna the tomb of Abū Hurayra, one of the companions of the Prophet (trans. Sourdell-Thomine, 77; cf. Imād al-Dīn (trans. Massé, 345); Le Strange 1890: 553). The mausoleum of Abū Hurayra, which survives today to the west of the tell, consists of a square domed chamber with a six-bayed *liwān* added on its north side. The mausoleum itself is dated by an inscription of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil to the year 692 H/AD 1293, though another inscription found in the enclosure wall attributes the construction of a *riwāq* to Sultan Baybars in 673 H/AD 1274 (see Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 442–3; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 167–8, 174–81; Mayer and Pinkerfeld 1950: 20–24, figs. 1–11; Prawer 1988: 171, 249; RCEA, XII, 191, no. 4686 (1274); XIII, 115–16, no. 4965 (1293)).

The three-arched bridge at Yibna is also probably the work of Baybars. Like the contemporary one at Jindas, near Lydda, it is built of reused Crusader masonry, including arch voussoirs derived more probably from the dismantled castle of Ibelin than from the church (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 174–5, 181–2; de Sandoli 1974: 263).

Since 1948, the village of Yibna has been abandoned and its buildings flattened (cf. Khalidi 1992: 421–3). Remains of the Frankish castle may be seen at the northern end of the tell, but its plan is impossible to determine without excavation (cf. Benvenisti 1970: 207–9).

No. 280 Church 1261.1416

History of Investigation

The remains of the Crusader church lie on the tell just south of those of the castle, in an area probably occupied in the twelfth century by the buildings of the Frankish settlement. All that can now be seen is the north-west corner of the nave with the springing of a groin-vault, incorporated into a minaret of AD 1337, which is all that was left standing when the village mosque, into which part of the church had been turned, was demolished in or soon after 1948. Excavations may yet enable

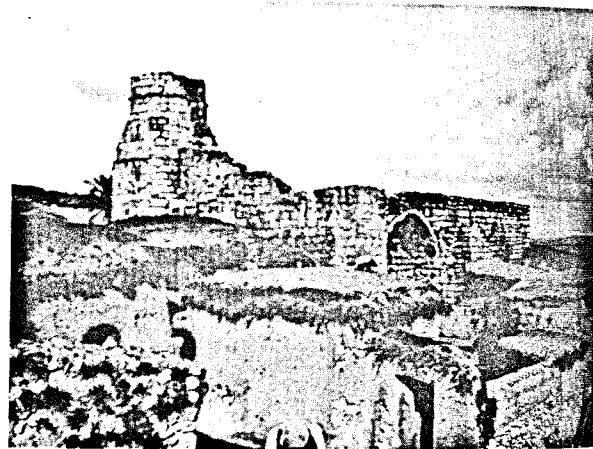
more of the ground plan of the mosque and church to be precisely determined.

Fortunately the mosque (as it then was) was described, drawn and photographed by various visitors before its destruction. J.J.S. Taylor (1860: 351) and V. Guérin (1868: II, 56) both correctly identify it as part of a former church. In 1870, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau made a quick sketch and plan of the building, and three years later returned to complete a 'detailed and leisurely survey' (1896: II, 167-73). Shortly after this, in 1875, the building was described by the officers of the Survey of Western Palestine (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 441-3). Their published measurements do not always tally with those of Clermont-Ganneau's drawings. In the description and drawings presented here, however, greater reliance has been placed on Clermont-Ganneau for the following reasons: first, it is not entirely clear whether the SWP's figures were precisely measured or simply estimated, nor to which specific points of the building they relate; secondly, by the time that Clermont-Ganneau's account was published, he already had access to the SWP's published figures, but apparently chose to ignore them; thirdly, Clermont-Ganneau's drawings are entirely consistent, one with another; and fourthly, his plans of buildings are in any case usually more reliable than those of the SWP.

Because of the delay in its publication, Clermont-Ganneau was able to incorporate in his book later descriptions of the buildings at Yibna and readings of the Arabic inscriptions made by Max Van Berchem in 1893 and 1894 (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 176-7). After the First World War, photographs taken by K.A.C. Creswell (c.1919) and later by the officers of the Palestine Department of Antiquities also show the village mosque as it appeared in the three decades before its destruction (pls. CC-CCII). These seem to contradict C. Enlart's claim that it had been severely damaged by artillery fire during the War (1925: II, 133; cf. Benvenisti 1970: 209; Boase 1977: 100).

Description

The church consisted of a three-aisled basilica, some 13.4 m wide internally and of uncertain length, with walls 1.4 to 1.5 m thick (fig. 106). When first described in the nineteenth century, only the three western bays of the north and central aisles were still standing, with their southern and eastern openings blocked up to form the prayer hall of the village mosque. The west door had also been blocked and replaced by a new door some 2 m wide inserted into the north wall; and a minaret, dated by an inscription to 738 H/AD 1337, had been added to the north-west angle.



cc Yibna, village mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): as photographed from the south-west by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919.



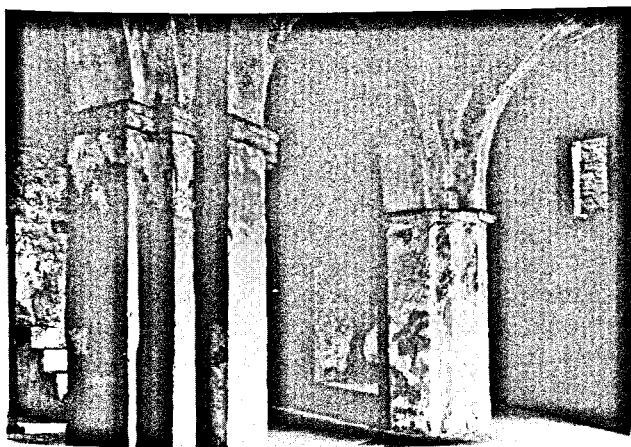
ccI Yibna, village mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): the west door before its demolition in 1948.

The church was built throughout of sandstone ashlar of varying course heights. As at Gaza, Ascalon and Ramla, columns were built through the walls at certain points (Van Berchem, in Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 176).

Clermont-Ganneau's drawings indicate that the central nave was 3.9 m (SWP: 4.96 m) wide between the piers, and the north aisle 3.2 m (SWP: 3.9 m). The piers of the nave arcade were rectangular with



ccii Yibna, village mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): west bay of the south nave arcade, from the south.



cciii Yibna, village mosque, formerly parish church (no. 280): interior, as photographed by K.A.C. Creswell c.1919, looking south-west from the north aisle.

a projecting rectangular pilaster on each face, and measured overall some 1.36 m (north-south) by 1.5 m (east-west). The nave arches themselves each spanned 3.5 m, and judging by their thickness (about 1 m) would have carried a clearstorey, lighting the central nave. If so, it would appear that the low groin-vaulting which is recorded by Clermont-Ganneau in the central nave and is visible on Creswell's photograph (pl. cciii), dated from the time when the building was converted into a mosque. The vaulting of the north aisle, however, was

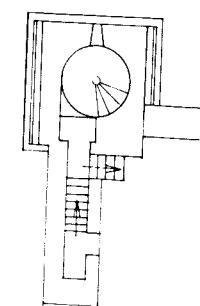
quite probably either original or a reasonably faithful copy of the twelfth-century system, with groin-vaulted bays and thick transverse arches, springing from nave piers and from plain rectangular pilasters against the north wall. Around the inside of the building at the level of the vault- and arch-springings there ran a continuous cornice or impost, decorated with a filleted roll-moulding of inconsistent profile (see fig. 107).

The floor level inside the mosque was about 1 m higher than that of the earlier church, with the result that the bases of the piers and pilasters were completely buried. Outside the mosque, however, Clermont-Ganneau was able to observe the base of one of the south nave arcade piers, which was set on a plain chamfered plinth, and to determine from it the original pavement level of the church.

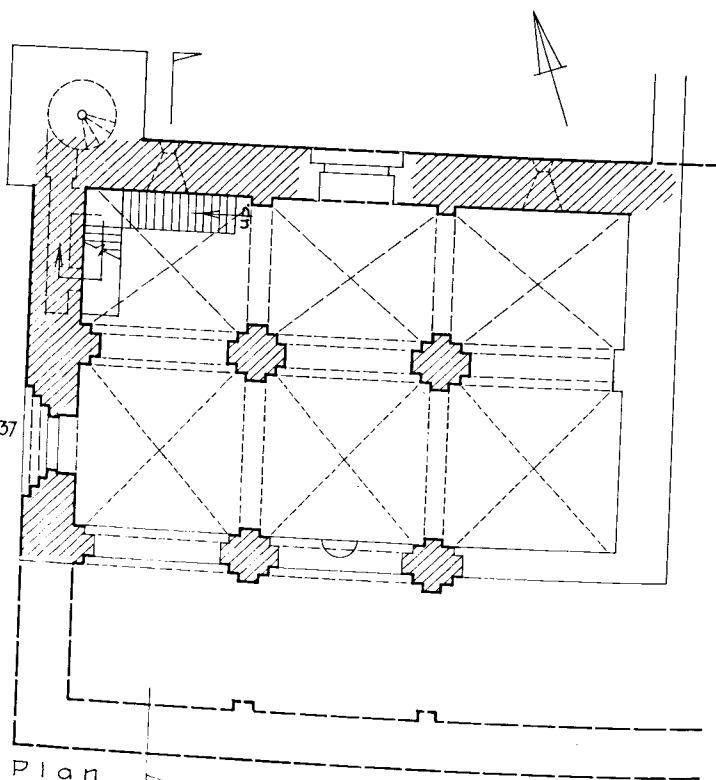
The two bays of the north wall, either side of the inserted mosque door, each preserved a lancet window with a double splay, 86.5 cm wide on the inside and 23 cm wide on the outside (Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 442); the cornice inside the church formed the impost from which their pointed-arched heads sprang (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 169).

The principal surviving architectural feature of the church was its west door (fig. 107; pl. cc1), which was decorated simply with a series of mouldings and no columns or capitals. The arch was slightly pointed and sprang from an impost moulding similar to that inside the church, which seems to have continued across the façade of the building. The doorway had four orders of voussoirs below a hood decorated with a simple roll. Of these, the outer had a filleted roll on the angle, between two cavettos; the next, a row of gadrooning, comparable to that found in Jerusalem (q.v.) on the south fronts of the Holy Sepulchre and of St James's Cathedral, though rather more thinly cut; on the third and fourth, combinations of roll and cavetto mouldings. Below the impost these four orders were represented simply by a series of plain pilasters, with alternating rolls and hollow-chamfered arrises.

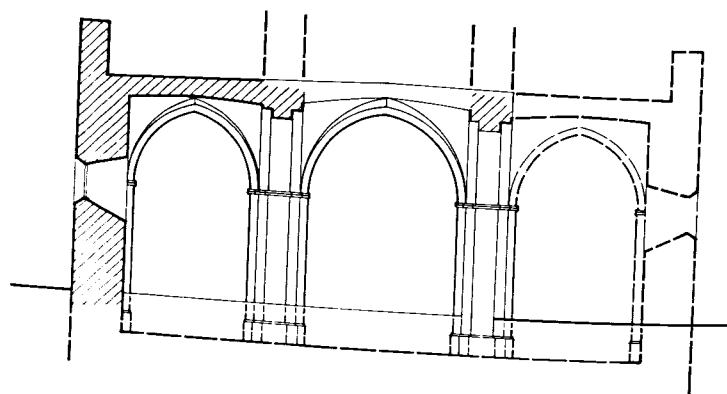
Although Clermont-Ganneau considered the minaret at the north-west corner of the mosque to have been built on the foundations of an earlier belfry, examination of the surviving remains suggests that it was a later addition, though quite carefully bonded into the earlier work. The minaret itself was solid and roughly square at the base, rising to an octagonal tower containing a spiral stair. It was already truncated before the nineteenth century, but had an extra six courses with a parapet and concrete floor added sometime during the British Mandate. Access to the minaret was by a stair built in stone against the inside face of the north-west



MINARET (738H/AD 1337)
Upper plan



Plan



Section

0 10
m
After Clermont-Ganneau 1896

106 Yibna, church (no. 280): plan and section.

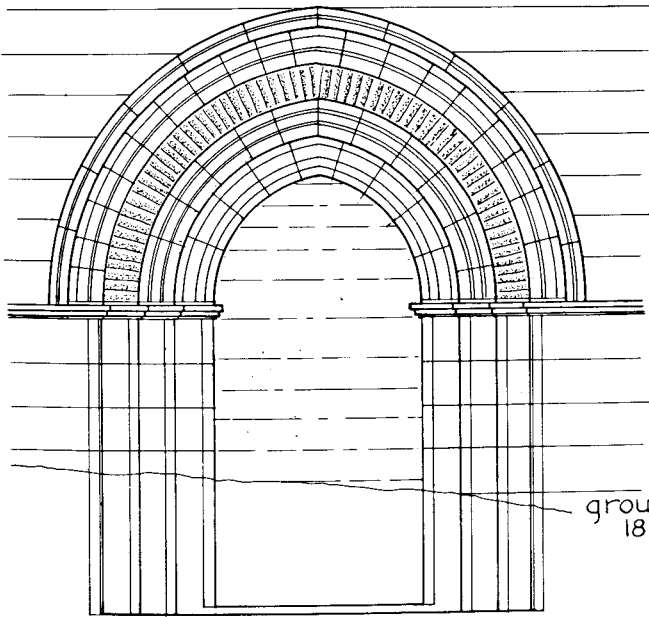
corner of the mosque; this continued up inside the west wall to enter the minaret at the level of the terrace roof over the building's north aisle. The whole of this arrangement, similar to that in the great mosque (formerly a church) in Ramla (no. 188), seems to have been a later Muslim addition, even though a number of the ashlar used for the steps bore typical Frankish dressings (cf. Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 169-70). The lower part of the stair may still survive below the

collapse of the vaulting, and might therefore one day be excavated.

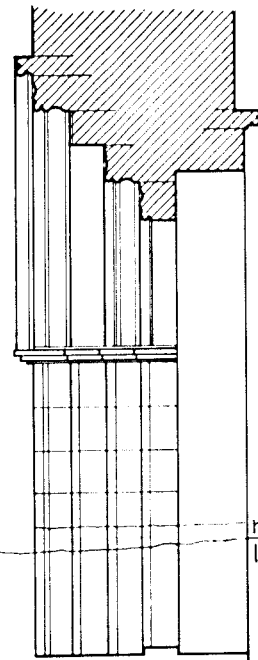
Decoration and Furnishings

The cenotaph inside the mausoleum of Abū Hurayra at Yibna contains in its construction a thirteenth-century Crusader tomb-chest, decorated at either end in low-relief with a pair of blind arches, their trefoil heads

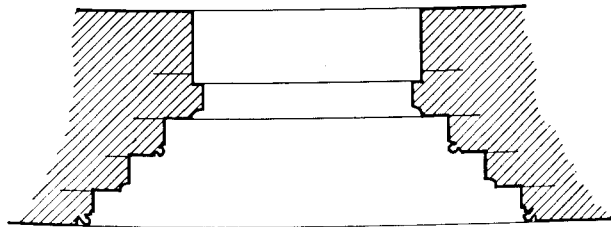
0 3 M
After Clermont-Ganneau 1896



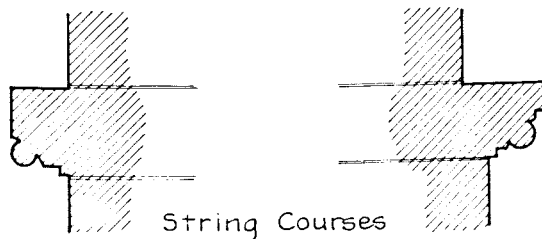
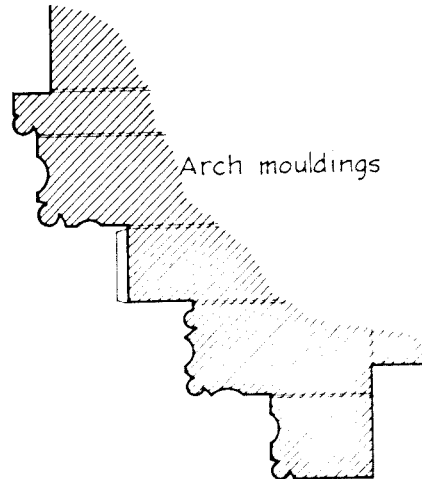
Elevation



Section



Plan



0 1 M
Scale for details

springing from composite columns and capitals with three trefoils in the spandrels above (Mayer and Pinkerfeld 1950: 20–4). Joshua Prawer asserts that this came from Acre (1988: 171, 249), but it seems as or more likely to have come from Jaffa (q.v.) which Baybars despoiled of architectural materials in 1268. The late thirteenth-century dating of the piece on stylistic grounds makes it unlikely to have come from the church at Yibna itself, for there would have been scant opportunity for Frankish use of it or burial within it in this period.

Epigraphy

An inscription in Arabic, cut on a limestone slab (0.7 by 0.5 m) set on the north face of the minaret, records its construction at the beginning of Rabi' II, 738 H/AD 1335, by the amir Sayf al-Din Bashtāk al-Nāṣiri (Van Berchem, in Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 176–7; RCEA, xv, 82–3, no. 5723).

Visited 4.3.79, 13.7.81, 1984, 16.9.94.

Sources

Archer 1912: 207n.; Benvenisti 1970: 208–9, 345, fig.; Boase 1977: 100; Clermont-Ganneau 1896: II, 167–84, figs.; Conder 1875a: 167–8; Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 441–3; Enlart 1925: II, 133–4; Guérin 1868: II, 56; Hoade 1978: 652–3; Israel 1964: 1431; Johns 1937: 41 (H3); Langé 1965: 159, 183; Meistermann 1936: 57; Ory 1975: 269; Palestine 1929: 262; 1948: 83; Porter 1867: 193; Pringle 1993: 34; Rey 1883: 409; Taylor 1860: 351; Warren and Conder 1884: 443.

Khirbat ZAITA

al-Khirba

No. 281 Church (of St George ?) 1728.1952

Description

Remains of a church, apparently of medieval date, were seen by Victor Guérin at the site in the 1870s:

Here are the remains of an ancient church, now divided into ten chambers, some low, some high, inhabited by several families. The church lies east and west, and was consecrated to

St George; its vaults were slightly pointed. The materials employed in its construction are in general regular; some blocks are embossed. A long magazine, with a semicircular vault, and now belonging to two proprietors, who each occupy a part, presents a more regular appearance, and dates from a period anterior, apparently, to the church of which I have just spoken. (1874: II, 182; trans. Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 199)

Sources

Conder and Kitchener 1881: II, 199; Guérin 1874: II, 182; Palestine 1929; 1948: 60.

az-ZIB

Cr. Casale Imbert, Casalimbert, Casal Ymbert, Casale Hubert de Pacey/Patci/Pazi, Siph; Med. Ar. al-Zib; Hebr. Akhziv

No. 282 Parish Church (?) 1598.2728

History

The village of az-Zib would have come into Crusader hands after the fall of Acre in 1104, and is first mentioned as the village of Hubert de Patci, or Pacey, in 1123 (Delaborde, 37–8, no. 12; RRH, 23, no. 101). It belonged to the royal domain of Acre, and between 1146 and 1153 King Baldwin III established there a settlement of Frankish burgesses (see Prawer 1980: 140–2). The agreement between the king's steward (*locator*), Gerard of Valence, and the settlers made in 1153 describes the conditions under which they held their lands and houses, and also mentions a bakery, a bath-house and a flour mill (Strehlke, 1–2, no. 1; RRH, 71, no. 281).

A significant grant of rents from the demesne lands in az-Zib was made by King Aimery to the Teutonic Order in 1198 (Strehlke, 27–8, no. 34; cf. 122, no. 128), but in October 1253, King Henry granted Casal Ymbert to John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut (Strehlke, 84–5, no. 105; RRH, 318, no. 1208). Three years later, in September 1256, John of Ibelin rented the entire estate to the Teutonic Order for ten years, taking care in the agreement to protect the rights of the burgesses (*borgesys*) and villeins living there (Predelli, 58–9, no. 49; RRH, 328, no. 1250). This was followed in early November 1261 by the virtual sale of the property to the order, in return

for annual payments for as long as Acre remained in Christian hands (Strehlke, 106–7, no. 119; 111–13, no. 121; *RRH*, 341–2, no. 1307; cf. Predelli, 62, no. 55). By this time the area was already subject to Mamluk raids, and, although it was still in Christian hands in 1283 (Barag 1979: 204), it is uncertain for how long the Frankish settlement continued to exist.

No buildings of the Frankish period now remain standing in az-Zib, which is a sea-side resort in the care of the Israel National Parks. During the British Mandate, however, the regular street plan of the Frankish settlement could still be discerned in the layout of the Arab

village (Hubatsch 1966: 197, pl. 26; Benvenisti 1970: 220–3, fig. p. 222), and medieval remains have been described by earlier visitors (Guérin 1868: II, 164–5; Conder and Kitchener 1881: I, 148, 152–3, 159, 193). It can only be assumed that there would have been a parish church for the use of the Latin settlers (cf. Hamilton 1980: 91), but its site has yet to be discovered.

Visited 28.7.81.

Sources

Benvenisti 1970: 223; Hamilton 1980: 91.

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Abbreviations

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	ESI	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
AA SS	Acta Sanctorum (Bollandiana). Antwerp-Paris-Rome-Brussels (1643-)	GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig-Berlin (1897-)
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan	IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
AOL	Archives de l'Orient latin, 2 vols. Paris (1881-4)	IHC	Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII), ed. S. de Sandoli, 4 vols. SBF, Coll. maj., vol. XXIV. Jerusalem (1978-84)
BAIAS	Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society	Itin. Ric.	Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Paris	LA	Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani
BMB	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth	Loeb	Loeb Classical Library, London-Cambridge, Mass.
BSNAF	Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France	MGH Const	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio IV, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum, ed. L. Weiland. Hanover (1896)
Cart. des Hosp.	Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. Paris 1894-1906	MGH Epist	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Saeculi XIII. e Regestis Pontificum Romanorum, selected by G.H. Pertz, ed. C. Rodenberg, 2 vols. Berlin (1883-7)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnholt (1966-)	MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, ed. G.H. Pertz, T. Mommsen, et al. Hanover-Berlin etc. (1826-)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnholt (1953-)	MSNAF	Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France
CNI	Christian News from Israel	NEAEHL	New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, ed. E. Stern, 4 vols. Jerusalem (1993)
CRAI	Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres	PAM	Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, Jerusalem: Archives of the Dept of Antiquities of the Government of Palestine (1918-48)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Louvain (1903-)	PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund, London
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna (1866-)	PE(F)Q(S)	Palestine Exploration (Fund) Quarterly (Statement)
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Bonn	PG	Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. Paris (1857-)
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. Paris (1907-53)	PL	Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris (1844-64)
DRHC	Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades. Paris (1946-)	PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin and F. Nau. Paris (1907-)
EAEHL	Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 4 vols. Jerusalem (1975-8)		
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden		
ELS	Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum. Documenta S. Evangelii Loca respicientia, 2nd edn, ed. D. Baldi. Jerusalem (1955)		

- PPTS Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library, 13 vols. London (1890-7)
- QDAP Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
- QFIAB Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
- RB Revue biblique
- RCEA Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe, ed. E. Combé, J. Sauvaget and G. Wiet, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo (1931-)
- RHC Recueil des historiens des croisades
- RHC Arm Documents arméniens, 2 vols. Paris (1869-1906)
- RHC Lois Les Assises de Jérusalem, 2 vols. Paris (1841-3)
- RHC Occ Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols. Paris (1844-95)
- RHC Or Historiens orientaux, 5 vols. Paris (1872-1906)
- RHGF Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 24 vols. Paris (1738-)
- ROL Revue de l'Orient latin
- RRH Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, ed. R. Röhricht. Innsbruck (1893)
- RRH Ad Additamentum. Innsbruck (1904)
- RS Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland in the Middle Ages (Rolls Series), 99 vols. London (1858-97)
- SBF Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
- SBF, Coll. maj. Collectio maior. Jerusalem (1941-)
- SBF, Coll. min. Collectio minor. Jerusalem (1961-)
- TS La Terra Santa
- ZDPV Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
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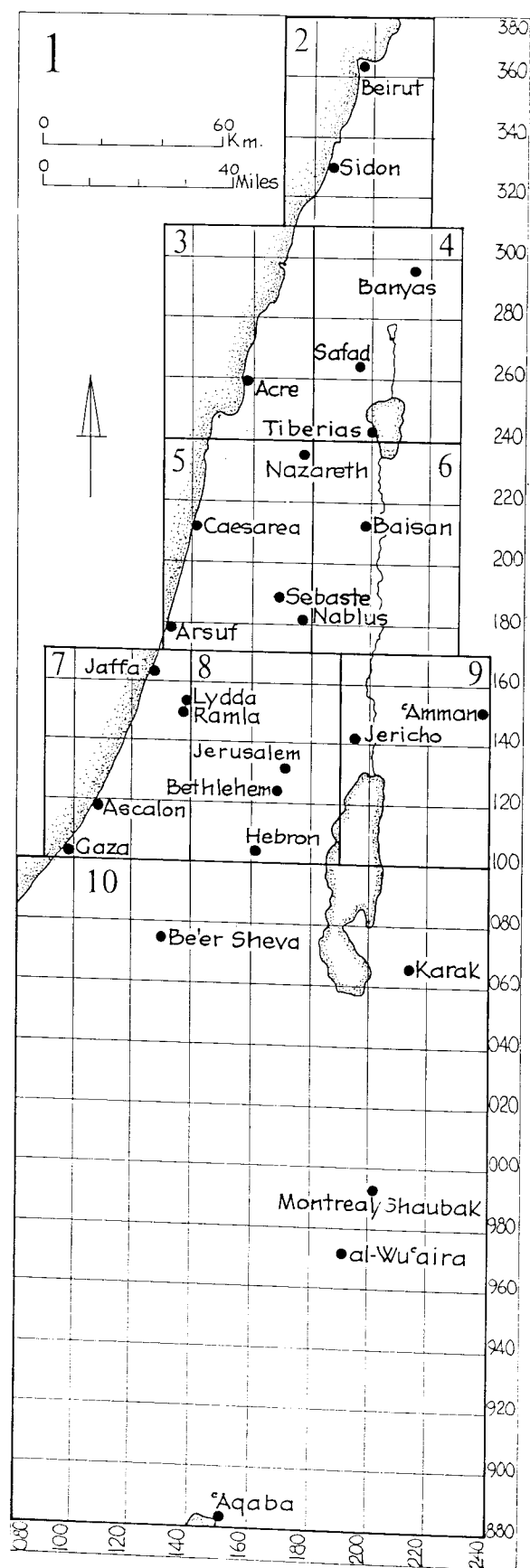
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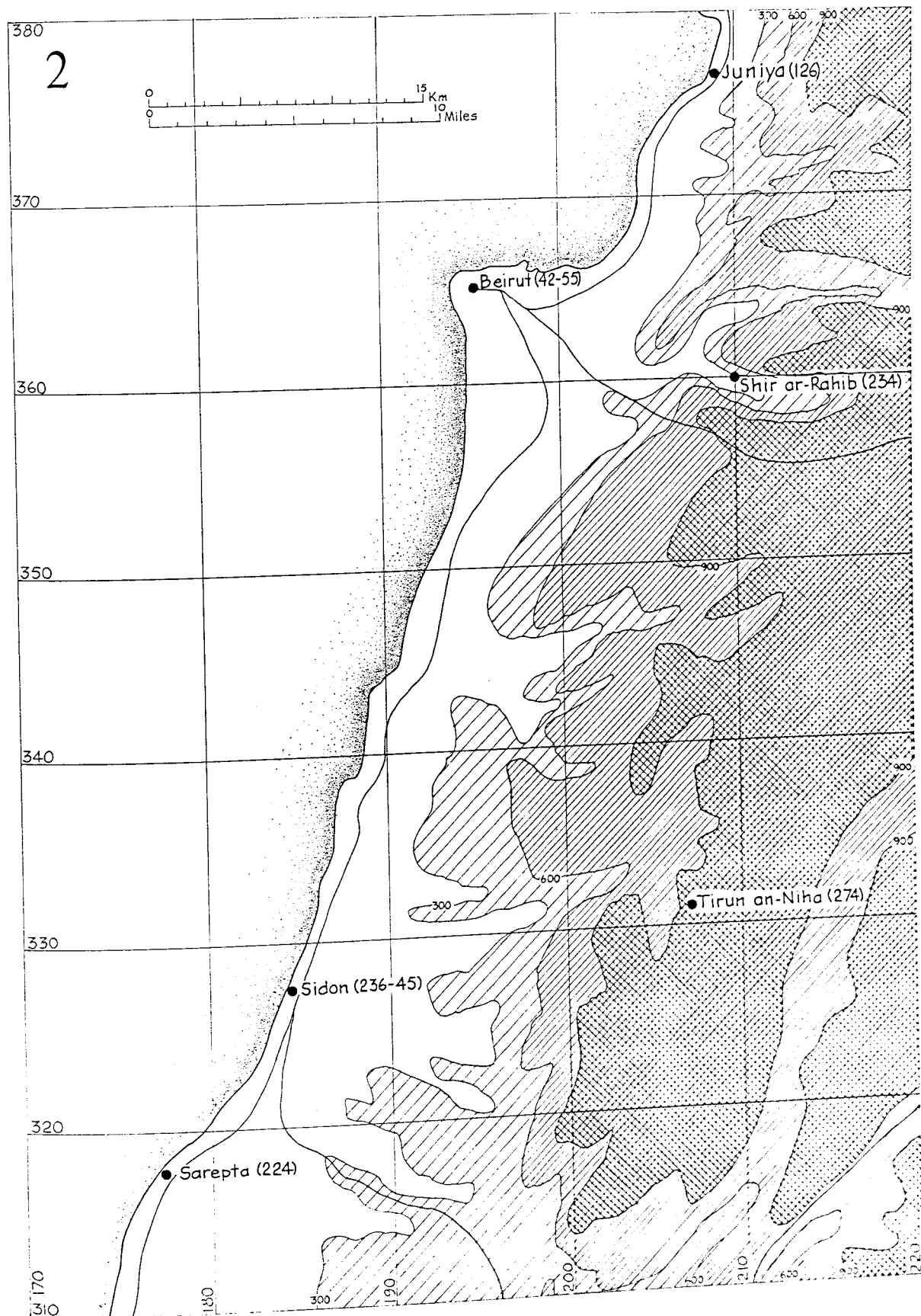
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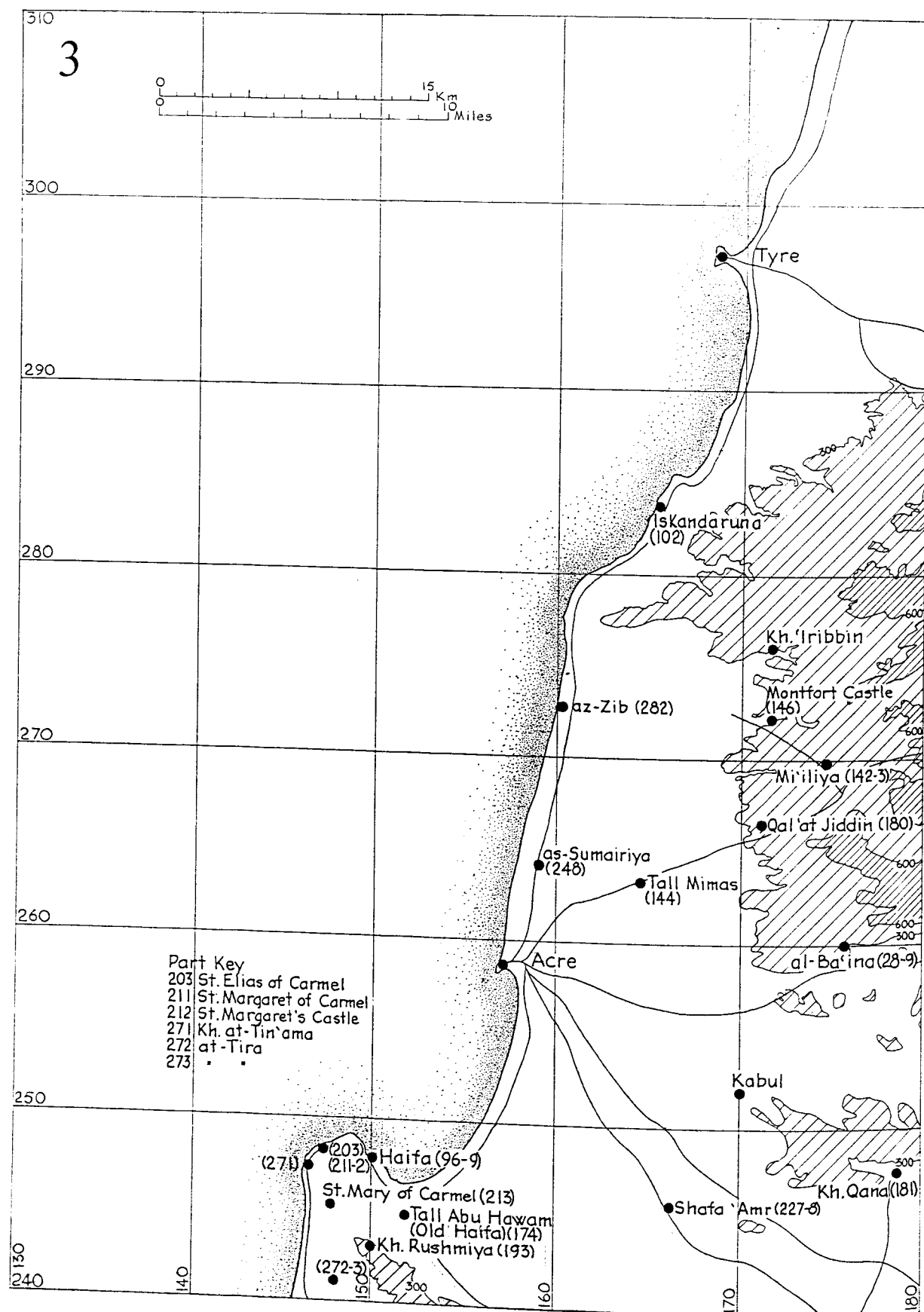
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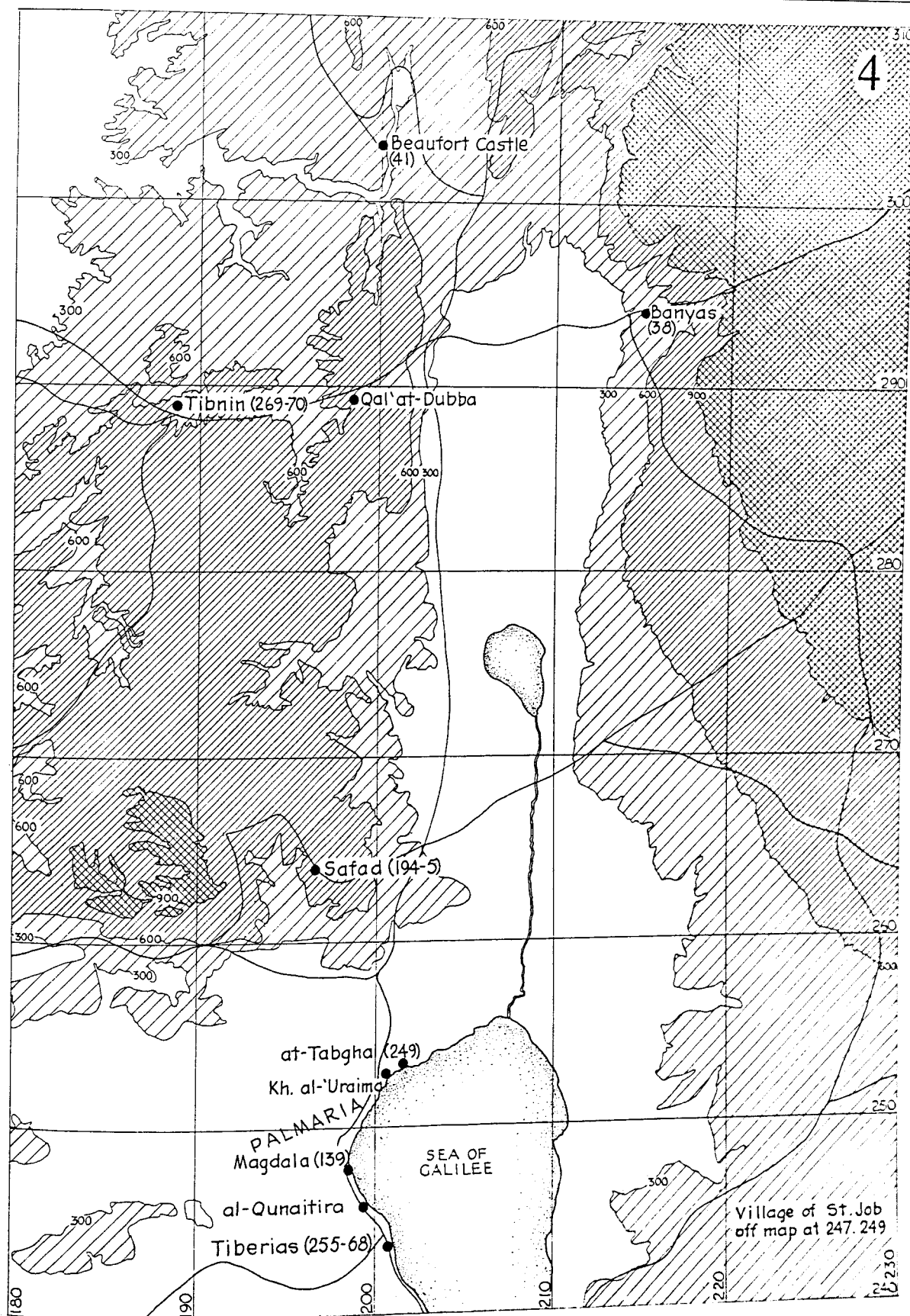
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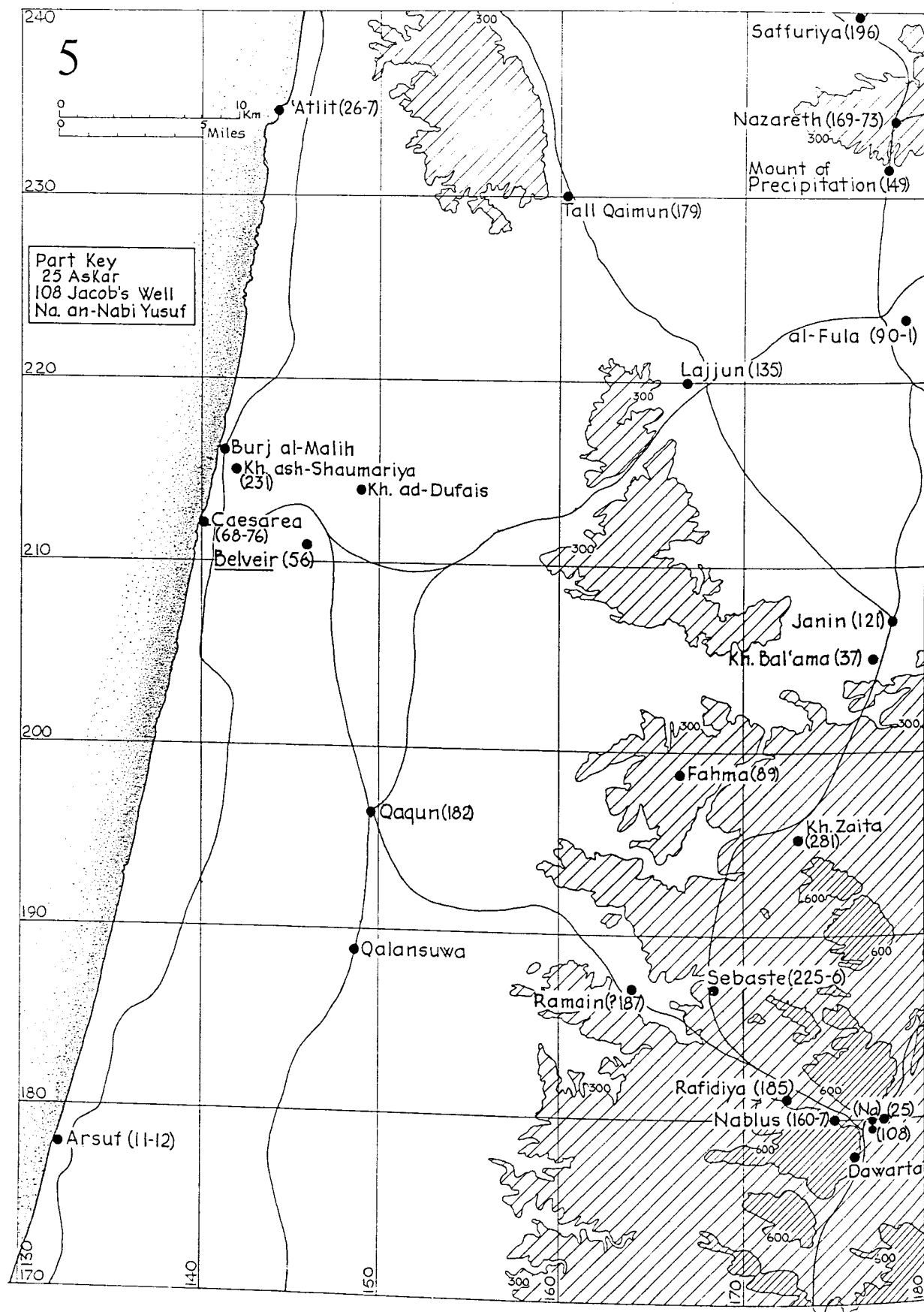


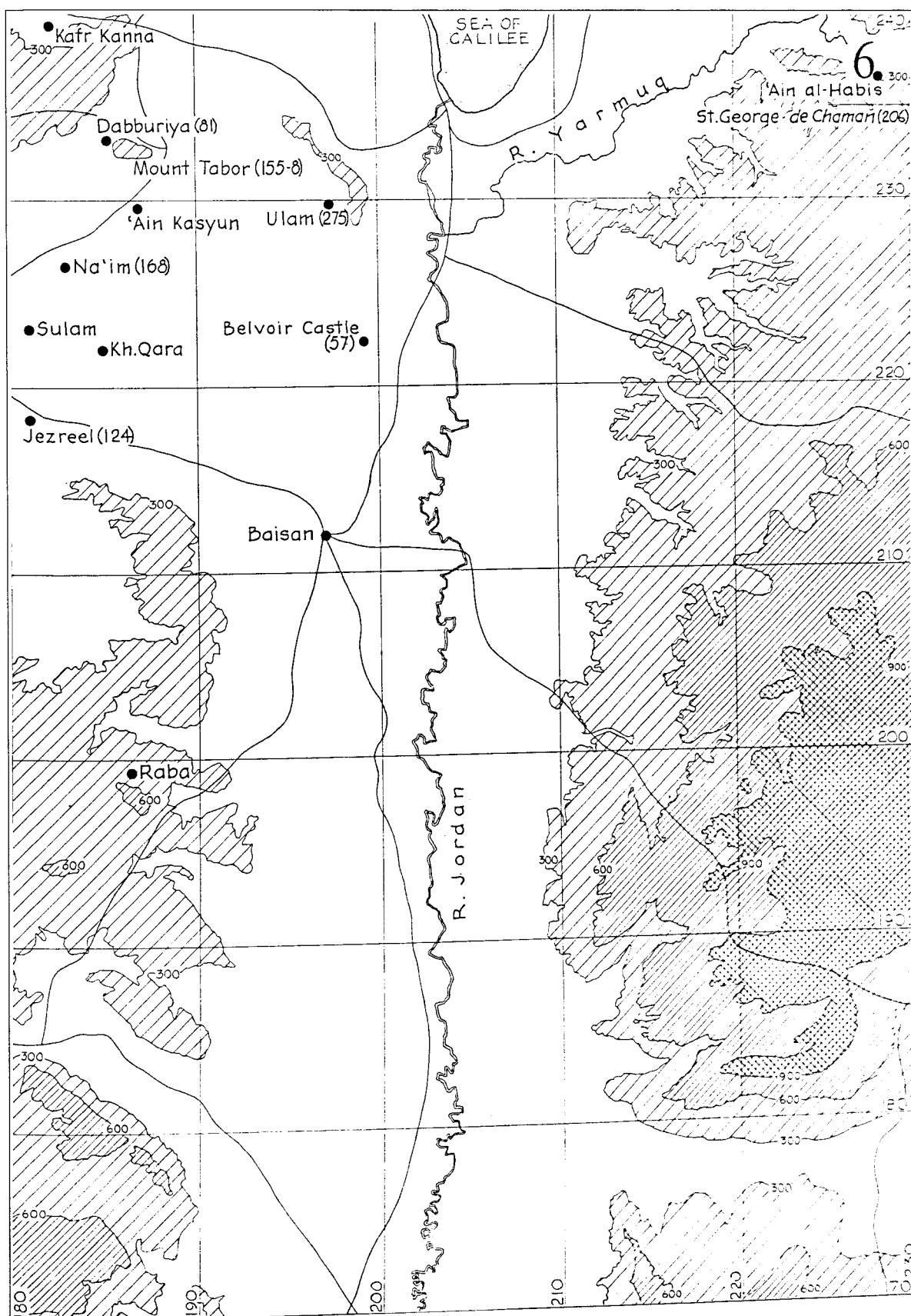


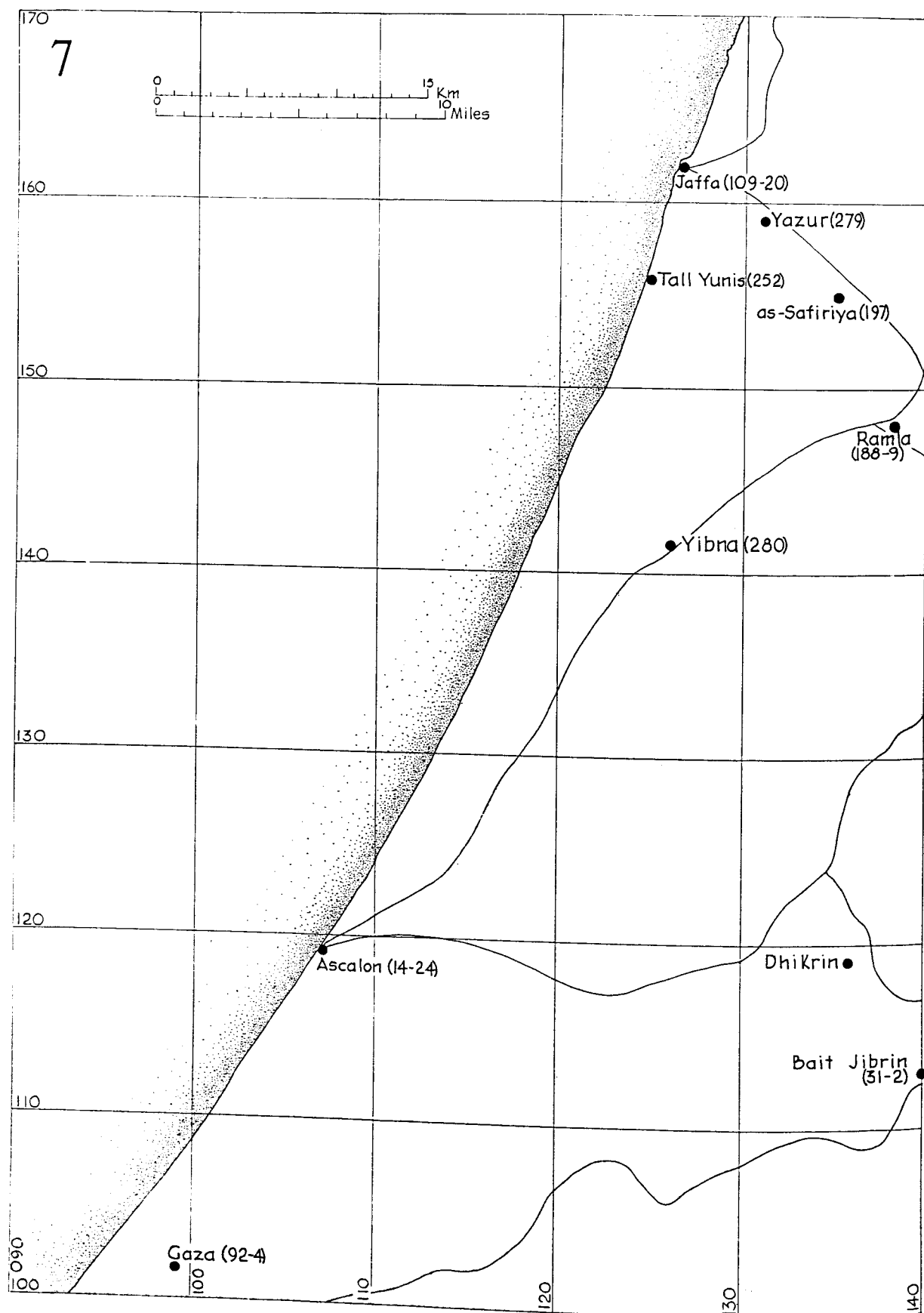


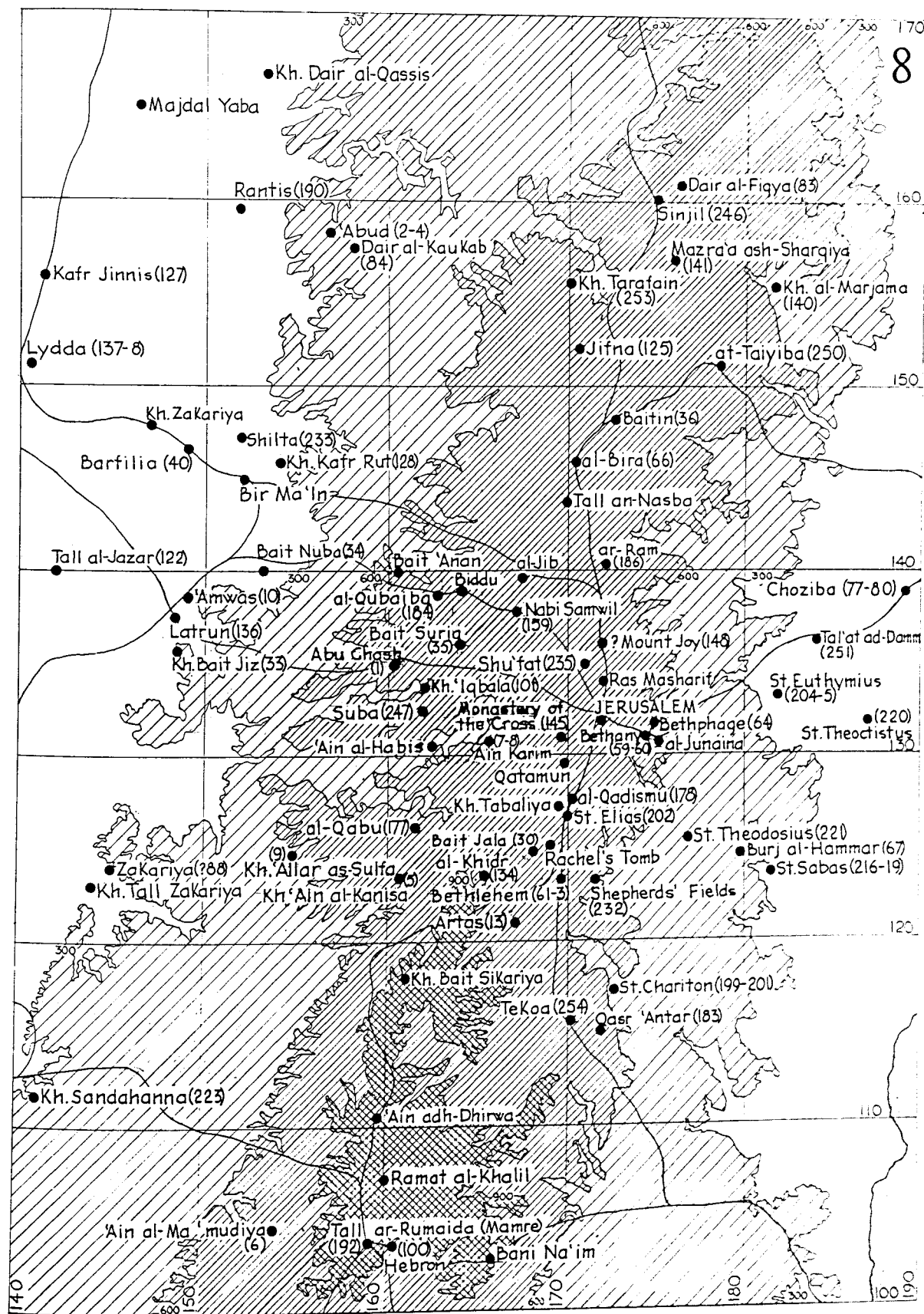


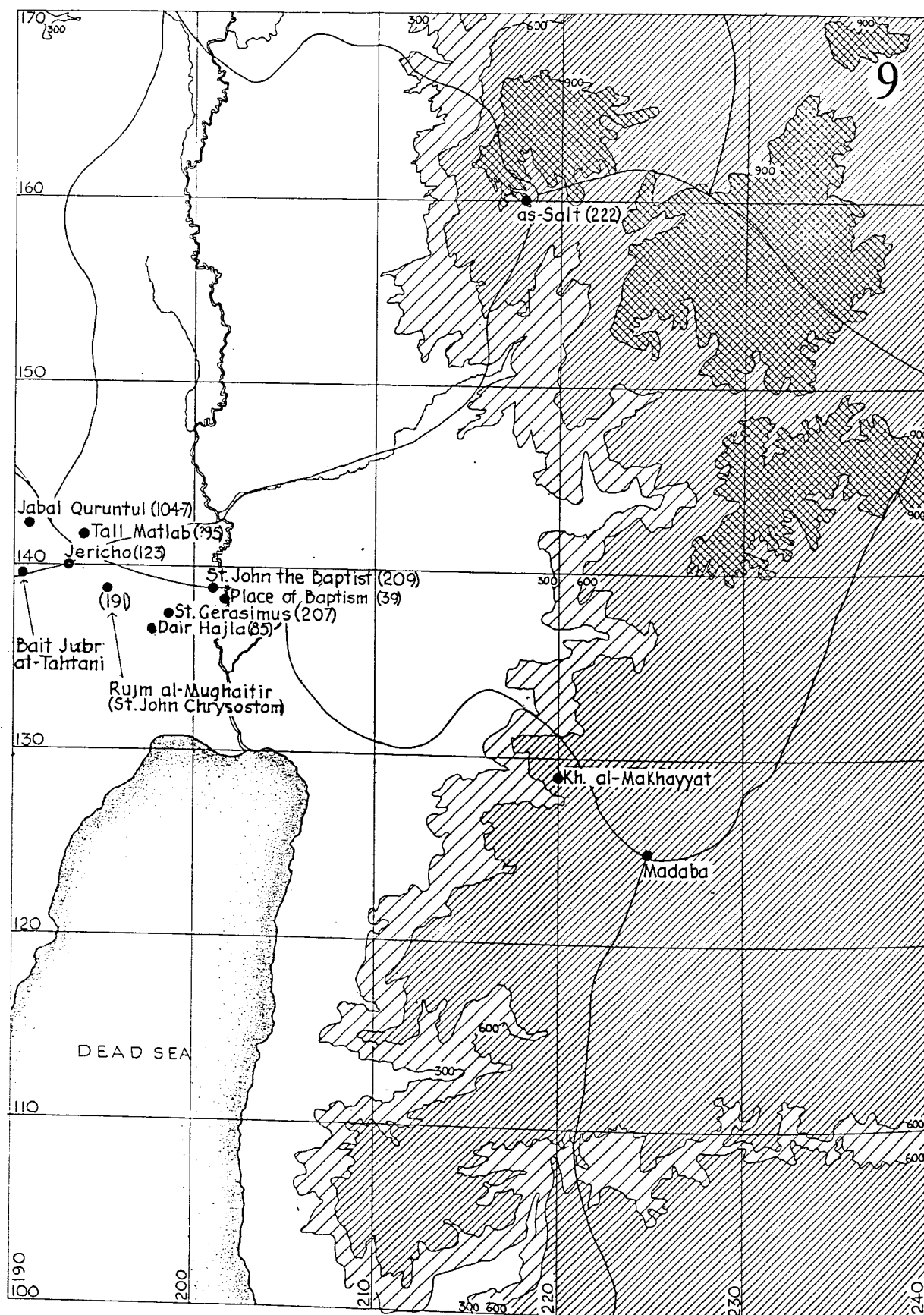


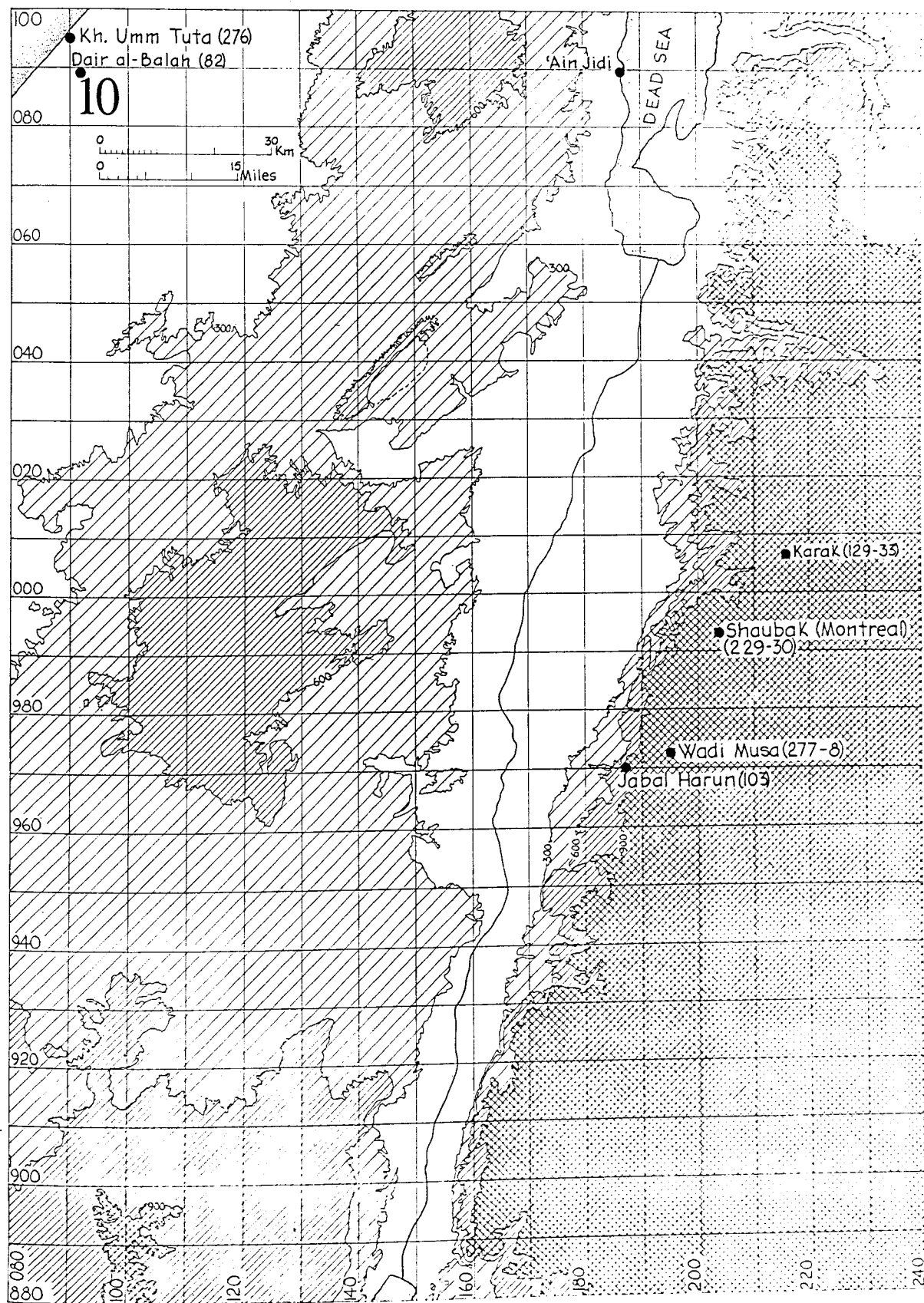












●Jazirat Fara'un

INDEX TO VOLUMES I AND II

- Aaron 251 *see also* St Aaron
 Ab Gīllūga (Samaritan) **II**: 114
Abarum mons *see* Mount Abarim
 Abbasids 275. **II**: 5
 'Abd al-Hamid II (Abdul Hamid II, Ottoman sultan) 113. **II**: 170, 188, 193, 194, 195
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān 62
 'Abd al-Masīh al-Ghassāni (abbot of Sinai) **II**: 195–6
 'Abda (*Eboda*) **II**: 17
 Abel, Fr F.-M. 2, 53, 59, 63, 93, 95, 109, 154, 160, 229, 258, 271. **II**: 35, 44, 86, 87, 97, 170, 316
 Abraham **II**: 3, 66, 83–4, 201
 Oak of *see* Oak of Mamre
 tomb in Cave of Machpelah *see* Hebron
see also St Abraham
 Abraham (Syrian Orthodox archbishop) 18, 20
 Abraham (Armenian superior) 40
 Abraham, Fr (Armenian priest) 155
 Absalom (bishop of Ascalon) 62–3
 Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr Anushtakin **II**: 51
 Abu Buraik, Kh. *see* Ramat Rahel, Kibbutz
 Abu Ghosh (Qaryat al-'Inab, *Castellum Emaus/Emmaus, Chastel des Emauz, Fons Emaus, Fontaine d'Esmals/Emaus, Fontenoid*) 239, 250. **II**: 13, 332, map 8
 church (of Our Lord's Resurrection) (**no. 1**) 2, 7–17, 53, 102, figs. 1–4, pls. I–VII
 identified with
 Anatoth 8
 Emmaus 7–8, 53. **II**: 6, 168–9
 Abu Hawam, Tall **II**: fig. 44
see also Old Haifa
 Abū Hurayra (companion of the Prophet) **II**: 352, 379
 Abū'l-Fidā' **II**: 304, 352
 Abū Shāmā **II**: 286
 Abu Shusha *see* al-Jazar, Tall
 Abū Talīb **II**: 50
 'Abud (*Casale S. Mariae*) 17–23. **II**: 329, map 8
 churches
 St Abdia (Mar Abadia) (**no. 3**) 20–1, fig. 6, pl. XI
 St Anastasia (Dair Nastasia) (**no. 4**) 21–3, fig. 7
 St Mary (Sitti Mariam) (**no. 2**) 18–20, 68, fig. 5, pls. VIII–X. **II**: 301
 Syriac monks in 18
 Abulafia, David 203
 Acre (*Acon, Ptolomaida*) 1, 59, 70, 155, 196, 227, 265, 279. **II**: 40, 66, 67, 114, 139, 159, 219, 250, 286, 301–2, 333, 384, 385, map 3
 archdeacon *see* Adam
 bishops **II**: 154, 356, *see also* Florentius, Frederick de la Roche, James of Vitry, John
 possessions in Mi'liya, including house **II**: 31
 churches and religious houses
 Holy Trinity and Captives (Redemptorists) 119
 possessions: Beirut, church and hospital of St Nicolas (**no. 51**) 119; *Belueir*, church and hospital of St Michael (**no. 56**) 120; *Casalin* 120; *Damietta* 202
 of the abbey of Mount Tabor **II**: 66
 of the see of Bethlehem 139
 St Abraham (*see* Hebron) 228
 St Bartholomew of Beirut 119
 St Catherine (of Sinai) **II**: 52
 St Catherine of Mongisart 274
 St George in *Xisto* **II**: 261
 St John **II**: 323
 St Lazarus of Bethany 124
 St Mark 116
 St Mary and All Saints
 possessions: Jaffa 266; monastery of the Three Shades, near Ramla **II**: 258;
 Sidon, including houses **II**: 320
 St Mary of (the see of) Nazareth **II**: 119–21
 St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat **II**: 68, 355
 St Samuel **II**: 87
 daughter house of Cluny (proposed) **II**: 154
 hospital of St Mary of the Germans 181
logia where bread sold **II**: 44
 Montmusard quarter 139, 274
 port 222
 roads to Haifa **II**: 150–1, fig. 44
 sea wall 71
 territory 80, 222, 250, 251. **II**: 32, 159, 384
 viscountess *see* Petronilla
 Adam **II**: 34
 tomb *see* Hebron; Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre)
 Adam (archdeacon of Acre, bishop of Banyas) 108
 'Adasa, Kh. (*Hadessa*) **II**: 180
 Adela (wife of Louis VII) **II**: 285
 Adelelmus (archdeacon of Tiberias) **II**: 354
 Adhémar of Peyrusse (Templar preceptor in Sidon) **II**: 324
 al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn, al-Malik (Saphadin) (Ayyubid sultan) 265, 268, 270, 287. **II**: 5, 29, 52, 66, 87, 120, 219, 305, 317, 332
 Adomnán (abbot of Iona) 1, 221, 224. **II**: 148, 176, 201–2, 315
 Adorno, Anselm **II**: 59, 167
Adumim *see* Tal'at ad-Damm
 Aetius (bishop of Lydda) **II**: 9
 al-'Afrā *see* at-Taiyiba
 Aghavnouni, Archbishop Megerdich 39
 Agnes (daughter of Henry of Milly, wife of Joscelin III of Courteney) 80
 Agnes (daughter of Joscelin III of Courteney) **II**: 30
 Agnes of Courtenay (daughter of Joscelin II, wife of King Amalric) 259
 Agnes (wife of Lambert Hals) **II**: 32
 Ahab (king) 277. **II**: 227
 Aḥmad I (Ottoman sultan) **II**: 262
 Ahuhisa (lady of *Palmerium*) **II**: 154, 156
 Aila *see* Aqaba
 Aimery (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 120
 Aimery (king of Jerusalem) **II**: 120, 384
 Aimery of Franclicu (Almericus de Francoloco) **II**: 334
 'Ain adh-Dhirwa (Qasr Islayin, near Bait Sur) church of Philip's Fountain 23–4. **II**: map 8
 'Ain al-Habis (Desert of St John, near 'Ain Karim) 24–6, 29. **II**: map 8
 cave chapel of St John 24
 chapel of St Elizabeth 24–6, fig. 8, pl. XII
 'Ain al-Habis (al-Habis, *Caua de Suet, praesidium . . . in regione Suita/Suhite, Habis Jaldak*) 26. **II**: 372, map 6
 'Ain al-Haramiya (Spring of the Brigands/Templars) **II**: 30
 'Ain al-Kanisa, Kh. (near Kh. Khamasa) church (**no. 5**) 27–8, fig. 9, pls. XIII–XIV. **II**: map 8
 'Ain al-Ma'mudiya (Desert of St John, near Hebron; *Mamodie*) chapel of St John the Baptist (**no. 6**) 29–30, fig. 10. **II**: map 8
 'Ain as-Sakhari, laura **II**: 221
 'Ain as-Siyah (Elijah's Spring) **II**: 249, 251
 'Ain as-Sultan (Elisha's Spring) 221, 253, 275
 'Ain Duq 253
 'Ain Hajla 197, 198. **II**: 239
 'Ain Hammad 239
 'Ain Hanniya, church 24

- 'Ain Jalud 277
 'Ain Jidi ('En Gedi, Engeddi, *Engadia*) 30. **II**: 347, map 10
 'Ain Judaida ('Ain Khibra) **II**: 203-4
 'Ain Karim ('En Kerem, *Enqarim*, *Encharim*, *Domus Zacharie*, *S. Zacharias*, *Domus beati Iohannis*, *S. Iohannis*, *Sainz lehanz du Boiz*, *seint Iohan de Boys*, *Siluestris*) 7. **II**: 6, map 8
 churches 2, 3
 St Elizabeth 30
 St John the Baptist (**no. 7**) 30-8, 204, figs. 11-12, pl. XV
 St John in the Mountain Country 39
 St John in the Woods (Visitation) (**no. 8**) 38-47, 49-50, 204, figs. 13-14, pls. XVI-XIX. **II**: 144
 St Zacharias 30, 39
 see also 'Ain al-Habis
 'Ain Kasyun see Springs of Cresson
 'Ain Qania (*Anquina*) **II**: 29
 'Ain Tuba'un (*Tubania*) 277
 'Ain Umm al-Faraj **II**: 251, fig. 67
 Akhziv see az-Zib
 d'Ala, Fr Stanislaw **II**: 170
 'Ala' al-Din Taybars **II**: 121
 'Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Jawili (Mamluk governor of Gaza) 209, 228
 'Alam al-Din Qaysar (amir) **II**: 184, 188, 195
 al-Alayan see *Casalin*
 Albara **II**: 182
 Albert (prior of St Mary Latin) **II**: 4
 Albert of Aachen 222. **II**: 11, 51, 182
 Albert of Vercelli (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 249, 257
 Albert Victor (prince) 229
 Aldemar (owner of house in Jaffa) 270
 Alexander III (pope) 69, 162, 194, 205, 253, 267, 270, 275. **II**: 32, 44, 45, 65, 68, 97, 102, 119, 152, 154, 168, 180, 227, 237, 285
 Alexander IV (pope) 69, 122, 124, 223, 270. **II**: 3, 68, 219, 322, 356, 369
 Alexander (archimandrite) **II**: 200
 Alexandria 227. **II**: 62, 284
 church of St Michael **II**: 52
 patriarch **II**: 51
 university **II**: 55
 Alexius II Comnenus (Byzantine emperor) 190. **II**: 230, 231
 'Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Mashtub (amir) **II**: 317
 Alice (lady of Toron) **II**: 367, 368
 'Allar as-Sufia (? *Saluatio*), abbey church 39, 46, 47-52, figs. 15-16, pls. XX-XXIV. **II**: map 8
 abbot of see Richer
 Alliata, Fr. E. 36-8. **II**: 129, 139
 Almericus of Franchieu see Aimery
 Amalric (I) (king of Jerusalem) 16, 31, 49, 68, 139, 141, 154, 195, 208, 228, 253, 259, 264, 267, 268, 269. **II**: 32, 95, 97, 102, 105, 154, 167, 179, 206, 323
 Amalric (abbot of Floreffe) 283
 Amalric (bishop of Sidon, former abbot of St Habakkuk and St Joseph of Arimathea) 283. **II**: 12, 199
 Amalric (guardian of the hospital of St Julian in Tiberias) **II**: 358
 Amalric (count of Jaffa-Ascalon) 63, 272
 Amalric (viscount of Nablus) **II**: 95
 Amalric of Neslé (patriarch of Jerusalem) 103, 162, 194, 253, 264, 267, 268, 275. **II**: 97, 101-2, 152, 168, 180
 Ambrose de Turre (Milanese knight) **II**: 12, 25
 Ambroise 60, 269. **II**: 377
 Amico, Fr Bernardino 1, 139, 140, 149-50. **II**: 177
 Amimas see Mimas, Tall
 al-'Amir (Fatimid caliph) **II**: 51
 'Amman (*Philadelphis*, *Rabbat*)
 see of Petra transferred to Karak via 286, 287
 Amos (prophet) **II**: 348. see also St Amos
 'Amr Ibn al-'As 208. **II**: 10, 378
 'Amwas (*Emaus*, *Emmaus*, *Nicopolis*) **II**: 5, 6, 9, 12, map 8
 bailiffs 15. see also Bartholomew
 church (**no. 10**) 2, 52-9, fig. 17, pls. XXV-XXX. **II**: 9, 25, 278
 identified with Emmaus 7, 52-3. **II**: 168
terra de Emmaus at 7, 15, 53
 Anastasius IV (pope) 69, 122, 223, 270. **II**: 3, 219, 238, 239, 322, 356, 369
 Anastasius (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 229
 Anastasius I (Byzantine emperor) **II**: 240
 Anastasius of Armenia **II**: 63
 Anatoth 8
 Andrew (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 78
 Andrew (Cistercian) **II**: 86
 Andromeda's Rock 264
 Andronicus II (Byzantine emperor) **II**: 34
 d'Anglure, Seigneur 39
 Anna (daughter of Alexius II Comnenus) **II**: 230-1
 Anna the Prophetess **II**: 111
 Anne see Bir Bait Hanna
 Anno of Sangerhusen (master of Teutonic Order) **II**: 31
 Annunciation, churches of see Nazareth (**no. 169**), St Sabas (**no. 216**)
 Anquina see 'Ain Qania
 Anselin see Aschetin
 Anselm (chaplain of al-Bira) 161
 Anselm de Parentela (de Parenti) 61. **II**: 316
 Antioch 196. **II**: 64, 97, 182, 260
 abbey (Syriac) of Abbot Moses 196
 church of St George 81
 houses and bakery of Mount Sinai
 monastery **II**: 52
 monastery (Benedictine) of St Paul **II**: 66
 patriarch (Greek) **II**: 51
 patriarch (Latin) 111. **II**: 318, see also Bernard of Valence
 Antioch in Pisidia **II**: 245
 Antiochus (monk of St Sabas) **II**: 259
 Antiochus III (Seleucid king) **II**: 63
 Antipatris see Ras al-'Ain
 Antonio de Fano, Fr **II**: 54
 Antonucci, Fr B. **II**: 163
 Antony of Choziba 183
 Antony of Cremona 39, 101, 254. **II**: 53, 57, 62, 177, 373
 Apostles' curing of demoniac 193
 Aqaba ('Ayla, *Aila*, *Elim*) 274-5, 286. **II**: 51
Aqua Bella see 'Iqbala, Kh.
 Aquitaine **II**: 284
 Ara see Hara
 Aragon **II**: 44, 45
 Arakel, Fr (Armenian priest) 155
 Aram see ar-Ram
 Arcadius (Roman emperor) **II**: 86
 Archer, T.A. **II**: 29
 Arculf (bishop) 1, 108, 123, 221. **II**: 9, 63, 116, 141, 148, 176, 201-2, 240, 315, 334
 Ariha see Jericho
 Arimathea
 equated with Ramatha-Zophim (Ramathaim) **II**: 185, 199
 identified as
 Ramain **II**: 181
 Ramla **II**: 185, 199
 Rantis **II**: 181, 199
 Arimathia (*Arimatie*, *Abarimathie*) see Rantis
 Ark of the Covenant 221
 church of see Kiriath-Jearim
 Armand of Périgord (grand master of the Templars) **II**: 5
 Armathem see Nabi Samwil
 Armenian Church
 churches and monasteries
 'Ain Karim (**no. 8**) 39-40, 44
 Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 139, 149, 152-3, 154-5
 Gaza (**no. 94**) 219
 Karak (**no. 133**), 295
 Mount Tabor **II**: 63
 Nablus (**no. 163**) **II**: 103-4
 Nazareth (**no. 171**) **II**: 144
 St Sabas (**no. 217**) **II**: 259
 as-Salt (**no. 222**) **II**: 278
 monks erroneously identified at Monastery of the Cross (**no. 145**) **II**: 34
 presence at
 St Theodosius (**no. 221**) **II**: 271
 Sebaste (**no. 228**) **II**: 301
 use of tomb of Lazarus in Bethany (**no. 60**) 125
 Armenian population in Karak 286
 Armona see Little Mount Hermon
 Armstrong, Corporal **II**: 159
 Arnald Gala (brother of Order of St Lazarus) 180
 Arnulf (bishop of Martirano) 138
 Arnulf (canon of Hebron) 225-6
 Arnulf of Chocques (patriarch of Jerusalem) 123, 267, 275. **II**: 29
 Arsenius (abbot of St Sabas) **II**: 260
 Arsuf (Arshaf, *Arsur*, *Azotus*) 59, 70, 179. **II**: map 5
 castle 60, fig. 18, pl. XXXI
 castle chapel (**no. 12**) 60-1, fig. 18
 church of St Mary (**no. 11**) 59-60
 Artas (*Artasium*, *iardinum Archas*) 61
 church (**no. 13**) 61. **II**: map 8
 d'Arvieux, chevalier 71. **II**: 110
 al-'Asad, Shaykh 81
 Asad Ibn Sālā (*ghulam*) 165
 Ascalon ('Asqalan, Ashkelon) 61-2, 95, 156, 195, 208, 228, fig. 19. **II**: 11, 12, 159, 182, 379, map 7
 bishops see Absalom, Aschetin (bishop of Bethlehem)
 castle 67
 cathedral church of St John, later church of St Paul (**no. 14**) 62-3, 209
 cemetery 67
 chapel of St Michael (**no. 21**) 67
 churches
 former Green Mosque and possibly church of St Mary the Green (**no. 15**) 63-4, 67, fig. 19
 former mosques (**nos. 23-4**) 68-9
 St Mary (**no. 16**) 63, 64, 67

- St Mary (**no. 19**) 67
 (**no. 17**) 64–5, 67, figs. 19–20
 (**no. 18**) 66–7, figs. 19 and 21, pl. XXXII
 (**no. 22**) 3, 68, figs. 19 and 22
 count *see* William
 countess *see* Isabella (Sibylla)
 diocese 62–3, 64, 138
 gates 62, 64, 68
 hospital of monastery of St Theodosius
 (**no. 20**) 67, **II**: 272
 lordship joined to Jaffa 264
 Maqam al-Khidr 64, fig. 19
 market **II**: 44
 mosques
 great 62–3
 Green, al-Khidr (**no. 15**) 63–4
 al-Husayn 63
 Tall al-Khidr 64
 Tower of the Maidens 64, **II**: 44
 walls 62, 64, **II**: 44
- Ascar *see* 'Askar
 Ascension, church of *see* Jerusalem
 Aschar *see* 'Askar
 Aschetin (Anselin) (bishop of Bethlehem)
 138, 156
 Asher 81
 Ashkelon *see* Ascalon
 al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl (Mamluk sultan)
II: 302, 379
 Ashtara (Tall Ashtara) **II**: 239–40
 Ashtarot-Karnaim (*Carneas, Carnaea, civitas
 Iob, Karnaim*) **II**: 239–40
 'Askar (Sychar, Ascar, Aschar, Escar, Eschar,
 Sichar) 258, **II**: map 5
 priory church (**no. 25**) 69, 258, **II**: 96
 monks *see* John of 'Askar, Peter of
 Bethany, William of Sicily
 priors *see* Bernard, John
 'Asqalan *see* Ascalon
 'Assāf (son of Nimr Bay) **II**: 371
 Assassins **II**: 321, 323
 Assenard (brother of *Templum Domini*) **II**: 310
 Athanasius *see* St Athanasius of Alexandria
 'Atlit ('Athlith, Pilgrim's Castle, *Castrum Pere-
 grinorum, Chastiau Pelerin, Castrum Filii
 Dei*)
 castle and town 3, 69–71, 166, fig. 23, **II**:
 250, 257, 371, map 5
 castle chapel (**no. 26**) 71–4, figs. 23–4, pls.
 XXXIII–XXXV
 church (**no. 27**) 75–8, figs. 23, 25–6, pls.
 XXXVI–XLIII, **II**: 325
 relics of St Euphemia 71
 road to Caesarea **II**: 152
- Attalian Sea **II**: 200
 al-Attara (*Letaria*) **II**: 105
 Augustinian canons 91
 churches and houses
 'Ain Karim (**no. 7**) 31, 38
 Antioch (St George) 81
 Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 138, 149–50, 225
 Hebron (**no. 100**) 224, 228
 Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre) 225
- Augustinian nuns
 churches and houses
 Acre, St Mary and All Saints 266, **II**: 258
 Kh. 'Iqbalā (**no. 101**) (spurious) 249
 Augustinović, Fr A. 257
 Augustus (Roman emperor) **II**: 283
 'Aulam *see* 'Ulam
 d'Aveiro, Fr Pantaleone **II**: 105, 107, 287
 Avignon **II**: 320
- Avissár, M. **II**: 161
 Avranches 225
 Ayalon, River (Nahr al-Musrara) **II**: 13
 Ayalon, E. 59
 'Ayla *see* Aqaba
 Aylesford **II**: 250
 Ayloth *see* 'Illut
 Aymar (lord of Qaimun) **II**: 159
 Ayyubids 80, 253, 275
 al-'Azariya *see* Bethany
 Azo (chaplain of Yazur, canon of the Holy
 Sepulchre) **II**: 378
 'Azor *see* Yazur
 Azotus *see* Yibna
- al-Ba'ana *see* al-Ba'ina
 Bab al-Wad 7, **II**: 5
 Babylon 284, **II**: 333
 Badia y Leyblich, Domingo (Ali Bey) 229
 Badr al-Dīn al-Aydāmuri (Mamluk amir) **II**:
 40
 Badr al-Dīn Baysarī (Mamluk amir) **II**: 40
 Bagatti, Fr Bellarmino 18, 21, 24, 36–8, 40,
 44, 65, 66, 81, 99, 125, 140, 149,
 159, 160, 280, **II**: 8, 47, 123, 129,
 147, 163–4, 165, 170–3, 175, 199,
 222, 250, 285, 333, 350, 355, 361,
 363
 Baghdad 64, **II**: 181
 Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddad 273, **II**: 34, 377
 al-Ba'ina (*Saint Jorge Labane, Sainte Jorge de la
 Baene, casale S. Georgii, Sangeor,
 al-Ba'na*) 80–92, **II**: 371, map 3
 abbey church of St George (Dair al-Asad)
 (**no. 29**) 81–92, figs. 27–31, pls.
 XLIV–LVII
 church of St Barbara (**no. 28**) 81
 al-Khidr 82
 lordship 80
 mosque 81
- Baineolbederan 63
 Bairut *see* Beirut
 Baisan (Bet She'an, Bethsan, Bessan, Beisan,
Scythopolis) 93, 277, **II**: 64, 118, map 6
 bishop of *see* Germanus
 lords of *see* Hugh
see of see Scythopolis
- Bait 'Anan (Bethanam, Bechic Anan) **II**: 168,
 map 8
 Bait Dajan ([Bet]odegana, Casel Maen) **II**: 219,
 377
 Bait Furik (Bethesflori) **II**: 29
 Bait Iksa **II**: 167
 Bait 'Itab 49, 81.
 Bait Jala (Apezala, Bezek) 27, 47, 93, 296, **II**:
 map 8
 churches
 St George 93
 St Nicolas (**no. 30**) 2, 93–5, fig. 32, pl.
 LVIII
- Bait Jibrin (Bet Guvrin, Beit Gibelin, Beth-
 gebrin, Be(i)thgibilin, Begebilin, Bersabea,
 Gybelin, Jabin, Ybelin Hospitalariorum,
Eleutheropolis) 29, 95, **II**: 156, 243,
 278, map 7
 castle (al-Qa'a) 95
 castle church (**no. 31**) 3, 95–101, figs.
 33–4, figs. LIX–LXVI
 civilian settlement 95, **II**: 182–3, 184
 monastery church of St George (**no. 32**)
 101, 216
 mosque 95
- Syrian archbishop *see* Meletus
 territory 194
- Bait Jiz, Kh. (Rujm Jiz, Giza, Gath, Git, Gith)
 101, 110, **II**: map 8
 church (**no. 33**) 101
 Bait Jubr at-Tahtani (near Jericho) 101–2, **II**:
 map 9
 church of the Miracles of Christ 101
 tower 102
- Bait Lahm, *see* Bethlehem
 Bait Liqiya **II**: 167
 Bait Nuba (Betennoble, Betenopolis, Bet(t)ennuble,
Betnubilum, Bethnoble, Betynoble, Nobe)
 8, 53, 59, 102, **II**: 13, 168, 224, 377,
 map 8
 church (**no. 34**) 102–3, fig. 35, **II**: 173
 Bait Safafa (*Bathafaua*) 30
 Bait Sahur **II**: 260
 Orthodox parish church (**no. 232**) **II**: 315
 Bait Sikariya, Kh. (*Casale Zacharie*) 204, **II**:
 map 8
 Bait Sur (*Beithsur, Bethsura, Bosra*) 23
 Bait Suriq (*Bethsuri(c), Betsuri, Bethsuria,
 Betsurie(h)*) **II**: 167, map 8
 church (**no. 35**) 103, 162, **II**: 168, 180
 new town 103, 162
 Bait 'Ur al-Fauqa (*Vetus Betor*) **II**: 260
 Bait Yanun an-Nabi *see* Tabaliya, Kh.
 Baitin (Bethel) 283, **II**: 176, map 8
 chapel/church (**no. 36**) 104–5, pls.
 LXVII–LXX
 tower *see* Burj Baitin
- al-Baladhūri **II**: 378
 Bal'ama, Kh. (*Castellum Beleismum, castiel
 St Job, Chastiau St Job, Jibleam, Belemoth*)
 castle 106, 273, pl. LXXI, **II**: 105, map 5
 church of St Job (**no. 37**) 106–7
 Balata (Balathas) *see* Jacob's Well, Shechem
 Balata, Tall *see* Shechem
 Baldensperger, P. J. 61
 Baldwin (bishop of Sebaste) **II**: 284
 Baldwin I (king of Jerusalem) 30, 59, 63, 111,
 122, 123, 138, 161, 166, 180, 222,
 223, 228, 251, 270, 274, **II**: 11, 12,
 29, 51, 64, 65, 68, 86, 95, 104, 150,
 155, 159, 167, 179, 181, 183, 218,
 304, 305, 317, 320, 322, 351, 367,
 368, 373, 376
 Baldwin II (king of Jerusalem) 26, 108, 123,
 138, 223, 227, 239, 270, 283, **II**: 4,
 12, 29, 86, 95, 96, 104, 209, 218,
 238, 239, 322, 369, 374, 377
 Baldwin III (king of Jerusalem) 30, 61, 204,
 208, **II**: 4, 28, 30, 32, 95, 105, 218,
 322, 368, 369, 374, 384
 Baldwin IV (king of Jerusalem) 270, 273, **II**:
 30, 44, 339, 367
 Baldwin V (king of Jerusalem) **II**: 86, 87, 104,
 339
 Baldwin (lord of Sinjil) **II**: 329–30
 Baldwin (castellan of Hebron) 226
 Baldwin (castellan of Wadi Musa) **II**: 374
 Baldwin of Boulogne (bishop of Beirut) 111,
 115
 Baldwin of Ibelin (lord of Mirabel) 17, 270, **II**:
 104, 105
 Baldwin of Ramla (castellan, later lord) **II**:
 183
 Bālī'ah, church of **II**: 10
 Balian I of Ibelin (Barisan-le-Vieux) (constable
 of Jaffa) 104, 283–4, **II**: 104, 105, 183,
 379

- Balian II of Ibelin **II**: 95, 159, 286
 Balian of Ibelin (lord of Sidon) **II**: 318, 322
 Balian *see* Biran
 Bani Na'im (Kafar Barik, Qabr Lut, *Caphtar Baricha, Sigor, Sepultura/sepulchrum Loth*), tomb of Lot 107. **II**: map 8
 Bankes, Mr **II**: 307
 Banyas (*Belinas, Caesarea Philippi, Paneas*) 108. **II**: 367, map 4
 bishop *see* Adam
 canon *see* Roger
 cathedral church (**no. 38**) 108
 Baptism, Place of (*Baptismus Christi*) 221
 chapel of Christ's Baptism (**no. 39**) 108–9, 276. **II**: 240–1, map 9
 church of St John 109
 Bara *see* Hara
 Barasch, M. 121
 Barfilia (*Porfyllia, Porphiria*) 101, 110. **II**: 167, map 8
 church (**no. 40**) 110
 Barluzzi, Antonio (architect) 40, 149. **II**: 70, 85, 123
 Barluzzi, Giulio (engineer) **II**: 70
 Barqūq (Mamluk sultan) **II**: 198
 Bartholomew (apostle) *see* St Bartholomew
 Bartholomew (bailiff of 'Amwas) 53
 Bartholomew Kyriakidos (archbishop of Madaba) **II**: 273, 277
 Baruth *see* Beirut
 Bashan **II**: 239
 Basil (bishop of Sebaste) **II**: 283, 297
 Basil (abbot of St Sabas) **II**: 260
 Basil (disciple of St Theodosius) **II**: 271
 Basil, Fr (monk at Old Laura) **II**: 221
 Basil (subdeacon of Nazareth) **II**: 141
 Basil (Russian merchant) 93
 Basil the Painter (*Basileus Pictor*) (deacon) 141
 Baswāj of Damascus **II**: 94
 Bathaniyya (*Batanaea*) **II**: 238
 al-Batriq Ibn al-Nakā **II**: 182
 al-Battāuf (*Batof*) **II**: 163, 210
 Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, al-Zāhir (Mamluk sultan) 59, 62, 70, 80, 110, 120, 139, 166, 167, 222, 228, 251, 266, 277, 283, 287. **II**: 3, 12, 34, 40, 68, 115, 121, 159, 162, 163, 164–5, 184, 185–6, 187, 188, 206, 207, 209, 210, 230, 250, 261, 302, 314, 318, 336, 367, 379
 Bayrut *see* Beirut
 Bazid II (Ottoman sultan) **II**: 287
 Bazirim *see* Beze
 Beatrice (daughter of Joscelin III of Courtenay) **II**: 30, 40
 Beaufort Castle (*Beaufort, Belfort, Biaufort, Qal'at ash-Shaqif Arnun*) 110. **II**: map 4
 castle chapel (**no. 41**) 110
 lordship **II**: 317, 323
 Bechic Anan *see* Bait 'Anan
 Bede 109, 221. **II**: 65, 176, 202, 315
 Begebilin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Beirut (Bairut, Beyrouth, *Baruth, Berytus, Bayrut*) 111–12, fig. 36. **II**: 96, 316, 317, map 2
 Bab as-Sarayya 117, fig. 36
 bishops 111, 117, *see also* Baldwin of Boulogne
 cathedral church (? of St John the Baptist) (**no. 42**) 112–15, 179, 238, figs. 36–8, pl. LXXII. **II**: 296
 possessions 112
 Juniya, church (**no. 126**) 283
 churches and chapels
 St Anastasius 115
 St Barbara (**no. 54**) 116, 118, 119
 St Bartholomew (**no. 52**) 119
 St George (**no. 43**) 115–16, fig. 36
 St George (al-Khidr) (**no. 44**) 116, 296
 St Lawrence (**no. 53**) 116, 119
 St Mark (**no. 45**) 116
 (St Mary Latin) (**no. 46**) 116
 St Nicolas (**no. 51**) 119
 St Simon (and St Jude) (**no. 48**) 116, 117
 Saviour (or St Francis) (**no. 47**) 117, 118, fig. 36
 of the Maronites (**no. 55**) 115, 119 (**no. 49**) 118, 119, fig. 36
 Khan al-Musiqā 118
 lords of *see* Brisebarre family, Fulk of Guisnes, John of Ibelin
 miraculous crucifix 114, 117
 monastery
 St Michael de Clusa, or in the Sea (**no. 50**) 118–19
 mosques 117
 al-Khidr (**no. 44**) 116
 al-'Umari (**no. 42**) 112
 Beisan *see* Baisan
 Beit Gibelin (*Beithgibilin*) *see* Bait Jibrin
 Beithsur *see* Bait Sur
 Bela (duke of Hungary, later King Bela III) 8, 17, 239, 249
 Belard of Ascoli 7, 16, 31, 252, 256. **II**: 163, 202, 335
 Belinas *see* Banyas
 Belfort *see* Beaufort Castle, Dair Abu Mashal
 Bell, Gertrude pls. Ia, CXXVII, CLXXXI
 Belmont (near Tripoli), Cistercian abbey 39, 46, 49–50. **II**: 328–9
 Belmont *see* Suba
 Belueer *see* Belueir, Qastal
 Belueir (*Belueer*)
 church and hospital of St Michael (**no. 56**) 119–20, 182, map 5
 Belvoir Castle (Kaukab, Kokhav ha-Yarden, *Belvear, Belvoir, Bellumuidere, Coquet, Kawqab al-Hawa*) 3, 49, 100, 121, fig. 40. **II**: 100, map 6
 chapel (**no. 57**) 100, 120–2, fig. 40, pl. LXXIII
 Benedict XI (pope) 269
 Benedict of Alignan (archbishop of Marseilles) **II**: 220
 Benedictines 91
 houses (monks)
 Antioch, St Paul **II**: 66
 Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 138
 La-Pierre-Qui-Vire (France) 8
 Mount Tabor (**no. 155**) **II**: 64–8, 79
 Palmaria (**no. 176**) **II**: 153–4
 Tiberias, St George (**no. 257**) **II**: 356
 houses (nuns)
 Acre, St Lazarus 124
 Bethany, St Lazarus (**nos. 59–60**) 123–4, 135–7
 'Iqbala, Kh. (**no. 101**) (spurious) 249
 Jerusalem, St Anne 123
 Benedictos (Patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 273
 Benjamin **II**: 176
 Benjamin Iohannides **II**: 195
 Benjamin of Tudela 227. **II**: 5, 11, 86–7, 94, 95, 114, 168, 176, 227, 352
 Benvenisti, Meron 47, 53, 62, 178, 203, 249, 275. **II**: 97, 175, 330
 Bergsson *see* Nicolas Bergsson
 Bernard (archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 3–4, 118, 141, 356
 Bernard (bishop of Lydda) 160, 286. **II**: 316
 Bernard (bishop of Sidon) **II**: 320
 Bernard (abbot of Clairvaux) *see* St Bernard
 Bernard (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 66
 Bernard (prior of 'Askar) 69
 Bernard (prior of the Mount of Olives) 159
 Bernard de Asinaria (Hospitalier) **II**: 332
 Bernard of Valence (Latin patriarch of Antioch) **II**: 320
 Bernard the Monk **II**: 10
 Bernard Witard (or Guitard) 159
 Bersabea (*Bersabee*) *see* Bait Jibrin
 Bersamul *see* Nabi Samwil
 Bertrand Guasc (Templar) **II**: 324
 Bertrand of St Gilles (count of Tripoli) 111
 Berytus *see* Beirut
 Bessan *see* Baisan
 Bet Dikhrin, H. *see* Dhikrin
 Bet Guvrin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Bet ha-Erneq, Tel *see* Mimas, Tall
 Bet Kerem valley (*uallis S. Georgii*) 81
 Bet She'an *see* Baisan
 Betalla *see* Bethalla
 Betenoble (*Betenopolis, Betenuble*) *see* Bait Nuba
 Betfage *see* Bethphage
 Beth Horon 7
 Bethafaua *see* Bait Safafa
 Bethagla *see* Dair Hajla
 Bethalla (*Betalla, casale Sanctae Marie Vallis Iosaphat*) 122
 chapel (**no. 58**) 122
 Bethanam *see* Bait 'Anan
 Bethania *see* Bethany
 Bethany (al-'Azariya, *Bethania, castellum Mariae et Marthae, S. Lazarus*) 122–5, 157. **II**: 345, map 8
 abbey of St Lazarus (comprising church of St Lazarus, later of Sts Mary (Magdalene) and Martha, and the new church of St Lazarus) (**nos. 59–60**) 3, 122–37, 248, figs. 41–4, pls. LXXIV–LXXXIV. **II**: 348
 abbesses 136 *see also* Eve, Iveta, Matilda
 possessions 123
 Balata 258
 Jacob's Well, church (**no. 108**) 136, 258. **II**: 96
 Jericho 275–6
 chaplain *see* Richard
 house of Simon the Leper 124, 136. **II**: 359
 house of Martha *see* al-Junaina
 mosque of al-'Azayr (**no. 60**) 130, pl. LXXV
 tower 123, 134, 152, fig. 44, pls. LXXXII–LXXXIII
 Betheflari *see* Bait Furik
 Bethel *see* Baitin
 Bethfage *see* Bethphage
 Bethgebrin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Bethgibilin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Bethleem *see* Bethlehem
 Bethlehem (Bait Lahm, *Bethlehem, Bethleem*) 93, 137, 227. **II**: 157, 158, 176, map 8
 bishops 63, 253. **II**: 154, 202, 315, 347, *see also* Aschetin, Gerald, John the Roman, Peter, Ralph I, Thomas of Lentino

- Casa Nova 150
cathedral church of St Mary, or the Holy Nativity (**no. 61**) 2, 3, 32, 131, 137–56, 225, figs. 45–6, pls. LXXXV–XCVIII. **II**: 11
possessions
‘Abud 17–18
Artas 61
Ascalon, 63, 67
Bait Sikariya, Kh. 204
Belueir, church and hospital (**no. 56**) 120
Jaffa, including church (**no. 119**) 272
al-Khidr 204, 295–6
Nablus, houses **II**: 96
al-Qadismu (*Cadichinos*) **II**: 158
Tiberias, house **II**: 352
precentor *see* Aschetin (later bishop)
cave of the Nativity 138, 139, 146–9, fig. 45, pls. LXXXVIII–CXII
cave-chapel of St Jerome 140
chapels
St George 150
St Joseph (**no. 63**) 157. **II**: 158
churches
St Catherine 149, 150
St Nicolas, or Sts Paula and Eustochium (over cave-church of St Mary, or Milk Grotto) (**no. 62**) 156–7. **II**: 158
diocese 63, 138–9
hospital 138, 153
Library or School of St Jerome 152–3, pl. XCVII. **II**: 99
Milk Grotto *see* church of St Nicolas.
monastery of St Paula **II**: 266
tombs
of the Holy Innocents 138
of St Jerome 138
of St Joseph of Arimathea 139, 146, 155. **II**: 199
of Sts Paula and Eustochium 138, 156
tower 152, pl. XCVI
Bethnoble see Bait Nuba
Bethphage (Jabal at-Tur, *Betfage*, *Bethfage*, *Bethphage*)
chapel of the Saviour (**no. 64**) 2, 157–60, fig. 47, pls. XCIX–CI, map 8
Bethsaida **II**: 358
Bethsan *see* Baisan
Bethsura *see* Bait Sur
Bethsuri (*Bethsura*, *Bethsuric*) *see* Bait Suriq
Bethzakar *see* Zakariya, Tall
Betinubilum *see* Bait Nuba
Betsuri (*Betsurie*, *Betsurieh*) *see* Bait Suriq
Bettenuble *see* Bait Nuba
Beyer, Gustav 104, 120, 197. **II**: 150, 244
Beyrouth *see* Beirut
Beze (*Bazirim*) 283
Biaufort *see* Beaufort Castle
Biddu 160. **II**: 167, map 8
Bigeaud, Commandant **II**: 372
Bilin *see* al-Bira
Biller, T. 121
Bir al-Qadismu *see* al-Qadismu
Bir as-Sinjib 107
Bir Bait Hanna (*Anne*, Bir Bait Hanun) **II**: 370
Bir Ma'in 101
church (**no. 65**) 160, 286. **II**: 316, map 8
Bir Ya'qub *see* Jacob's Well
Bir Zait 18
al-Bira (*Bilin*, *Birra*, *Birrum*, *Byrra*, *Castrum Maome*, *Castrum Mahomeria*, *Machoma*, *Magna Mahomeria*, *Mahomeria major*, *Mahumeria*, *Malahumeria*) 103, 161. **II**: 44, 167, 175, 180, 316, map 8
chaplain *see* Anselm
church of St Mary (**no. 66**) 161–5, 239, fig. 48, pls. CII–CVI. **II**: 168, 181
curia 161. **II**: 175, 314
hospital 165
mosques 161, 162, 164, 165
Biran (?Balian) (knight) 227
Birger, Rivka **II**: 231, 237
Birkat Ghalghala *see* Birkat Jiljuliya
Birkat Jiljuliya (B. Ghalghala) 221
Birkat Sitti Mariam (Magdala) **II**: 28
Birra *see* al-Bira
Birrum *see* al-Bira
Blanchegarde *see* Safi, Tall as-
Bliss, F. J. 287
Boase, T. S. R. **II**: 8
Bobbio 38
Bohemond IV (prince of Antioch, count of Tripoli) **II**: 40
Bohemond VII of Antioch (count of Tripoli) **II**: 318, 324
Bohemond of Taranto **II**: 351
Boniface (chaplain of Haifa, canon of Caesarea) 223
Boniface of Ragusa 8, 254, 273. **II**: 68, 69, 76, 116, 142, 144, 188, 198, 242, 287, 333, 360
Bononius *see* St Bononius
Bor *see* Dabburiya
Bordeaux Pilgrim **II**: 150, 201
Borg, Alan **II**: 135
Borrelly, Fr D. **II**: 378
Bosnia 166
Bosra *see* Bait Sur
Bouquiau *see* Buqai'a
Bourie *see* Dabburiya
Bowen, Brian **II**: 305
Brabant, duke of **II**: 367
Brémond, G. **II**: 250
Breydenbach, Bernhart van 1. **II**: 13
Brisebarre family (lords of Beirut) 111
Brocard (legendary founder of Carmelites) **II**: 249
Brunner, Ulrich **II**: 169
Brünnow, R. E. 2
Brus *see* Renier
Brussels 225
Bruyn, Cornelius van 1, 40, 44. **II**: 6, 13, 21, 122, 167, 333, 353
Buckingham, J. S. 223. **II**: 123, 363
Buqai'a (*Bouquiau*), fief 80
Burchard of Mount Sion 8, 81, 93, 109, 124, 134, 139, 156, 192, 228, 277. **II**: 28, 31, 68, 121, 141, 146, 162, 163, 203, 210, 222, 228, 250, 281, 282, 287, 297, 318, 321, 324, 336
Burchard of Strasbourg **II**: 219–20
Burckhardt, Jacob **II**: 307
Bures *see* Dabburiya
Burgundy **II**: 135
Burham, Byzantine building 18
Buria, *Burie* *see* Dabburiya
al-Burj (Kh. Tantura) 81
Burj al-Diwiya *see* Shafa 'Amr
Burj al-Hammar
church (**no. 67**) 165. **II**: map 8
Burj al-Hammar *see* al-Junaina
Burj al-Malih *see* Tower of the Saltings
Burj Baitin 104, pls. LXVII–LXVIII
Buschhausen, H. **II**: 9
Bush, chapel of the **II**: 56
Butrus (Boteros, scribe) **II**: 210
Cabor (*Cabur*) *see* Kabul
Caccho (*Cacho*, *Caco*, *Caço*, *Caque*) *see* Qaqun
Cadichinos *see* al-Qadismu
Caesarea (Qaisariya, H. Qesari, *Caesarea*, *Cesaire*, *Qaysariya*) 69, 70, 120, 166, fig. 49. **II**: 10, 121, 257, map 5
archbishops 122, 223, *see also* Ernesius, Evremar, Peter
archdiocese 120, 166. **II**: 156
‘Candlesticks of the Lord’ (or St Peter) 180
castle 166, 167, fig. 49
cathedral church of St Peter (**no. 68**) 3, 166–79, 180, 209, figs. 49–52, pls. CVII–CXXII. **II**: 110, 139, 152, 320, 366
canon *see* Boniface
possessions
casale S. Petri *Cesaree* **II**: 152
Pain Perdu **II**: 152
chapels
St Cornelius (**no. 69**) 179–80
St Mary Magdalene (**no. 73**) 181
churches
St John the Baptist (**no. 70**) 180
St Lawrence (**no. 71**) 180
St Michael *see* Belueir
St Paul's Prison (**no. 76**) 181
(**no. 74**) 181
diocese **II**: 314
hospitals
St Michael *see* Belueir
house of Cornelius 167
house of the Teutonic Knights (**no. 75**) 181
lady of *see* Juliana
leper house of St Lazarus (**no. 72**) 180
lords *see* Eustace Garnier, Hugh, Walter I Garnier
lordship 166, 222. **II**: 3
mosques 166–7, 171, 180
road from Tantura **II**: 152
‘Table of the Lord’ 179–80
temple of Rome and Augustus 167
tombs
Cornelius 179–80
daughters of St Philip 179–80
town walls 59
vaulted building 182–3, fig. 53, pls. CXXIII–CXXV
Caesarea Philippi *see* Banyas
Cafarmelic *see* Kafr Malik
Cafaruth *see* Kafr, Rut, Kh
Cafram *see* Shafa 'Amr
Cafrequenne *see* Kafr Kanna
Caifas *see* Haifa
Caimun *see* Qaimun, Tall
Cairo 18, 63, 139, 208. **II**: 55
mausoleum of Fâtima Khâtûn **II**: 113
mosque of Baybars 266
Calabria **II**: 227
count of *see* Richard
Calamon *see* Old Haifa (Tall Abu Hawam)
Calanchun (*Calanson*, *Calansue*, *Calanthone*, *Calanzon*, *Calenchum*, *Calenson*, *Calenzon*, *Calumzum*) *see* Qalansuwa
Caliph (villein) **II**: 359
Cambridge **II**: 217

- Camera Beate Virginis Marie* see St Mary of the Marshes
- Cana of Galilee*
identified with Kafr Kanna and Kh. Qana 285. II: 162–3
- Canan Turoriis* see Tirun an-Niha
- du Cange, C. II: 25*
- Cannetum Sturnellorum* see Kassaba, Kh
- Capernaum II: 163, 335, 336, 358, 359*
- Capernaum* see Kanisa, Kh
- Caphaer* see Kafr ad-Dik
- Caphar Baricha* see Bani Na'im
- Caphar Zacharia*
identified with
Dhikrin (Kh. Zikrin, H. Bet Dikhrin, *Kefar Dikriya*) 204
Zakariya (Kefar Zechariya) 204
Zakariya, Kh. Tall 204
- Capharabra* see Habra
- Capharkenne* see Kafr Kanna
- Capharnaon* see Kanisa, Kh. al-
- Capharruth* see Kafr Rut, Kh
- Capharscylta* see Shilta
- Caphyria* see as-Safiriya
- Cappadocia II: 258*
- Cara* see Qara, Kh
- Carentene* see Jabal Quruntul
- Cariatarba* see Hebron
- Cariatharbe* see Rumaida, Tall ar-
- Cariathiarim* see Kiriath-Jearim
- Carmel* see al-Kurnul, Kh
- Carmel* see Mount Carmel
- Carmelites*
houses
Bethlehem, acquires church of 'Amwas (no. 10) 53
Jabal Quruntul (nos. 104–7) (spurious) 254
at-Tabgha, church of the Multiplication (spurious) II: 336
St Mary of Carmel (no. 213) II: 249–51
Stella Maris (no. 211) II: 245–6
- Carneas II: 239*
- Carthusians 91*
- Casal Robert* see Kafr Kanna
- Casal Ymbert* see az-Zib
- Casale Balneorum* see Yazur
- Casale Hubert de Paceo (Patci, Pazi)* see az-Zib
- Casale Imbert* see az-Zib
- Casale S. Egidii* see Sinjil
- Casale S. Georgii* see al-Ba'ina, al-Khidr, St George de Chaman
- casale S. Johannis Sebaste II: 284*
- Casale S. Mariae* see 'Abud
- Casale S. Marie Vallis Isaphat* see Bethalla
- casale S. Petri Cesaree*, possible identification with Pain Perdu II: 152
- Casale Zacharie* see Bait Sikariya, Kh
- Casalimbert* see az-Zib
- Casalin* (=? al-Alayan) 120
- Casel des Plains* see Yazur
- Casellum Balneorum* see Yazur
- casellum de Josaphat* see as-Safiriya
- Casellum de Planis (de Templo)* see Yazur
- casellum S. Abacuc* see Kafr Jinnis
- Casreherre* see Kafr Haris
- Castello*, bishop of 116
- Castellum Arnaldi* see Yalu
- Castellum Beleismum* see Bal'ama, Kh
- Castellum Emaus/Emmaus* see Abu Ghosh
- castellum Mariae et Marthae* see Bethany
- Castellum Novum* see Mi'iliya
- Castellum Novum Regis* see Mi'iliya
- Castellum Regis* see Mi'iliya
- Castellum S. Petri*, possible identification with at-Taiyiba II: 339
- Castellum Vallis Moysis* see Wadi Musa
- castiel St Elyes* see at-Taiyiba
- castiel St Job* see Bal'ama, Kh.
- castrum Boni Latronis (Latrun) II: 6*
- castrum de Hybilis* see Yibna
- Castrum Dumi* see Tal'at ad-Damm
- Castrum Fabe (castrum Fabbarum)* see al-Fula
- castrum (castellum) Feniculi* see Shaumariya, Kh. ash-
- Castrum Filii Dei* see 'Atlit
- castrum Fontis Tancredi* see Nablus, castle
- Castrum Mahomeria (Maome)* see al-Bira
- Castrum Peregrinorum* see 'Atlit
- Castrum Regis* see Mi'iliya
- Castrum Saboach* see Shaubak
- Castrum sancti Helye* see at-Taiyiba
- Castrum Zafetanum* see Shafa 'Amr
- de Caumont, Seigneur 40, 266*
- Caun Mons (le Caymont)* see Qaimun, Tall
- Cava de Suet* see 'Ain al-Habis
- Cava Templi, castrum* see St Margaret's Castle
- Cave de Tyron* see Tirun an-Niha
- Cavea* see Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya
- Cavea de Tyrum* see Tirun an-Niha
- Cayphas noua* see Haifa
- Cayphas vetusta* see Old Haifa
- Çelebi, Evliya II: 98, 107, 110, 287, 298*
- Celestine II (pope) 16, 124, 136, 253. II: 32*
- Celestine III (pope) 162. II: 102, 152, 168, 180*
- Celsus de Granerii II: 25*
- Cephrie* see as-Safiriya
- Cesaire* see Caesarea
- Chabor* see Kabul
- Chabrata* see Rachel's Tomb
- Chaco* see Qaqun
- Chaifa* see Haifa
- Chaimon* see Qaimun, Tall
- Chalcedon, council of II: 283, 354*
- Champagne II: 118*
- Characmoba* see Karak
- Charles VI (king of France) II: 57*
- Charles the Great (Charlemagne) II: 259*
- Chartres II: 135–6*
- Chastel des Emauz* see Abu Ghosh
- chastel dou Rei (Chastiau dou Rei)* see Mi'iliya
- Chastiau Pelerin* see 'Atlit
- Chastiau St Job* see Bal'ama, Kh.
- Chastiel Magdalon* see Magdala
- Chatsworth House II: 137*
- Cheneau, Fr 140*
- Chios, Island of 140*
- Chitty, D. C. II: 165, 231, 268*
- Choziba (Dair Mar Jarias, Dair al-Qilt, monastery of St George the Chozibite, S. Maria in Coziba, S. Georgius in Berria, Kuziva). II: map 8*
- cave-church of St Joachim, now St Elias (no. 79) 190*
- chapels*
St Anne (no. 80) 191–2
Sts John and George of Choziba (no. 78) 190, fig. 54, pl. CXXXV
St Stephen (no. 78) 183, 190
church and monastery of St Mary in Choziba (no. 77) 183–91, 279, fig. 54, pls. CXXVI–CXXXVI. II: 261, 344
hermitage of St John of Choziba 191–2
- house of Joachim 183–4
- tombs
St George the Chozibite 190
St John the Chozibite 192
- Chrac* see Karak
- Christopher (Egyptian hermit) II: 268*
- Cicero II: 64*
- Cinereth* see Tiberias
- Cistercians 39. II: 43*
abbeys and churches
'Ain Karim, St John in the Woods (no. 8) 39, 46. II: 86
'Allar as-Sufia (? *Saluatio*) (no. 9) 49–50. II: 86
Morimond (France) 49
Nabi Samwil (no. 159) II: 86
see also Belmont (near Tripoli)
influence on *Palmaria* II: 153
- Cîteaux, abbey II: 153*
- Ciuitas Petraccensis* see Karak
- Clairvaux, abbot of* see St Bernard of Clairvaux
- Clapham, A. W. 246, 249*
- Clarke, Dr Edward II: 217*
- Claudio of Lodi (custos) 32*
- Clement III (pope) II: 286*
- Clement IV (pope) 120, 272, 296. II: 352*
- Cleopas 7, 52*
house and tomb of see al-Qubaiba
- Clerkenwell, Hospitaller priory II: 163*
prior see Roger de Vere
- Clermont-Ganneau, Ch. 2, 8, 47, 99, 102, 159, 209, 211, 213, 216, 219, 274. II: 16, 17, 22, 24, 27, 98, 107–10, 170, 172–3, 188, 200, 278, 378, 380*
- Cluny II: 65–6, 153, 154*
abbots see Peter the Venerable, Pontius, Theobald of Vermandois
- Cochetum* see Kuwaikat
- Conder, C. R. 62, 110, 200, 203, 229. II: 35, 159*
- Conrad of Montferrat 80, 272. II: 30, 367*
- Constantine I (Roman emperor) 137. II: 63, 116, 201, 210, 353*
- Constantine VIII (Byzantine emperor) II: 10*
- Constantine IX Monomachus (Byzantine emperor) II: 10*
- Constantine the Hethumian (regent of Armenia) 155*
- Constantinople (Istanbul) 71, 140, 155. II: 7, 9, 52, 94, 220, 262, 284, 286*
Archaeological Museum II: 295
church of St John of Pera II: 287
council of (1157) 197
English ambassador II: 198
Greek monastery of St Mary (S. Marie de Costa) II: 66
patriarch II: 51
- Constantius (Latin hermit on Jabal Quruntul) 252*
- Copts, churches in Damietta 203*
- Corbo, Fr Virgilio 193. II: 28*
- Crac (le Crac de Montreal/Mont royal)* see Karak
- Crac des Chevaliers (Qal'at al-Hisn al-'Akrad)*
chapel 100. II: 313–14
- Cracum Montis regalis* see Karak
- Crépy-en-Valois, priory of St-Arnoult II: 153*
- Cresson* see Springs of Cresson
- Creswell, K. A. C. 209, 229, pls. XXXI, CXLVIII–CXLIX, CLXVI–CLVII. II: 98, 106–8, 380, pls. XXXVIII, LX, LXV.*

- LXX, LXXII, LXXIV–LXXVI, CX, CC, CCIII
 Crete **II**: 52
 Crocodile River *see* Nahr az-Zarqa
 Cross, Holy *see* Monastery of the Cross
 Crowfoot, J. W. **II**: 301
cursum Gallinarum *see* Jezreel
 Curzon, Lord **II**: 263
 Custody of the Holy Land 2, 40, 125, 140
 Custos Terrae Sanctae *see* Obicini, Thomas;
 Claudio of Lodi; Jeremias of Brescia;
 Razzoli, Roberto
 Cyneret *see* Tiberias
 Cyprus, pottery from 266
 Cyriacus *see* St Cyriacus
 Cyril (Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem)
 293
 Cyril of Scythopolis **II**: 231, 258, 264, 268
 Dabburiya (Dabereth, Bourie, Buria, Burie,
 Bures, Bor) 192. **II**: 154, map 6
 church (no. 81) 3, 192–4, 279, fig. 55,
 pls. CXXXVII–CXXXVIII. **II**: 85
 mosque 192
 suggested identification with *Helenopolis* **II**:
 63
 Dabereth *see* Dabburiya
 Dāhir al-Umar **II**: 142, 302, 352–3, 355,
 361
 Daimbert of Pisa (patriarch of Jerusalem) 264.
II: 183
 Dair, Kh. ad-, Byzantine tower 29
 Dair, Kh. ad- (Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah) *see* St Mary
 of Carmel
 Dair Abu Mashal (Belfort) 18, 196
 Dair al-Asad
 village 81
see also al-Ba'ina
 Dair al-'Azar (Cariathiarim)
 church 7
 Dair al-Balah (Darom, Daron, Darium, Darum,
 al-Darum, al-Darun) 194–5, 208, 119.
II: 373, map 10
 church of (?)St George (no. 82) 194–6,
 fig. 56
 mosque 195
 Orthodox *see* 194. **II**: 97, 102
 supposed Greek monastery (Dayr/Dār
 al-Rūm) 194. **II**: 373
 Dair al-Fiqya, Kh. (Kh. Ras ad-Dair, Dere)
 196. **II**: 330, map 8
 chapel (no. 83) 196
 Dair al-Kaukab (Kh. Shaikh Ibrahim, Kh. Dar
 Ibrahim, Kh. Dair Asur, Monastery of
 the Star, dy'r Kwkb)
 monastery of St Elias (no. 84) 18, 20,
 196–7. **II**: map 8
 Dair al-Musallaba *see* Monastery of the Cross
 Dair al-Qassis 197. **II**: 244, map 8
 Dair al-Qilt *see* Choziba
 Dair as-Salib *see* Monastery of the Cross
 Dair as-Siq *see* St Sabas, monastery of
 Dair as-Suq (Delescu?) **II**: 268
 Dair Asur, Kh. *see* Dair al-Kaukab
 Dair Ayyub *see* St Job, village of
 Dair Dawsi *see* St Theodosius, monastery of
 Dair Hajla (Dair Mar Hanna Hajla, Qasr Hajla,
 Monastery of St Gerasimus, Bethagla,
 Kalamonos mone, Kalamoniya), including
 monastery church of St Mary of
 Kalamon (no. 85) 197–202, 276,
 fig. 57a–b, pls. CXXXIX–CXLIV. **II**: 200,
 238–9, 242, map 9
 Dair Ibn 'Ubaid *see* St Theodosius, monastery
 of
 Dair Ka'kul **II**: 35
 Dair Mar Hanna Hajla *see* Dair Mar Hajla
 Dair Mar Jarias *see* Choziba
 Dair Mar Saba *see* St Sabas, monastery of
 Dair Mar Salib *see* Holy Cross, monastery of
 the
 Dair Musa **II**: 35
 Dair Mukallik *see* St Theoctistus, monastery of
 Dair Nastasia *see* 'Abud
 Dair Samwil *see* Nabi Samwil
 Dalfin (Dalpym, Daltim) *see* Tarafain, Kh.
 Damascus 208. **II**: 95, 219, 220, 317, 367
 atabeg of *see* Toghtekin
 Ayyubid ruler of *see* al-Mu'azzam 'Isā
 church of St George **II**: 52
 Great Mosque **II**: 10, 113
 al-Hanābila mosque **II**: 295
 Damiata *see* Damietta
 Damietta (Damiata, Damyata, Dumyat) 166,
 202–3. **II**: 120, 318, 367
 archbishop 202–3
 cathedral church of St Mary (no. 86) 203
 church of St Bartholus (no. 87) 203
 mosques 202–3
 Damur (Damor) **II**: 105
 Damyata *see* Damietta
 Daniel (prophet) 284. **II**: 165, 333, 348
 Daniel (archbishop of Smyrna) **II**: 261, 272
 Daniel (Russian abbot) 30, 37, 38, 46, 52,
 107, 109, 123, 134, 140–1, 156, 157,
 197, 200, 221, 225, 252, 256, 258,
 267, 276. **II**: 12, 28, 33, 65, 81, 83–4,
 86, 118, 119, 129–30, 141, 158, 165,
 181, 199, 200, 202, 222–3, 227, 230,
 237, 238, 241, 259–60, 268, 271,
 283–4, 315, 335, 348, 351, 352, 354,
 359, fig. 38
 Dapper, O. **II**: 207
 Dar Ibrahim, Kh. *see* Dair al-Kaukab
 Dar'a **II**: 238
 Darb al-Hajj (King's Highway) **II**: 238
 Darium (Darom, Daron, Darum, al-Darum,
 al-Darun) *see* Dair al-Balah
 David (monk of St Sabas) **II**: 260
 David II (king of Georgia) **II**: 33
 David (king of Israel) 93. **II**: 56, 87
 Dawarta 203–4. **II**: map 5
 Dayan, Moshe 229
 Dayr al-Dawākis *see* St Theodosius, monastery
 of
 Dayr as-Siyah *see* St Mary of Carmel
 Dayr Dakariya (Dayr Dakra, ?Dayr Zakariya)
 204
 church of St Zacharias (no. 88) 204
 suggested identification with Zakariya 204
 Dayr Mārlabās *see* St Elias of Carmel
 (no. 203)
 Dayr Shamwil *see* Nabi Samwil
 Dayr Tūr Sina *see* Mount Sinai, abbey
 Dead Sea 107, 123. **II**: 43, 304, 348, 373
 Dean, Bashford **II**: 42
 Defaisse *see* ad-Dufais, Kh.
 Deirfres *see* Duraish., Kh. ad-
 Delescu *see* Dair as-Suq
 Demetrius (Greek monk) 30
 Dere *see* Dair al-Fiqya, Kh.
 Dersophath (Dersophach) *see* Shu'fat
 Deschamps, Paul 2, 110, 251, 287, 289. **II**:
 314, 324, 372
 Desert of St John (near 'Ain Karim) *see* 'Ain
 al-Habis
 Desert of St John (near Hebron) *see* 'Ain al-
 Ma'mudiya
 le Destroit *see* Dustray, Kh.
 Deutsche Verein vom Heilige Lande **II**: 337
 al-Dhāhirī, Jars al-Din Khalīl Ibn Shāhin **II**:
 177
 Dhikrin (Kh. Zikrin, H. Bet Dikhrin, Kefar
 Dikriya) 204. **II**: map 7
 Dikaio (monk of Monastery of the Cross) **II**:
 38
 Dikijian, J. 71
 al-Dimashqī **II**: 31, 98, 207
 Diocaesarea *see* Saffuriya
 Diocletian (Roman emperor) **II**: 9
 Dionysios (Russian monk) 188–9
 Diospolis *see* Lydda
 Djounie *see* Juniya
 Dok *see* Jabal Quruntul
 Domaszewski, A. von 2
 Domina Nostra majoris *see* St Mary of the
 Marshes
 Dominicans 2, 109
 Domitian, tomb in monastery of St Euthymius
II: 230
 Domus beati Johannis (Domus Zacharie) *see* 'Ain
 Karim
 Dor *see* Tantura
 Dorcas *see* Tabitha
 Dositheos (Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem)
II: 35, 230, 262, 264
 Dotan (Dotain, Dotaym)
 Plain of (le tiere de Thaym/Dotain) 106–7. **II**:
 345
 Tel *see* Duthan, Tall
 Doubdan, M. J. **II**: 70, 169, 250
 Douka *see* Jabal Quruntul
 Dowling, T. E. 287
 Druks, A. **II**: 207
 ad-Dufais, Kh. (Defaisse) 122. **II**: 152, map 5
 Dumyat *see* Damietta
 Duraish, Kh. ad- (Deirfres?) **II**: 260
 Dussaud, R. **II**: 239
 Dustray, Kh. (le Destroit) 69, 166. **II**: 371
 Duthan, Tall (Tel Dotan) 106–7
 dy'r Kwkb *see* Dair al-Kaukab
 Eboda *see* 'Abda
 Ebron *see* Hebron
 École Biblique et Archéologique *see* Jerusalem
 Edessa (Urfa) 204
 church **II**: 10
 Maqam al-Khalil **II**: 113
 Edward I (king of England) 80, 91. **II**: 165
 Edward IV (king of England) 140
 Effraim (Effraon) *see* at-Taiyiba
 Effule *see* al-Fula
 Egeria 224, 252, 256, 277. **II**: 50, 59, 94,
 116, 201, 239, 283, 334–5, 358
 van Egmont, J. **II**: 207–9
 Egypt **II**: 304
 Egyptians 161, 264. **II**: 5
 Eleutheropolis *see* Bait Jibrin
 Elful (Elful), *see* al-Fula
 Elias (Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**:
 200, 259
 Elias (bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 354
 Elias (abbot of Sinai) **II**: 50
 Elias (abbot of Palmaria) **II**: 153

- Elias (Syriac monk) 18, 196
 Elias (mason) II: 139
 Elijah (prophet) 277. II: 49, 59, 63, 66, 224–5, 226–7, 281–2, 339, *see also* St Elias
 Elijah's Cave *see* St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
 Elijah's Spring *see* 'Ain as-Siyah
 Elim *see* Aqaba
 Eliseus Vardapet (Yegishus, Armenian monk) II: 63
 Elisha (prophet) II: 369
 dwelling (*habitatio Elisei*), in Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah II: 250, 254
 tomb
 at Sebaste II: 283–7
 on Mount Sinai II: 60
 see also St Elisha
 Elisha's Spring *see* 'Ain as-Sultan
 Elizabeth (wife of Roger of Apulia) II: 285
 Elkanah, burial at Nabi Samwil II: 86
 Elpidius (abbot of *Douka*) 253. II: 258
 Emaus (*Emmaus*) *see* Abu Ghosh, 'Amwas
 Emma (wife of Eustace Garnier, later countess of Jaffa) 252, 275
 Emmaus 7, 52, *see also* Abu Ghosh, 'Amwas, al-Qubaiba
 En Gannim *see* Janin
 'En Gedi *see* 'Ain Jidi
 'En Kerem *see* 'Ain Karim
 'En Sheva' *see* at-Tabgha
 Engadia (*Engeddi*) *see* 'Ain Jidi
 Engelbert (lord), village of (*casale domini Engelberti*) 120
 Engelbert the Monk II: 3–5
 Engerannus Luvet II: 322
 Enlart, Camille 2–3, 24, 56, 62, 71, 74, 93, 110, 113–15, 140, 180, 216, 217, 218, 223, 238, 246, 249, 250, 260–1, 262. II: 25, 68, 70, 75–6, 87, 98, 99, 100–1, 114, 129, 188, 217–18, 288, 320, 326, 328, 355, 362–3, 372, 380
 Ephraim (monk, painter and mosaicist) 139, 141, 154
 Ephrata, House of, identified with Bait Jala 93
 Epiphanius the Monk 108, 183. II: 10, 50, 200, 221, 230, 240, 335
 'Erav, H. *see* 'Iribbin, Kh.
 Erchenbertus (chaplain) II: 378
 Ermengarde (countess of Brittany) II: 96
 Ermengarde (viscountess of Tiberias) II: 359
 Ernesius (archbishop of Caesarea) II: 152
 Escar (*Eschar*) *see* 'Askar
 Eschiva (countess of Tripoli) II: 351, 359
 Esdraelon Plain *see* Jezreel Plain
 Étampes II: 135, 136
 Ethiopians
 possible presence in Nazareth (no. 170) II: 142
 presence in Bethlehem (no. 61) 139–40
 Eudocia (Byzantine empress) 208. II: 378
 Eugenius III (pope) 100, 180, 223. II: 4, 65, 68, 105, 314, 358
 Eugenius IV (pope) II: 52
 Eugesippus 156
 Eusebius of Caesarea II: 85, 199, 239, 278
 Eustace (brother of Order of St Lazarus) 180
 Eustace Garnier *see* Garnier, Eustace
 Eustace of Boulogne II: 94
 Eustochium II: 282, 347 *see also* Sts Paula and Eustochium
 Eutropia (mother-in-law of Constantine I) II: 201
 Eutychius of Alexandria 138. II: 60, 115, 196, 335
 Eve (abbess of Bethany) 124
 Evremar (archbishop of Caesarea) II: 320, 322, 369
 Evremar of Chocques (patriarch of Jerusalem) 264, 267
 Eydoux, H. 287
 'Ezyona, Nahal *see* Wadi al-Jindi
 Faba *see* al-Fula
 Faber, Brother Felix 31–2, 40, 101, 125, 254, 276, 282, 296. II: 13, 35, 54, 59, 60, 62, 169, 177, 198, 203, 242, 261, 345, 350
 Fahma (*Fame*) 205. II: map 5
 church, now mosque (no. 89) 205–7, fig. 58, pls. CXLV–CXLVII
 Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykh II: 351
 Fakhr al-Dīn Yusuf (amir of Sidon) 62. II: 69, 122, 211
 Fame *see* Fahma
 Faran, monastery of II: 221
 Farfa, abbey II: 115
 Fast of Our Lord, chapel of *see* Jabal Quruntul (no. 106)
 Fatimids 63, 222. II: 150
 Féderlin, Fr F. II: 110, 200, 231
 Ferrara-Florence, council II: 54
 La Feve *see* al-Fula
 Fidus (deacon) II: 229–30, 235
 Filastīn II: 10, 181, 196, *see also* Palestine
 Fiorovich, Fr 44
 Firan (*Pharan*) II: 52, 61
 see transferred to Mount Sinai II: 50
 Flavia Neapolis (Nablus) II: 95
 Flinder, A. 275
 Floreffe, abbey of 283, 284
 abbots *see* Amalric, Hellinus
 daughter house *see* Kafr Jinnis (St Habakkuk)
 Florence II: 320
 Florennes, abbot of II: 285
 Florentius (bishop of Acre) II: 31
 flumen de Cayfa (*Flum de Caiphas*) *see* Kishon, River
 Folda, Jaroslav 13, 159. II: 119, 136–7, 314
 Foligno II: 69
 Fondoch (khirba, near 'Askar) 69
 Fons Jacob *see* Jacob's Well
 Fontaine d'Esmales/Emaus *see* Abu Ghosh
 Fontenoid *see* Abu Ghosh
 la Forbie *see* Harbiya
 de Forbin, Comte L. N. P. A. 67
 Forty Martyrs, church of *see* Rumaida, Tall ar-
 Forty Martyrs of Sinai II: 50
 chapel of II: 56
 monastery of (Dair al-Arba'in) *see* Mount Sinai
 France, Govt of II: 25
 Francesco da Varrazzano (Tuscan consul in Sidon) II: 69
 Francesco of Brescia, Fr II: 54
 Francheville *see* Rushmiya, Kh.
 Franciscans (Friars Minor) 2, 8
 obtain access to tomb of Lazarus in Bethany (no. 60) 125, 130
 churches and houses
 Abu Ghosh (no. 1) (spurious) 8
 'Ain al-Habis 24
 'Ain Karim, St John (no. 7) 32, 37
 'Ain Karim, Visitation (no. 8) 40, 47
 Beirut (no. 47) 117
 Bethany (no. 59) 125, 131
 Bethlehem (no. 61) 139, 149, 154, 155
 Bethlehem (no. 62) 156–7
 Bethphage (no. 64) 158
 Dabburiya, church (no. 81) 192–3
 Jaffa, including church (no. 115), 266, 271
 Jerusalem, Mount Sion 117
 Kafr Kanna 285
 Mount Tabor II: 69–70, 81
 Na'im (no. 168) II: 116
 Nazareth (no. 169) II: 116, 122–3; (no. 170) II: 142; (no. 171) II: 145; (no. 172) II: 147; (no. 173) II: 148
 al-Qubaiba (no. 184) II: 170
 Ramla 271. II: 197–9
 Saffuriya (no. 196) II: 211
 Sidon (no. 243) II: 328
 at-Tabgha (no. 249) II: 337
 Tiberias (no. 264) II: 360–1
 dispute rights to Lydda, St George (no. 137), with Greeks II: 13–16
 nuns II: 122
 officiating at Jacob's Well (no. 108) 259
 possessions
 Damietta 202
 Magdala II: 28
 see also Custody of the Holy Land
 Frans Castiaus *see* Montfort Castle
 Frascati *see* Tuscolum
 Frederick II (German emperor) 137, 265–6, 284. II: 5, 40, 68, 87, 120, 184, 302, 317, 318, 367
 Frederick de la Roche (bishop of Acre) II: 285
 Frescobaldi, N. 125. II: 59, 60, 62, 220
 Fretellus of Nazareth, Rorgo II: 202–3, 364
 Friedman, Fr Elias II: 205, 245–7, 369
 Fucra II: 52
 Fukin, Wadi 27
 Ful, Tall al- (*tolum patriarche*) II: 44–5
 al-Fula (Kibbutz Merhavva, *Elful, Elfule, Effule, La Feve, Castrum Fabe, castrum Fabbarum, Faba*). II: map 5
 castle chapel (no. 90) 207
 church (no. 91) 207
 Fulcher (Latin patriarch of Jerusalem) 62, 228
 Fulcher of Chartres 161, 251. II: 11, 183, 196, 379
 Fulk of Anjou (king of Jerusalem) 95, 108, 110, 123, 136, 258, 275. II: 32, 104, 183, 206, 348, 354, 379
 Fulk of Guisnes (lord of Beirut) 111
 Fulk (constable of Tiberias) II: 206
 Fustat II: 181
 Gabaon *see* al-Jib
 Gabathon II: 373
 Gabriel (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) II: 51
 Gabriel (Georgian monk of Monastery of the Cross) II: 33
 Gabriel (Georgian stylite at St Sabas) II: 230, 260–1
 Gabrieli, F. 285
 Gadres *see* Gaza
 Galdemar Carpenel (lord of Hebron) 224. II: 368
 Galgala *see* Gilgal
 Galgala (*Galilea*) *see* Tin'ama, Kh. at-Galilee
 borders of II, 3

- lords or princes of 26, 222, *see also* William I of Bures
- lordship or principality of 273. **II**: 351
- Gallina, crassa uel major* *see* Janin
- Ganymede **II**: 43
- Garcia Alvarez (lord of Haifa) **II**: 227
- Garden of Abraham (near Jericho) 253
- Garinus (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 66, 330
- Garnier of Grez (count) 69
- Garnier, Eustace I (lord of Caesarea and Sidon) 122, 180, 252, 275. **II**: 284, 317
- Garnier, Eustace II (lord of Sidon) **II**: 320, 322
- Garnier, Julian (lord of Sidon) 110, 285. **II**: 318, 323, 324, 328, 372
- Garnier, Walter I (lord of Caesarea) 180
- Garstang, J. 64, 65, 68
- Gath *see* Bait Jiz, Kh.
- Gaza (*Gazara, Gazere, Gadres, Ghazzah*) 95, 194, 208, fig. 59. **II**: 5, 119, 373, map 7
- churches
- Holy Archangels (**no. 94**) 219
- Latin (**no. 92**) 66, 98, 113, 179, 208–16, 238, figs. 59–63, pls. CXLVIII–CLVII. **II**: 123, 139, 194
- erroneously identified as cathedral of St John 216
- St Mary (**no. 93**) 216
- St Porphyrius (**no. 93**) 66, 113, 216–20, figs. 59, 64, pls. CLVIII–CLXIV
- St Sergius 208
- Mamluk governor 254, *see also* 'Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Jawili
- Marneion* 208–9
- mosques 208
- Syrian Orthodox archbishop *see* Meletus
- Gelasius of Isauria **II**: 259
- Geminum* *see* Janin
- Génier, R. **II**: 231
- Geninum* *see* Janin
- Gennasareth (Tel Kinrot, Kh. al-'Uraima) **II**: 153, map 4
- lake of *see* Sea of Galilee
- plain of (al-Ghuwair) **II**: 153, 334
- Genoa
- cathedral church of S. Lorenzo 166
- Genoese 59, 111, 166, 269
- churches in
- Caesarea, St Lawrence (**no. 71**) 180
- possessions
- Kuwaikat **II**: 32
- Genon* *see* Janin
- Geoffrey (chancellor of Antioch, bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 355
- Geoffrey (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 65, 153
- Geoffrey, son of George (knight) 227
- Geoffrey de Tor 295–6
- Geoffrey of Blois (dean of Jaffa) 269
- Geoffrey of Clairvaux **II**: 86
- George (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) **II**: 51
- George (Prochorus) (Georgian abbot of Monastery of the Cross) **II**: 33
- George (7–8c. pilgrim) **II**: 85
- George V (king of England) 229
- George Mtzamindeh **II**: 33
- George Vseslavich (prince of Polotsk) **II**: 272
- Georgia
- king *see* David II
- queen *see* Tamar
- Georgians
- churches and monasteries
- Monastery of the Cross (**no. 145**) **II**: 33–5, 57–8
- abbot *see* George (Prochorus)
- hermit at St Gerasimus (**no. 207**) **II**: 238
- possessions
- Jerusalem **II**: 34
- presence at
- Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 139
- Jabal Quruntul 254
- St Sabas (**nos. 217–18**) **II**: 259, 261
- stylites at
- Rujm al-Mughair (**no. 191**) **II**: 200
- St Sabas (**nos. 216–17**) **II**: 230, 260–1
- Georgiopolis* *see* Lydda
- Gerald (bishop of Bethlehem) 63
- Gerald (bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 354, 355, 356, 372
- Gerald King (Geraudus Rex, inhabitant of al-Qubaiba) **II**: 168
- Gerard (Gerald, abbot-bishop of Mount Tabor) **II**: 64
- Gerard (lord of Sidon) **II**: 322
- Gerard of Nazareth **II**: 64, 153
- Gerard of Ridefort (master of Templars) 208. **II**: 5
- Gerard of St-Omer **II**: 118
- Gerard of Valence (*locator* of az-Zib) **II**: 377, 384
- Gerasimus I (Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 273
- Gerasimus (Greek Orthodox abbot of Choziba) 190
- Gerasimus (monk of Monastery of the Cross) **II**: 38
- Gerasimus (monk of Sinai) **II**: 57
- Germanus (bishop of Baisan/Scythopolis) **II**: 118
- Germer-Durand, Fr J. 189. **II**: 273
- Gerold of Lausanne (patriarch of Jerusalem) 266, 271
- Gervaise (abbot of Prémontré) 284. **II**: 87
- Gervase of Basoches (prince of Galilee) **II**: 351
- Geth* *see* Yibna
- Gezer (Tel Gezer) *see* Jazar, Tall al-Ghazan (Mongol il-khan) **II**: 34
- Ghazzah* *see* Gaza
- al-Ghuwair *see* Gennasareth, plain of
- Giambattista di S. Alessio (Carmelite) **II**: 228–9, 245–7, fig. 66
- Gibeath-haaraloth *see* Gilgal
- Gibelin of Arles (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 64
- Gibeon *see* Jabal Quruntul, al-Jib
- Gibilinum* *see* Yibna
- Gilabertus, Brother 124
- Gilbert of Assailly (master of Hospitallers) 8. **II**: 358
- Gilbert Papias **II**: 86
- Giles (archbishop of Damietta, later of Tyre) 203
- Gilgal (*Galgala*, Gibeath-haaraloth) 221
- identification with
- Tall Matlab 222
- Kh. at-Tin'ama **II**: 369
- monastery church of St Michael the Archangel (**no. 95**) 221–2, 276
- Ginae* *see* Janin
- Ginnin* *see* Janin
- Ginnosar *see* Gennasareth
- Gisla (wife of Pisellus, viscount of Jerusalem) **II**: 158
- Gisler, Rev. Dom M. **II**: 156–7
- Git(h)* *see* Bait Jiz, Kh.
- Giva'at ha-Morer *see* Little Mount Hermon
- Giza *see* Bait Jiz, Kh.
- Gloria in Excelsis Deo* *see* Shepherds' Field
- Godfrey (bishop of Hebron) 237
- Godfrey (bishop of Lydda) **II**: 25
- Godfrey (chaplain of Tiberias) **II**: 365
- Godfrey de Prefectis 155
- Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke (advocate of the Holy Sepulchre) 103, 161, 224, 225, 264, 271. **II**: 64, 167, 179, 351, 354, 365, 368
- Godfrey of the Tower of David (de Cavis, de Turri) **II**: 29–30
- Gofna* *see* Jifna
- Good Samaritan, Inn of the **II**: 345–6
- Goujon, J. **II**: 6, 87
- Governanti, G. **II**: 363
- le Grand Gerin (Grande Gerinum)* *see* Janin
- de Granerii *see* Celsus
- Greek Catholic (Melkite) churches
- Mi'liya (**no. 142**) 31
- Nazareth (**no. 170**) **II**: 142; (**no. 172**) **II**: 147
- Saffuriya (**no. 196**) **II**: 211
- Shafa 'Amr (**no. 228**) **II**: 303
- at-Taiyiba **II**: 339
- Valletta **II**: 220
- Greek Orthodox Church
- churches and monasteries
- 'Abud (**no. 2**) 18
- 'Ain Karim (**no. 7**) 30
- Ascalon, St Mary the Green (? **no. 15**) 63–4; (**no. 22**) 68
- al-Ba'ina (**no. 28**) 81, 91
- Bait Jala (**no. 30**) 93–5, fig. 32, pl. LVIII
- Bait Jibrin (**no. 32**) 101
- Beirut (**no. 43**) 115
- Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 137–8, 139–40, 149. **II**: 25
- Bethlehem (**no. 62**) 156
- Choziba (**nos. 77–80**) 183–5, 191–2
- Dair al-Asad (**no. 29**) 81
- Dair Hajla (**no. 85**) 197–201
- Gaza (**no. 93**) 216
- Gilgal (**no. 95**) 221
- Jabal Harun (**no. 103**) 251
- Jabal Quruntul (**nos. 104–7**) 252, 254, 256, 257
- Jacob's Well (**no. 108**) 259
- Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre **II**: 25
- Jifna, St George 279
- Kafr Kanna 285–6
- Karak (**nos. 131–2**) 293–5
- al-Khidr (**no. 135**) 295–6
- Lydda, St George (**no. 137**) **II**: 13–16, 25
- Monastery of the Cross (**no. 145**) **II**: 34–5
- Mount Abarim (**no. 147**) **II**: 43
- Mount Tabor (**no. 155**) **II**: 63–4, 79, 81–2
- Nabi Samwil (**no. 159**) **II**: 86
- Nazareth (**no. 170**), 141–2; (**no. 171**), 144
- Qatamun, St Simeon **II**: 167
- Saidnaiya (**no. 198**) **II**: 219–21
- St Chariton (**nos. 199–201**) **II**: 221–4
- St Elias (**no. 202**) **II**: 224–5
- St Elias of Carmel (**no. 203**) **II**: 226–8
- St Euthymius (**nos. 204–5**) **II**: 229–31
- St Gerasimus (**no. 207**) **II**: 238–9
- St Job (**no. 208**) **II**: 239
- St John the Baptist (**no. 209**) **II**: 240–2

- St John the Evangelist (?) (no. 210) II: 244
 St Margaret of Carmel (no. 211) II: 244–5
 St Sabas (nos. 216–19) II: 258–68
 St Theoctistus (no. 220) II: 268–71
 St Theodosius (no. 221) II: 271–8
 Shepherds' Field (no. 232) II: 315
 at-Taiyiba, St George II: 340, St Elias (?) (no. 250) II: 344
 Tall Yunis (no. 252) II: 346–7
 Tiberias (no. 255) II: 354; (no. 257) II: 356; (no. 263) II: 360; (no. 265) II: 364; (no. 266) II: 364
 at-Tira, abbey of St John (nos. 272–3) II: 369–72
see also Jerusalem (Dair al-'Adas, St Thecla), Mount Sinai (nos. 150–54), Ramla (no. 189), Sebaste (no. 226)
 hospitals
 Ascalon (no. 20) 67
 Jaffa (no. 120) 272–3
 use of tomb of Lazarus (no. 60) in Bethany 125
 Gregory IX (pope) 61, 67, 119, 120, 272, 296. II: 40, 249, 258, 352
 Gregory X (pope) II: 52
 Gregory XI (pope) 156
 Gregory (monk of Monastery of the Cross) II: 38
 Grethenios (Russian archimandrite) 31, 39, 93, 125, 185. II: 142, 261
 Gucci, Giorgio 125. II: 59, 60, 203, 287
 Guérin, Victor 2, 18, 20, 21, 24, 62, 65, 66, 71, 81, 82, 95, 97, 110, 154, 165, 166, 197, 249, 254, 257, 279. II: 7, 13, 31, 76, 82, 87, 113–14, 116, 178–9, 188, 198, 207, 242, 250, 272, 278, 302–3, 317, 330, 340, 370–1, 372, 380
 Guerricus (canon of *Templum Domini*, bishop of Petra) 287
 Guillemot, Capt. 53. II: 170, 173
 Guiricus (dean of Nablus) II: 97
 Guy (abbot of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat) II: 4
 Guy of Blond (monk of Grandmont) 155, 227. II: 51–2, 104
 Guy of Lusignan (king of Jerusalem) 39, 50, 59, 106, 286. II: 355, 367
 Guy of Mahone (preceptor of the Hospital) II: 358
 Guy of Scandalion II: 44, 368
 Gybelin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Habakkuk (prophet) 284. II: 333, 348, *see also* St Habakkuk
 al-Habis (*Habis Jaldak*) *see* 'Ain al-Habis
 Habra (*Capharabra*) II: 322
 Hadedun *see* Hudaïdun, Kh.
 Hadessa *see* 'Adasa, Kh.
 Hadrian (Roman emperor) II: 3, 156, 202
 Hadrian IV (pope) 122, 223, 270. II: 3, 4, 164, 219, 237, 356, 369
 al-Hāfiz (Fatimid caliph) II: 51
 Hagop (Armenian mason) II: 139
 Haifa (*Caifas*, *Cayphas noua*, *Chaifa*, *Kaiphas*, *Porfyria*, *Porphyreion*, *Qasr Hayfa*, *Kifa*, *Kaifa*, *Kaiafa*, *Vifa*) 69, 222–3. II: 150, 153
 chaplain of *see* Boniface
 churches
 (?) St John the Baptist (no. 99) 223
 St Mary (no. 96) 223
 (?) St Mary (no. 97) 223. II: 369 (no. 98) 223
 lords of 223, *see also* Garcia Alvarez, Payen, Roger, Vivian
 territory of II: 369, 370
see also Old Haifa
 Haifa-Ramat Shaul *see* Tin'ama, Kh. at-Haifa-Romena *see* Rushmiya, Kh.
 al-Hakim (Fatimid caliph) 123, 138. II: 10, 33, 51, 230, 259, 301
 Hamilton, Bernard 39, 49–50, 100, 101. II: 244
 Hamilton, Robert W. 154. II: 288
 de Hamme, Fr Lievin 158
 Har Qedumim *see* Mount of Precipitation
 Har Tavor *see* Mount Tabor
 Hara (*Ara*, *Bara*) II: 377
 Haram *see* ar-Ram
 Haram al-Khalil *see* Hebron (no. 100)
 al-Harawī al-Mawṣilī 107, 226–7, 239. II: 27, 94, 202, 285, 364, 379
 Harbiya (*la Forbie*) II: 5, 184
 Harif, A. II: 365
 Harvey, W. 140
 Harun *see* Jabal Harun
 Hārūn al-Rashīd (Abbasid caliph) II: 221, 259
 Hashimshoni, A. 275
 Hasmoneans 252
 Hattin, battle of (1187) 80, 106, 120, 124, 166, 207, 273, 275, 277, 286. II: 209, 351, 367, 369
 Hauran II: 238
 Haururtz, Z. (engineer) II: 207
 Hebron (al-Khalil, Kiriath-arba, *St Abraham*, *Ebron*, *Cariatarba*) 29, 95, 107, 223–4. II: 158, 176, 201, 348, map 8
 bishops 100, *see also* Godfrey, Peter, Rainald
 castellan *see* Baldwin
 castle 224, 229. II: 202
 cathedral church of St Abraham (no. 100) 2, 3, 164, 224–39, figs. 66–8, pls. CLXV–CLXXI. II: 9
 canons *see* Arnulf, Odo
 possessions in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria II: 227
 prior 227, *see also* Ranerius
 Cave of Machpelah (or Double Cave, containing tombs of the patriarchs and their wives) 224–9, 236–7. II: 9
 lords *see* Galdemar Carpenel, Hugh II
 lordship 224
 mosques
 of Abraham (al-Khalil) 224–5, 228
 waqf in Zakariya 204
 Jawiliyya 228, 229
 suffragan *see* of 228
 tombs
 of Adam 224, 225, 228
 of Joseph 224, 225, 228, 229
 Hebron, Tel *see* Rumaida, Tall ar-Helena *see* St Helena
 Helenopolis (near Mount Tabor) II: 63
 Hellinus (abbot of Floreffe) 284
 Helvis (daughter of Henry of Milly) 80
 Helvis (lady of Ramla) 104, 284. II: 105, 183
 Henry (archbishop of Nazareth) II: 4, 68, 120, 139, 163
 Henry (abbot) 253
 Henry (steward of archbishop of Nazareth) II: 31
 Henry I (king of Cyprus) II: 384
 Henry of Champagne 195, 268, 271
 Henry of Limburg 166
 Henry of Milly 80
 Henry the Liberal (count of Champagne) II: 285
 Henry the Lion (duke of Saxony and Bavaria) 253
Heptapegon *see* at-Tabgha
 Heraclius (patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 30, 95, 339, 347
 Herbert (archdeacon of Tiberias) II: 354
 Herbert (abbot of St Joseph of Arimathea and St Habakkuk) 104, 283. II: 199
 Herbert d'Ambro[...] II: 320
 Hermann of Salza (grand master of the Teutonic Order) II: 40
 hermits (Greek)
 on Jabal Quruntul 254
 hermits (Latin) 1
 on Jabal Quruntul 252, 254
 Herod Antipas II: 283, 297, 351
 Herod the Great (king of Judaea) 38, 156, 167, 223. II: 202, 283, 348
 Herodias II: 297
 Het'um I (king of Armenia) 155, 295
Heulem *see* 'Ulam
 Heyman, J. II: 207–9
Hibelinum *see* Yibna
 Hidot, H. *see* Hudaïdun, Kh.
Hiericho *see* Jericho
 Hiestand, R. II: 154–5
 al-Hijaz 286
 Hirschfeld, Y. II: 221, 238, 268
 Hishām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph) II: 10, 182
 Hoade, Fr E. 249
 Holy Apostles, churches of *see* at-Tabgha, Tiberias (no. 265)
 Holy Cross
 altar of in cathedral of Damietta (no. 86) 203
 chapels of *see* Jabal Quruntul (no. 105), Jaffa (no. 111)
 legends associated with II: 34
 relics of 62. II: 87, 224
see also Monastery of the Cross
 Holy Family 162
 flight into Egypt 156–7, 197
 Holy Innocents
 massacre of 38, 156. II: 348
 relics of 155. II: 104
 tomb of *see* Bethlehem
 Holy Nativity, church of *see* Bethlehem (no. 61)
 Holy Trinity, churches of *see* as-Sibta; Rumaida, Tall ar- (no. 192); St John the Baptist, Monastery of (no. 209)
 Holy Trinity and Captives (Redemptorists), Order of *see* Acre, church of
 Honorius II (pope) 161. II: 314
 Honorius III (pope) 67, 181, 272–3. II: 52, 62, 184, 249, 272, 347
 Horeb *see* Mount Horeb
 Horn, Fr Elias 1. II: 122–3, 133, 147, 170, 174
 Hornstein, C. A. 287
 Horsfield, G. 26
 Hosea (prophet) 107

- Hospitallers (Order of St John of Jerusalem)
80, 118, 155, 166. **II**: 220, 354
marshal *see* Raymond
masters **II**: 67, *see also* Gilbert of Assailly,
Hugh Revel, Jobert, Pierre d'Aubusson,
Raymond of Le Puy, Roger des Moulins
possessions
Abu Ghosh, church (**no.** 1) and hospice
7–17, 239
'Abud, 17–18
Acre, church of St John **II**: 323
'Amwas, land and church (**no.** 10) 7–8,
53, 59
Arsuf 59
Bait Jibrin, including church (**no.** 31)
95–101, figs. 33–4, pls. LIX–LXVI. **II**:
182–3
Bait Safafa 30
Bait Sur 23
Bal'ama, Kh., including church (**no.** 37)
106, 273
Banyas 108
Belvoir Castle 100, 120–1
Bethany, including abbey (**nos.** 59–60)
124
Caesarea, including church (**no.** 70) 180
Clerkenwell, including priory church **II**:
163
prior *see* Roger de Vere
Crac des Chevaliers 100
Damietta 202
Damur **II**: 105
Haifa, church (**no.** 99) 223
Hara (*Bara, Ara*) **II**: 377
Hudaïdun, Kh. 119–20
'Iqbala, Kh. 8, 239, 249
Jaffa, including church (**no.** 116) 268,
271, fig. 79
Jericho 253, 276
Jerusalem, hospital and church of St John
250
Kafr ad-Dik 18
Kafr Kanna 285
Karak, castle barbican 286
Khulda 53
Kuwaikat (near) **II**: 32
Lydda **II**: 11
Marqab 100
Montana 30
Mount Tabor 192. **II**: 68
Nablus, including church and hospital
(**no.** 165) **II**: 104–7
Na'īm **II**: 115
Qalansuwa **II**: 161
Qaluniya 8, 239
Qana, Kh. **II**: 163
Qaqun, including house **II**: 164
Qastal 8, 239
Ramla **II**: 183, 184, 198
Rhodes, hospital of St John 250. **II**: 220
saltings near *Pain Perdu* **II**: 152
St-Gilles, priory **II**: 318
Shaubak, house **II**: 305
Sidon, including houses (**nos.** 240–1)
Suba, including chapel (**no.** 247) **II**: 6,
332
terra de Emmaus *see* 'Amwas
Tiberias, hospital (**no.** 259) **II**: 358–9
Tibnin, including hospital (**no.** 270) **II**:
368
Tortiafa **II**: 368
Tower of the Saltings **II**: 152
preceptors *see* Raymond of Tiberias, Guy of
Mahone
Sisters of St John (Hospitaller nuns) 250
Hubert de Patci (Paceo, Pazi) **II**: 384
Hubert Walter (bishop of Salisbury) 139
Hudaïdun, Kh. (*Hadedun*, H. Hidot) 119–20
Hugeburc 52, 204, 221
Hugh (archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 120, 139
Hugh (abbot of St Samuel) **II**: 86
Hugh (Templar?, buried on Mount Carmel) **II**:
248
Hugh III (king of Jerusalem and Cyprus) **II**:
121, 165, 302, 318
Hugh IV (king of Cyprus) **II**: 287
Hugh (lord of Caesarea) 119, 180
Hugh II (lord of Hebron) 23
Hugh (viscount of Montreal/Shaubak) **II**:
308–10
Hugh of Baisan **II**: 65
Hugh of Flanders (castellan of Ramla) **II**: 184
Hugh of Ibelin (lord of Ramla) 104, 283. **II**:
187, 378
Hugh I of Le Puiset (lord of Jaffa) 264. **II**: 183
Hugh II of Le Puiset (count of Jaffa) 62–3,
252, 264, 275. **II**: 183
Hugh of Nissun (bishop of Sebaste, prior of the
Holy Sepulchre) **II**: 286–7
Hugh of Quiliugo (Templar marshal) 67
Hugh of St-Omer (prince of Galilee) **II**: 118,
367
Hugh Revel (master of the Hospital) **II**: 318
Huldre *see* Khulda
Humbert of Dijon **II**: 13
Humphrey II of Toron 108. **II**: 368
Humphrey IV of Toron 287. **II**: 367
Hungarian monks, supposedly at Mount
Tabor **II**: 68, 69
Hungary, king of *see* Stephen
Hunin (*Castellum Novum*) **II**: 367
Husām al-Dīn 'Amr (Ayyubid) **II**: 3
Husām al-Dīn Muḥammad (Ayyubid) 277. **II**:
95, 286
al-Ḥusayn (grandson of Muḥammad) 63. **II**:
352
Husseini, S. A. S. 278
Hymbertus (Hospitaller priest) **II**: 104
iardinum Archas *see* Artas
Ibelin (Ibenium) *see* Yibna
Ibn al-Furāt **II**: 207
Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 63, 107, 209, 228. **II**: 98, 261,
272
Ibn Fadlallāh al-'Umari **II**: 34–5, 195, 261,
272
Ibn Jubayr 251. **II**: 367
Ibrāhīm (son of Mūsā al-Jifnāwī) 184, 190–1
Ibrāhīm (Ottoman sultan) **II**: 35
Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham (8c. ascetic) 107
Ibrahim Pasha 71, 287. **II**: 6
Iconium (Konya) **II**: 221
al-Idrisī 208, 222, 258. **II**: 241
Iericho *see* Jericho
Iezrael *see* Jezreel
Ignatius (Syrian Orthodox abbot of St Mary
Magdalene, Jerusalem) 204
Ignatius of Smolensk 125
Ikeliā (deaconess) **II**: 157
Île de France **II**: 101, 135, 295
'Illut (*Ayloth*) **II**: 120
'Imād al-Dīn 207. **II**: 286
Innocent II (pope) 283. **II**: 4, 32, 284
Innocent III (pope) 100, 181. **II**: 67
Innocent IV (pope) 155, 270. **II**: 120, 250,
355
Innocent VI (pope) **II**: 52
Innocent VIII (pope) **II**: 54
'Iqbala, Kh. (Dair al-Banat, 'En Hemed, *Aqua
Bella*) 8, 239. **II**: 332, map 8
?infirmary chapel (**no.** 101) 239–50, figs.
69–72, pls. CLXXII–CLXXX
Irby, Cdr C. L. 2, 71, 74, 251, 287, 290. **II**:
307
Irene (Byzantine empress) **II**: 195
'Iribbin, Kh. (H. 'Erav) 250–1. **II**: map 3
Isaac, tomb in Cave of Machpelah *see* Hebron
Isabella (sister of Baldwin IV) **II**: 367
Isabella (Sibylla, countess of Ascalon and
Jaffa) 64. **II**: 44
Isaias (Greek archbishop of Lydda) **II**: 13
Isbaita (*Subeita*), church **II**: 17, 25
Iskandariya *see* Iskandaruna
Iskandaruna (Iskandariya, *Scandalion*,
Scandalium) 251. **II**: map 3
castle chapel (**no.** 102) 251
territory 250, 251
lord *see* Guy
Isle de Graye *see* Jazirat Fara'un
Isma'il Ibn Sālim bint Nu'mān **II**: 95–6
Israel
Archaeological Survey 280
Department of Antiquities (now Antiquities
Authority) 82, 97, 121, 229
Military Government of the West Bank 140
National Parks 62, 121, 166
Istanbul *see* Constantinople
Itabyrion *see* Mount Tabor
Italy, pottery from 266
Iuuenia *see* Juniya
Ivelinus (apostate Armenian) **II**: 12
Iveta (Judith, abbess of Bethany) 123, 258–9
Ivo Velos *see* Velos
'Iyās Ibn 'Abdallah **II**: 184, 188, 195
'Izz al-Dīn al-Afram (amir of Jandar) **II**: 121
'Izz al-Mulk (governor of Tyre) **II**: 367
Jabal al-Qafza *see* Mount of Precipitation
Jabal ar-Rama **II**: 202
Jabal as-Sikh **II**: 141
Jabal at-Tur *see* Bethphage, Mount Tabor
Jabal Harun (Mount Hor, *Mons Or*, *Muscera*)
monastery church of St Aaron (**no.** 103)
251. **II**: 377, map 10
Jabal Katarina **II**: 51, 54, 62–3. *see also*
Mount Sinai
Jabal Musa **II**: 53, 54, 58–61, fig. 13. *see also*
Mount Sinai
Jabal Niha **II**: 372
Jabal Quruntul (Mount of Quarantine, Mount
of Temptation, *Locus ieiunii*, *Mons
temptacionis in deserto*, *Quarantena*,
Quarentina, *Quadragenum*, *Quadrantena*,
la Quarantayne, *Quarantaine*, *Carentene*).
II: map 9
confused with Gibeon 252
Latin hermits *see* Constantius, William
laura of Douka 252. **II**: 221
priory of Quarantena 123, 252–4, 276. pl.
CLXXXII. **II**: 261
chapels
Annunciation (**no.** 106) 256
Holy Cross (**no.** 105) 253, 256
Our Lord's Fast and First Temptation
(**no.** 106) 253, 254, 256–7, fig. 74. pl.
CLXXXIII

- Our Lord's Third Temptation (**no. 107**) 254, 257, fig. 75
 St Elias (**no. 104**) 254
 St Mary (**no. 104**) 253, 254–6, fig. 73, pl. CLXXXI
 possessions
 Jericho, tithes and churches 253, 275
 prior *see* Rainaldus
 fortress of Dok 252, 257
 Jabal Zubaira **II**: 374
Jabin *see* Bait Jibrin
 Jabneel (Jabneh) *see* Yibna
 Jacinth (cardinal deacon) **II**: 43
 Jacinthus **II**: 176
 Jacob 107, **II**: 94, 114, 176
 tomb in Cave of Machpelah *see* Hebron
 Jacob (Greek abbot of St Mary of Kalamon) 197, 201, pl. CXLIV
 Jacob b. Nathaniel **II**: 352
 Jacobites *see* Syrian Orthodox
 Jacob's Well (Bir Ya'qub, Balata, *Fons/Puteus Jacob, Puis Jacob*)
 church of the Saviour (**no. 108**) 1, 2, 3, 136, 238, 258–64, figs. 76–8, pls. CLXXXIV–CLXXXIX, **II**: 94, 96, 99, 114, 181, 296, 366, map 5
 Jacoby, Z. **II**: 129, 135
Jafenia *see* Jifna
 Jaffa (Joppa, Yafa, Yafo, *Jafis, Joppe*) 102, 139, 264–7, 284, fig. 79, **II**: 5, 11, 52, 97, 183, 318, 346–7, 378, 380, map 7
 battle of (1192) 269
 castellan 272
 castle chapels of the Holy Cross and St Lawrence (**nos. 111–12**) 270, 272
 chaplain *see* William Lovelle
 chapels
 of the Hospitallers (**no. 116**) 271
 churches
 of the abbey of St Mary of Jehoshaphat (**no. 114**) 270
 of the Franciscans (**no. 115**) 271
 of the house of Simon the Tanner (**no. 117**) 271–2, fig. 79
 of the Pisans (**no. 118**) 272
 of the see of Bethlehem (**no. 119**) 272
 St Mary (**no. 113**) 270
 St Nicolas (**no. 110**) 268–9, fig. 79
 St Peter (**no. 109**) 267–8, 272, fig. 79
 dean 270, *see also* Geoffrey of Blois
 hospital of the abbey of St Theodosius (**no. 120**) 272–3, **II**: 272
 ladies, countesses, etc. *see* Emma, Sybil
 Latin *see*, attempt to establish 264, 267, 269
 lords, counts, etc. *see* Amalric, Hugh I, Hugh II, John of Ibelin, Walter of Brienne, William Barlais
 lordship 264, **II**: 183
 mosques 269
 of the Bastion (Jami' at-Tabiya) (**no. 117**) 272
 Orthodox *see* 264
 properties in religious hands 266
 tomb of unknown bishop (d. 1258) 269, pl. CXC
 Tower of the Patriarch 266, 271–2
 treaty of (1192) 208, **II**: 281
Jafis *see* Jaffa
 Jaljala **II**: 35
 Jamāl al-Dīn [...] Ibn Ishaq (builder of mosque in Jaffa) 269
 Jamal al-Dīn Sharwīn (amir) **II**: 168
 Jamāl Pasha **II**: 70
 James (Hospitaller chaplain of Nablus) **II**: 104
 James of Avesnes, death and burial 59–60
 James of Mandalé (Amigdala) **II**: 30, 40
 James of Vendôme (Franciscan guardian of Nazareth) **II**: 122
 James of Verona 31, 39, 101, 117, 154, 158, 192, 254, 272, **II**: 53, 60, 69, 87, 98, 116, 146, 163, 188, 203, 220, 241, 282, 287, 297, 321, 378
 James of Vitry (bishop of Acre) 1, 253, **II**: 153, 211, 249, 282, 317, 321, 336
Jannia *see* Yibna
 Janin (*le Grand Gerin, grande Gerinum, crassa uel major, Gallina, Genirum, Geminum, Ginnin, Genon, Jannin, Jinin, Ginae, En Gannim*) 106–7, 273, **II**: 283, map 5
 church (**no. 121**) 273
 lords 273
 al-Janiya (*Megina*) **II**: 29
Jannin *see* Janin
 al-Jaulan 108
 al-Jawili *see* 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar
 al-Jazar, Tall (Abu Shusha, Gezer, Tel Gezer, *Mongisart, Mons Gisard, Mons gisart, Monghisart*) 274–5, **II**: map 8
 battle of (1177) 273–4
 priory church of St Catherine of Mongisart/the Field of Battle (**no. 122**) 274
 prior suffragan of bishop of Lydda 274, *see also* Peter
 wely of Shaykh Musa Tali'a 274
 Jazirat Fara'un (al-Quraiya, Pharaoh's Island, *Isle de Graye*) 274–5, **II**: map 10
Jeham (*Sehan, Seham*, hill of St Moses) **II**: 377
 Jeremias of Brescia (custos Terrae Sanctae) 125
 Jericho (ar-Riha, *Iericho, Hiericho, Jherico, Riha, Ariha*) 101, 198, 252, 275–6, 279, **II**: 241, 339, 340, 348, map 9
 biblical site of (Tall as-Sultan) 221
 church of the house of Zacchaeus (**no. 123**) 276
 lordship 275–6
 Orthodox *see* 194, **II**: 97, 102
 plain of 183, 252
 Russian hospice **II**: 200
 viscount of 275
see also Bait Jubr at-Tahtani, Garden of Abraham
 Jerome *see* St Jerome
 Jerusalem 1, 8, 39, 95, 101, 102, 139, 140, 157, 161, 204, 227, 264, 275, 286, **II**: 44, 220, map 8
 Armenian Patriarchate 39, 295
Asnerie (*Asinaria*) **II**: 332
 British School of Archaeology 3, 62, 149, 279, **II**: 16, 231, 332
 churches, chapels and religious houses 2
 Ascension (St Mary on the Mount of Olives) 1, 3, 157, **II**: 259
 possessions in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria **II**: 227, 284
 priors 253, *see also* Bernard
 Dair al-Adas (Convent of Lentils) 91, **II**: 17, 247
 at Damascus Gate 3
 Gethsemane (cave) 44
 Holy Sepulchre (*Kumamah*) 1, 3, 225, 238, 261, **II**: 10, 381
 bell-tower 246
 brothers of, *see* Stephen Ortal
 canon *see* Azo
 possessions: Acre, including church **II**: 32; 'Ain Qania **II**: 29; Ascalon, mosque and house 63; *Baineolbederan*, land 63; Bait Jiz, Kh., including church (**no. 33**) 101, 160; Bait Suriq including church (**no. 35**) 103; Bait 'Ur al-Fauqa **II**: 260; Baitin including church (**no. 36**) 104; Barfilia including church (**no. 40**) 101, 110; Bethany, including church of St Lazarus (**no. 59**) 123, 135; Bir Ma'in including church (**no. 65**) 101, 160; al-Bira, including church (**no. 66**) 161–2; Dair al-Fiqya, tithes 196, **II**: 330; Dair al-Balah, including church (**no. 82**) 194, 275; Duraish, Kh. ad- (?) **II**: 260; Jabal Quruntul, priory of Quarantena (**nos. 104–7**) 253; Jaffa, including churches (**nos. 109–10**) 264, 267, 268–9; al-Janiya **II**: 29; Jericho, including churches 275; Kafr Malik, possibly including Kh. al-Marjama and church (**no. 140**) **II**: 29; Kafr Rush. Kh. **II**: 260; Kafr Rut, including church (**no. 128**) 101, 286; al-Mazra'a al-Qibiliya **II**: 29; Mimas, Tall, including church (**no. 144**) **II**: 32; Nabi Samwil, near **II**: 86; Nablus, including church (**no. 162**) 194, 275, **II**: 102–3; Old Haifa, including church (**no. 174**) 222n, **II**: 150–2, 156; al-Qubaiba, including church (**no. 184**) **II**: 167–8; ar-Ram, including church (**no. 186**) **II**: 180; Shilta, including church (**no. 233**) 101, **II**: 316; Shaumariya, Kh. ash-, including church (**no. 231**) **II**: 314; Sinjil, church (**no. 246**) 196, **II**: 330; Tarshiha **II**: 31; Tekoa (**no. 254**) 123, **II**: 348; *terre del Sepulcre* near Mimas **II**: 32; Turmus 'Aiya 196, **II**: 330
 priors 253, *see also* Hugh of Nissun, Nicolas, Peter
 tomb in: Adam (below Calvary) 224
 Lord's Prayer (*Pater Noster*) 157, 159
 St Anne 2, 44, 123, 129, 238–9, **II**: 8, 366
 St Chariton **II**: 222
 St Elias **II**: 44–5, 224, 227
 St Euthymius **II**: 230
 St James (Armenian cathedral) **II**: 381
 St James Intercisus **II**: 265
 St John the Baptist 282
 St Mark 204
 St Mary (*Spoudé*) **II**: 272
 St Mary Latin 2
 abbot 253
 possessions: Beirut, church (**no. 46**) 116; Jaffa, including church (**no. 113**) 270; Qaqun **II**: 164; St Euthymius, village of **II**: 237–8; Sidon, in lordship **II**: 320
 prior *see* Albert
 St Mary Major/Parva 2
 St Mary Magdalene (Jacobite) 204, **II**: 359
 abbot *see* Ignatius
 possessions: 'Adasa, Kh. **II**: 180; *Dayr Dakariya*, including church (**no. 88**) 204

- St Mary of Mount Sion 1. **II**: 123
 possessions: Ascalon, including mosque (**no. 24**) 69; Fahma, including church (**no. 89**) 205; Lajjun **II**: including house 3; Nablus, houses **II**: 96; Shu'fat **II**: 44, 316; in Sicily, Apulia and Calabria **II**: 227; Kh. Tabaliya (*Tyberie*) **II**: 334
 prior 253
- St Mary of the Germans 16, 17, *see also* Teutonic knights
- St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat 3, 63, 124. **II**: 86, 153
 abbot 253, 270. **II**: 68, *see also* Guy, John, Peter
 possessions: Ascalon, church (**no. 14**) 63; 'Askar, including priory (**no. 25**) 69. **II**: 96; Balata, vineyard 258; Bethalla, including chapel (**no. 58**) 122; Habra **II**: 322; Haifa, including church (**no. 97**) 223; Jaffa, including church (**no. 114**) 270; Lajjun, including church (**no. 135**) **II**: 3-4; Lydda **II**: 11-12; Mazr'a ash-Sharqiya **II**: 29-30; Nablus, house **II**: 96; as-Safiriya, including chapel (**no. 197**) **II**: 218-19; St George de Chaman **II**: 238; Sidon, including church (**no. 239**) **II**: 322; Tarafain, Kh. **II**: 29-30, 347; Tiberias, including church and hospital (**nos. 257, 259**) **II**: 3-4, 356, 358; Ti'innik, tithes **II**: 3
 village of *see* Bethalla
- St Mary on the Mount of Olives *see* Ascension
- St Michael the Archangel **II**: 17, 247, 262
- St Moses **II**: 52
- St Passarion **II**: 258
- St Sabas **II**: 259, 261
- St Saviour (Gethsemane) 2
- St Stephen 2
- St Thecla 91
- St Theodosius **II**: 272
- Templum Domini*
 abbot **II**: 102
 canons *see* Guericus
 possessions: 'Ain Karim, including church (**no. 7**) 31, 38, 39, 204; Ascalon, including mosque (**no. 23**) 68-9; Janin 273; Nablus, including parish church (**no. 160**) **II**: 97; Shaubak, including parish church (**no. 229**) **II**: 305, 310-11; Yibna, including houses **II**: 379
 prior 253
 council of (1102) **II**: 64
 David's Gate **II**: 44
 École Biblique et Archéologique Française 2, 8, 29, 53
 Franciscan convent of Mount Sion **II**: 198
 Greek Orthodox Patriarchate 185. **II**: 16, 35, 273
 chapel of St Constantine 200
 museum **II**: 137, pl. XC
 Haram ash-Sharif **II**: 9
 Hospital of St John 18, 165, 250, *see also* Hospitallers
 leper house of St Lazarus *see* St Lazarus, Order of
 Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum **II**: 235
- patriarchs (Greek) 31, 53, 125, *see also* Anastasius, Benedictos, Cyril, Dositheos, Elias, Gerasimus, Juvenal, Leontius, Macarius, Martyrius, Modestus, Nectarios, Nicephorus, Sallust, Sophronius, Zacharias
 residence at Qatamun **II**: 167
- patriarchs (Latin) 69, 123, 228, 252, 270. **II**: 44, *see also* Aimery, Albert of Vercelli, Arnulf of Chocques, Daimbert of Pisa, Evremar of Chocques, Fulcher, Gerold of Lausanne, Gibelin of Arles, Ralph of Merencourt, Robert of Nantes, Soffred, Warmund, William I, William II of Agen
 house in Damietta 202
 village of near Jaffa 272
- qadi 32
- roads to/from **II**: 5, 30, 44, 156, 157, 333
- St Stephen's Gate **II**: 332
- Stadium Biblicum Franciscanum (including museum) **II**: 156, 296, 363
- synod (518) **II**: 63
- Temple area (Haram ash-Sharif) 134, 161
- Temple of Solomon **II**: 34
- Tower of David (Citadel) 162. **II**: 259
 monastery of **II**: 271
- Turbat Barakat Khan **II**: 113
- Valley of Jehoshaphat, hermits **II**: 153
- viscounts *see* Pisellus, Roardus
- walls **II**: 169
- Jesse (father of King David) 93
- tomb **II**: 203
- Jessur *see* Yazur
- Jesus Christ **II**: 27
 life
 birth *see* Holy Nativity
 childhood **II**: 116, 140, 145
 presentation in the Temple **II**: 111
 baptism *see* Baptism, Place of
 fast and temptation in wilderness 252
 miracle at Cana **II**: 162
 teaches in Nazareth synagogue **II**: 116
 miraculous catch of fish **II**: 359-60
 Sermon on the Mount **II**: 334
 church of *see* at-Tabgha
 Feeding of Five Thousand **II**: 334
 associated with: Hattin **II**: 337, 356;
 at-Tabgha **II**: 334-7; Tiberias, church of St Andrew (**no. 256**) **II**: 356
 church of *see* at-Tabgha
 Feeding of Four Thousand, located near Capernaum **II**: 335
 in region of Tyre and Sidon **II**: 321
 cures ten lepers 73
 cures Mary Magdalene **II**: 28
 received by Zacchaeus in Jericho 276
 retoreto sight to blind man in Jericho 101
 Transfiguration **II**: 53, 56
 miracle in Na'in **II**: 115
 descent from Mount of Transfiguration 192-3
 anointed with oil by Mary in Bethany 122-3
 raises Lazarus in Bethany 122, 125, 159
 entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday 122, 157, 159
 Last Supper 166
 Crucifixion **II**: 6
 appears to Cleopas at Emmaus 7, 8, 52
 appears to disciples beside Sea of Galilee **II**: 334, 360
- to appear in Lydda at the End of Days (Muslim *hadith*) **II**: 10
- churches and chapels of
 Monastery of the Cross (**no. 145**) **II**: 33
 Prison of, in Nablus **II**: 110, *see also*
 Baptism, Fast, Feeding of Five Thousand, Feeding of Four Thousand, Holy Nativity, Mount of Precipitation, Passion and Resurrection, Resurrection, Saviour, Temptation, Transfiguration
- Jewish inhabitants in medieval Acre 227, Haifa 222, Hebron 224, Jezreel 277, Lydda **II**: 111, Tiberias **II**: 352
- Jezreel 277. **II**: 224
- Jezreel (Zir'in, Tel Yizra'el, *Gezrael, Iezrael, Paruum Gerinum, cursum Gallinarum, Zarain, Zaraein, Zaraym*) 276-7. **II**: map 6
 church (**no. 124**) 3, 277-9, fig. 80, pls. CXCI-CXCIII
 Jezreel's tomb 277
 plain (Esdraelon) 276 **II**: 3, 63, 155
- Jherico* *see* Jericho
- al-Jib (Gibeon, *Gabaon*) 279. **II**: map 8
- Jifna (*Gophna, ?Jafenia*) 18, 279-80. **II**: 339, map 8
- churches
 Latin (modern) 280
 St George (Greek) 279, 280-1
 ?St George (al-Khidr) (**no. 125**) 280-2, fig. 81, pls. CXCIV-CXCV
- Jindas, Jisr **II**: 13, 379
- Jinin* *see* Janin
- Joachim (abbot of St Sabas) **II**: 262
- Job, tomb of **II**: 239, *see also* St Job
- Jobert (master of Hospitallers) 101, 216. **II**: 105
- Jocelmus of Tornell (Hospitaller castellan of Mount Tabor) **II**: 68
- Johann Georg (prince of Saxony) **II**: 37
- John IX (Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem) 197, 201, pl. CXLIV
- John (bishop of Acre) **II**: 32
- John (bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 354
- John II (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) **II**: 51
- John I (abbot of *Palmaria* and Mount Tabor) **II**: 66, 78, 154, 155, 156
- John II (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 78
- John (abbot of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat) **II**: 356
- John (prior of 'Askar) 69
- John (deacon of Sinai) **II**: 56
- John (vicar of St Mark, Beirut) 116
- John (Georgian monk of Monastery of the Cross) **II**: 33
- John (son of Xenophon) tomb at monastery of St Chariton **II**: 222-3
- John (lord of the Schuf) **II**: 328
- John (brother of Roger of Haifa) **II**: 150
- John (*Iohannes*, mason) **II**: 139
- John (son of Saba, son of George) **II**: 377
- John Bufile **II**: 358
- John Climacus (abbot of Sinai) **II**: 50
- John de Montfort (lord of Tyre) **II**: 332
- John of 'Askar (monk) 69
- John I of Athens (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) **II**: 51
- John of Bogalet (*scribanus*) **II**: 30
- John of Brienne (king of Jerusalem) 166, 202. **II**: 67
- John of Carrara (hermit) **II**: 64
- John of Damascus *see* St John Damascene

- John of Haifa (dragoman and scribanus of Mi'iliya) **II**: 30
- John of Ibelin (count of Jaffa, legal theorist) 81, 208, 228, 273, 274, 283. **II**: 3, 11, 65, 159, 184, 199, 244, 258, 266, 317, 379
- John of Ibelin (lord of Beirut) 111, 112. **II**: 384
- John of Jerusalem **II**: 27
- John of Le Puy (sergeant) 222
- John of Thebes *see* St John the Chozibite
- John of Würzburg (pilgrim) 106, 139, 147, 157, 159, 268. **II**: 66, 87, 115, 211, 359
- John Moschus, burial at St Theodosius monastery **II**: 271, 277
- John Patrick (knight) **II**: 29
- John Rufus **II**: 283
- John Semes (bailiff of archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 210
- John the Roman (bishop of Bethlehem) 139, 155
- John the Venetian **II**: 358
- John Tzimisces (Byzantine emperor) **II**: 64
- Johns, C. N. 71, 74. **II**: 7, 8, 371
- Joinville, John of **II**: 5, 302, 320, 321
his portable chapel on Damietta campaign (1249–50) 202–3
- Jonah **II**: 346, *see also* St Jonas
- Jones, Mrs A. H. M. **II**: 235
- Joppa (Joppe) *see* Jaffa
- Jordan, River 108, 109, 183, 198, 221, 251, 275. **II**: 43, 241, 283, 345, 348
- Jorge (Joffre) Timeron (son of seigneur d'Enguerrand) **II**: 320
- Joscelin III of Courtney (titular count of Edessa) 80. **II**: 30, 40, 339, 367
- Joscelin (lord of Qaimun) **II**: 159
- Josef Nasi, Don **II**: 355
- Joseph, tomb of *see* Hebron, an-Nabi Yusuf
- Joseph (son of Saba, son of George) **II**: 377
- Joseph of Tiberias, Count **II**: 210, 353–4
- Joseph's Cistern or Pit (Jubb Yusuf)
at Tal'at ad-Damm **II**: 345
in the plain of Dotan 106–7. **II**: 345
- Josephus Flavius **II**: 63, 283
- Joshua 221. **II**: 352
- Jubail, church 175. **II**: 272
- Judaea 50, 102, 183, 184, 223
- Juine *see* Juniya
- Julian (renegade Templar) 118
- Julian Garnier *see* Garnier, Julian
- Julian the Apostate (Byzantine emperor) **II**: 283, 284
- Juliana (lady of Caesarea) 181
- Juliana (niece of emperor Valentinian) **II**: 200
- Julius Pusterla **II**: 25
- al-Junaina (Burj al-Hammar) 282, fig. 82. **II**: map 8
- Juniya (Djounie, *Juine*, *Iuuenia*). **II**: map 2
church (no. 126) 283
- al-Jurn, Tall 222
- Justinian I (Byzantine emperor) 138, 258. **II**: 10, 11, 33, 50, 56, 60, 86, 87, 98, 219, 240, 356
- Juvenal (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 229
- Juwar al-Qasr *see* Qasr 'Antar
- Kabara, Kh. **II**: 152
- Kaber *see* Kabul
- Kabrata *see* Rachel's Tomb
- Kabul (*Cabor*, *Cabur*, *Chabor*, *Kaber*) 283. **II**: map 3
- Kafarkenna *see* Kafr Kanna
- Kafarrus *see* Kafr Rush, Kh.
- Kafr Barik *see* Bani Na'im
- Kafr ad-Dik (*Capaer*) 18
- Kafr Haris (*Casreherre*, *Kafreherre*) **II**: 104, 105
- Kafr Jinnis (al-Kanisa, *casellum S. Abacuc*, *saint Abaccu de Cantie*, *s. Abacuch de Quantie*, *s. Abacu de Cancie*, *s. Abatut/Abacuc de Cansie*)
abbey of St Habakkuk (no. 127) 104, 283–5, pl. CXCVI. **II**: 199, map 8
- abbots
suffragans of bishop of Lydda 283
see also Amalric, Herbert
- Kafr Kanna (*Cafrequenne*, *Capharkenne*, *Casal Robert*, *Kafarkenna*) 285–6, pls. CXCVII–CXCVIII. **II**: map 6
- churches
Franciscan, former synagogue 285
- Greek 285–6
- identified with Cana of Galilee 285. **II**: 162–3
- Kafr Malik (*Cafarmelic*) **II**: 29
- Kafr Na'im *see* Na'im
- Kafr Rush, Kh. (*Kafarrus*) **II**: 260
- Kafr Rut, Kh. (H. Kefar Rut, *Cafaruth*, *Capharuth*, *Capharruth*) 101
church (no. 128) 286. **II**: map 8
- Kafr Tūthā **II**: 369
- Kafreherre *see* Kafr Haris
- Kaiafa (*Kaifa*, *Kaiphās*) *see* Haifa
- Kalamoniya (*Kalamonos mone*) *see* Dair Hajla
- Kalavun *see* Qalāwūn
- Kalayan, H. **II**: 324, 328
- Kalenson (*Kalensu*) *see* Qalansuwa
- Kallai, Z. **II**: 29
- Kallinikos (Greek monk) 185
- al-Kāmil Muḥammad (Ayyubid sultan) 137
- al-Kanisa *see* Kafr Jinnis
- al-Kanisa (El Kanisah) *see* Latrun, castle chapel
- Kanisa, Kh. al- (*Capernaum*, *Capharnaon*) **II**: 227, 370
- Kanīsat al-Tūr *see* Mount Sinai, abbey
- Kanīsat ar-Rawat *see* Shepherds' Field
- Kaplan, Dr J. 266. **II**: 185–6
- Kara *see* Qara, Kh.
- Karak (*Chrac*, *Crac*, *le Crac de Montreal/Mont royal*, *Cracum Montis Regalis*, *Petra Deserti*, *Pierre dou Desert*, *Ciuitas Petracensis*, *Karak al-Shawbak*, *Characmoba*) 286–7. **II**: 43, 52, 310–11, map 10
- archbishops *see under* Petra
- bishops, Greek Orthodox 293, *see also* Meletios the Cypriot
- castle chapel (no. 130) 196, 288–93, 310, figs. 83–4, pls. CXCIX–CCII. **II**: 307, 313, 376
- chaplains *see* Lawrence, Nicolas, Rainald, William
- cathedral church (no. 129) 287–8, fig. 83
chapter 287
- churches
Sts Cyrus and John 293
- ?St George (Greek) (no. 131) 293, figs. 83 and 85, pls. CCIII–CCIV
- St George (al-Khidr) (no. 132) 293–5, figs. 83 and 86, pls. CCV–CCVI
- St George (Armenian) (no. 133) 295
- St James (Armenian) (dubious) 295
- lords of *see* Maurice, Payen the Butler, Philip of Milly
- mosque 287
- see of* Petra transferred to 286
- Tower of St Mary **II**: 310–11
- Kariat al-'Anab *see* Abu Ghosh
- Kassaba, Kh. (*Cannetum Sturnellorum*) **II**: 278
- Kathisma *see* al-Qadismu
- Katsimbini, C. 191
- Kedar, B. Z. **II**: 154
- Kefar Dikriya *see* Dhikrin
- Kefar Otnay, H. *see* Lajjun
- Kefar Rut, H. *see* Kafr Rut, Kh.
- Kefrescilla *see* Shilta
- Kenaan-Kedar, Nurith **II**: 285
- Kephrecytha *see* Shilta
- Kerykos *see* St Cyriacus
- Kesalon, Nahal *see* Nahr al-Hamar
- al-Khalil *see* Hebron
- Khalil, al-Ashraf (Mamluk sultan) 251
- Khamasa, Kh. *see* 'Ain al-Kanisa
- Khamman, Tall al- *see* St George de Chaman
- Khan al-Ahmar, Kh. *see* St Euthymius, monastery of
- Khan al-Hathrura *see* Tal'at ad-Damm
- al-Khidr (*Casale S. Georgii*) 204. **II**: 329, map 8
church of St George (no. 134) 93, 295–6
- mosque 296
- al-Khidr, shrines of
Ascalon 63–4
- al-Ba'ina 82
- Beirut (no. 44) 116
- Dair al-Balah 195
- Sarepta (no. 224) **II**: 282
- at-Taiyiba (no. 250) **II**: 340
- see also* at-Taiyiba (no. 250), St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
- al-Khidr, Tall *see* St George de Chaman
- al-Khirba *see* Zaita, Kh.
- Khoury, Paul **II**: 321
- Khulda (*Huldre*) 53
- Khuraitun, Kh. *see* St Chariton, monastery of
- Khwarizmian Turks 137, 139, 161, 266. **II**: 5, 351
- Kibbutz Merhavva *see* al-Fula
- Kidron Valley **II**: 258–9
- Kifa *see* Haifa
- King's Highway *see* Darb al-Hajj
- Kinrot, Tel *see* Gennasareth
- Kiriath-Arba, *see* Hebron
- Kiriath-Jearim (*Cariathiarim*, Dair al-'Azar)
church of the Ark of the Covenant 7
- Kishon, River (*flumen de Cayfa*, *Flum de Caiphās*, Nahr al-Mukatta) **II**: 150, 153, fig. 44
- Kitbughā, al-'Adil (Mamluk sultan) **II**: 188, 193, 195
- Kitbuqa (Mongol) **II**: 318
- Kitchener, H. H. 62, 110, 158, 200, 203. **II**: 279
- Kléber, General **II**: 55
- Kloner, Amos 97
- Kocabi *see* al-Qubaiba
- Kohler, Ch. 226
- Konya *see* Iconium
- Kootwyk, Jan 24, 32, 40, 53, 162, 164. **II**: 46–7, 142, 148, 337
- Kopp, C. 29. **II**: 245, 335, 354, 363, 371
- Kore (Persephone), temple of **II**: 283
- Kühnel, Gustav 13, 14. **II**: 268, 270

- Kumāmāh* see Jerusalem, churches, Holy Sepulchre
 al-Kurmul, Kh. (*Carmel*) 26
 al-Kursi, Tall see Rujm al-Mughhaifir
 al-Kus'a 274
 Kuwaikat (*Cochetum*) II: 32
 Kuziva see Choziba
- de Laborde, Louis 275. II: 288
Lacomedia see al-Qunaitira
 Laffi, Domenico II: 287
 Lagrange Fr M. J. 201
 Lajja (*Liiah*) II: 52
 Lajjun (*Legio*, *Ligio*, *Ligum*, *le Lyon*, H. Kefer Otnay) II: 3–5, map 5
 church (no. 135) II: 3–5
 monk see Englebert the Monk
 viscount II: 3
 Lambert of Jaffa (Pisan) 272
 Lambert Hals (Alsus) II: 32
 Langé, S. 178
 Langendorf, J. J. II: 307
 Lannoy, Guillebert de II: 360
Lasaumalaria see as-Sumairiya
 Latrun (*Toronum*, *Turo(nem)* *Militum*, *le Toron des Chevaliers*, *Toron de los Caballeros*, *Turris militum*, *Turun as Chivalers*, *al-Natrin*) 53. II: map 8
 castle II: 5–8, figs. 1–2
 chapel (al-Kanisa, El Kanisah) (no. 136) II: 5–9, fig. 2, pl. I
 identified as Castle of the Good Thief (*castrum Boni Latronis*) II: 6
 identified as Modein II: 6
 Trappist monastery II: 7
 abbot II: 7, 8
 Lattakia, church of St Demetrius II: 52
 Laufray, J. 117
 Lavergne, Fr II: 106
 Lawrence (chaplain of lord of Karak) 289
 Lawrence, T. E. 71, 110, 275
 Lazarus (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
 Lazi, monastery of, possible identification with Monastery of the Cross II: 33
 Leah, tomb on Cave of Machpelah see Hebron
 Lecomte de Noüy 209. II: 107, 170, 171, 188
 Ledoux, M. (French consul in Jerusalem) 229
Legio see Lajjun
Legio VI Ferrata II: 3
 de Legione (de Lions, de Lyon) family II: 3
 Leiden 225
 Leo III (pope) II: 76
 Leo IV (king of Armenian Cilicia) 295
 Leo Tatian II: 38
 Leon II: 44
 Leontius (Greek patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 120
 Leopold (duke of Austria) 166. II: 67
 Lepanto II: 321
Letaria see al-Attara
 Lethard II (archbishop of Nazareth) II: 4, 119, 139, 147
 Levaillant II: 76
 Liège, church of St John the Evangelist II: 285
Ligio (*Ligum*) see Lajjun
Liiah see Lajja
 Limoges
 diocese of 155, 227. II: 105
 enamel II: 57
 de Lions family see de Legione
 Litani, River 110
- Little Mount Hermon (Giva'at ha-Morer) 121
 Little Mount Hermon (*Armona*, near the Place of Baptism) II: 241
Locus ieiuni see Jabal Quruntul
Lod see Lydda
 Loffreda, Fr S. II: 28, 337
 Lohmann, P. II: 87
 Longinus (abbot of Sinai) II: 56
 Lorenzo, Giovanni (Franciscan father guardian of Nazareth) II: 70
 Loreto, Holy House of II: 287
 Lortet, P. II: 114
 Lot II: 34
 tomb of see Bani Na'im
 Louis VII (king of France) II: 285, 286
 Louis IX (king of France) 70, 166, 202, 203, 222, 266, 271. II: 5–6, 68, 121, 163, 184, 210, 218, 318, 320, 321
 Lubban Sharqiya (*Lubanum*) II: 105
 Lucca II: 377
Luceri see Susya, Kh.
 Lucius II (pope) 63. II: 372
 Lucius III (pope) 112, 115, 119, 162, 253, 283. II: 30, 102, 168, 180
Lüdd see Lydda
 Ludolph of Sudheim 228, 254, 259. II: 13, 62, 69, 142, 220, 241, 304
 de Luynes, duc 287
 Lydda (*Diospolis*, *Georgiopolis*, *Lod*, *Lüdd*, *Lydde*, *Lydea*, *uilla S. Georgii*) 7. II: 5, 6, 11, 16, 27, 167, 181–2, 219, 377, map 8
 archbishop (Greek) II: 196, 244, see also Isaias
 archdeacon II: 12, see also Ralph
 bishops 253. II: 12, 154, 156, 199, 258, see also Aetius, Bernard, Godfrey, Robert of Rouen, Roger
 castle (*castrum S. Georgii*) II: 12
 cathedral church of St George (no. 137), containing his tomb 8, 66, 102, 238, 296. II: 9–27, 139, 182, 184, 187, 190, 196, 258, figs. 3–6, pls. II–XVIII
 church of St Mary (no. 138). II: 27, 258
 diocese of Ramla-Lydda 101, 104, 110, 197, 264. II: 258
 suffragans 274
 Jewish inhabitants II: 11
 lordship of II: 11, 182, 183
 mosque II: 16–17, pls. V–XI
 precentor II: 12
 sculpture from Monastery of St John the Baptist (no. 209)
 viscounts of II: 11, see also Peter
 see also *Mahumeria*
 de Lyon family see de Legione
le Lyon see Lajjun
- Ma'ale Adumim (*Maledoim*) see Tal'at ad-Damm
 Ma'alot see Mi'iliya
 Ma'arat Eliyahu see St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
 Macarius (Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 201
 Macarius III (abbot of Sinai) II: 54
 Macarius (Georgian monk at St Sabas) II: 259
 Maccabees II: 6
 city of see Modein
 Machaerus II: 283
Machomaria see al-Bira
 Machpelah, Cave of see Hebron
- Mackay, Capt. E. J. H. 229, 235–6. II: 229
 Madaba II: 43, map 9
 mosaic map 204, 208, 221. II: 9, 97, 219, 347, 373
 Mader, A. E. 24. II: 202, 334
 Madio de Marino (Genoese) II: 210
 al-Mafjar, Kh. 221–2
 Mafrij Ibn Abū'l-Ḥayr (Syriac monk) 18
 Magdala (*Chastiel Magdalon*, *Magdalia*, *Magdalum*, al-Majdal, Migdal), church of St Mary Magdalene (no. 139). II: 28, 153, map 4
 Magharat al-Mukallik see St Theoctistus, monastery of
 Magi (Three Kings, or Wise Men) II: 158, 271, 277
Magna Mahomeria see al-Bira
 Magnesia in Caria II: 259
 al-Mahna, plain of 259
Mahomaria Parva (*Machomaria Parva*, *Mahomeria*, *Mahomeriola*, *Mahomeria la Petita*) see al-Qubaiba
Mahomeria major (*Mahumeria*) see al-Bira
Mahumeria (*Mahumerie*) near Lydda, possibly identifiable as the White Mosque in Ramla 161. II: 11–12
 Ma'in II: 10
Maiumas see al-Mina
 al-Majdal see Magdala
 Majdal Yaba (H. Migdal Afeq, *Mirabel*, *Mirabellum*) 104. II: 28–9, map 8
 castle 26. II: 28–9, 87
 church suggested II: 29
 lord of see Baldwin
 lordship 264. II: 184
 martyrism of St Cyriacus (Kerykos) II: 29
 tithes II: 104, 105
 al-Makhayyat, Kh. II: 43, map 9
 Makhoul, N. 82. II: 207, 370
Malahumeria see al-Bira
Maledoim see Tal'at ad-Damm
 Maliba II: 35
 al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn (Ayyubid) II: 40, 43, 68, 120
 al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāh al-Dīn Dā'ūd (Ayyubid) II: 318
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (Ayyubid) II: 68
 al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl (Ayyubid) II: 351
Maluae II: 105
 Mamas, suggested identification with *Bethalla* 122
 Mamas (benefactor of St Theodosius) II: 271
Mambre see ar-Rumaida, Tall
 Mamluks 70, 268, 271. II: 31, 32, 34
Mamodie see 'Ain al-Ma'mudiya
Mamre see Rumaida, Tall ar-Manasses of Hierges II: 28
 Mandeville, Sir John 254. II: 62, 142, 258, 287, 356, 360
 Mangialardo da Trani, Fr Alfonso II: 145
 Mangles, Cdr J. 2, 71, 74, 287, 290. II: 307
 Mango, Cyril 200
 Manhata, Kh. (Kh. Tharfila, *Tarphile*, *Trefile*) II: 40
mansio Helie see St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
 al-Manṣūr Lājīn (Mamluk sultan) II: 188
 al-Mansura 202
 Manuel I Comnenus (Byzantine emperor) 16, 101, 109, 139, 141, 154, 184, 197, 216. II: 200, 224, 230, 241, 301
 Mar 'Abadia, church of see 'Abud
 Mar Elias see St Elias, St Elias of Carmel

- Mar Hanna, Kh. *see* Sandahanna, Kh.
 Mar Jirjis (St George) 195–6, *see also* at-Taiyiba
 Mar Samwil *see* Nabi Samwil
 Mar Yuhanna *see* St John the Baptist, monastery of
 Marcella II: 63
 Marcellinus (bishop of Diocaesarea/Saffuriya) II: 210
 Marescalcie II: 104, 105
 Mareshah *see* Sandahanna, Tall
 Margaret (queen of France) 271. II: 68
 Margaret (lady of Sidon) II: 323, 328
 Maria Comnena (widow of king Amalric I) II: 95
 Mariano of Siena II: 169
 Marina *see* St Margaret of Carmel
 Maris (Marinus, abbot of monastery of St Theoctistus) II: 268
 Mariti, Giovanni 71, 157. II: 31, 248, 250, 302, 346, 361
 al-Marjama, Kh. II: 29, map 8
 church (no. 140) II: 29
 Maronites
 chapel of *see* Beirut (no. 55)
 presence in Bethlehem (no. 61) 139
 Marqab, castle chapel 100
 Marseilles II: 321
 archbishop *see* Benedict of Alignan
 Martha of Bethany 157, *see also* Sts Mary and Martha
 Martin V (pope) 228
 Martin (monk of Mount Tabor) II: 65
 Martorelli, I. 95. II: 116
 Martyrius (patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 230
 Massacre of the Innocents 38
 Matilda (abbess of Bethany) 123
 Matlab, Tall. II: map 9, *see also* Gilgal
 Matt'eos (Armenian) II: 301
 Matthew Iubianus (churchwarden of St Mark, Beirut) 116
 Matthew le Sarmage (Templar preceptor in Sidon) II: 324
 Matthew Paris II: 87, 144, 241, 245, 345
 Maundrell, Henry 32, 115, 251. II: 211, 220–1, 288
 Maurice (bishop of Porto) 166, 181
 Maurice (lord of Montreal) 286. II: 305, 310
 Maurice of Craon 228. II: 52
 Maurienne in Savoy II: 284
 Mauss, C. 2, 8, 150, 289–90. II: 17, 21
 Mawdūd of Mosul II: 94, 351
 Maxentius (Roman emperor) II: 51
 Maximianopolis (Lajjun) II: 3
 Maximinus (Roman emperor) II: 51
 Mayer, L. A. II: 184, 185
 Mayer, H. E. 63, 64, 124, 135–7
 Mazari' an-Nubani II: 30
 Mazra'a, Kh. al-II: 30, *see also* Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya
 Mazra'a al-Qibiliya (Mezera) II: 29, 30
 Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya (Cauca, Kh. al-Mazra'a, Mezera, Mezera, Mezerech, Taret) church (no. 141) II: 29–30, 347, map 8
 Meblie *see* Mibiliya, Kh.
 Medan (Meddan) *see* Muzairib
 Mefaa *see* Umm ar-Rasas
 Megiddo *see* Mutasallim, Tall al-Megina *see* al-Janiya
 Meimaris, Y. E. 191. II: 231
 Meinardus, Otto 255
 Meinerzhagen, Col. Richard 237
 Meistermann, Fr Barnabé 287, 293. II: 62, 70, 75–6, 170
 Melchizedek II: 66, 83–5
 cave church of *see* Mount Tabor (no. 158)
 Meletios (abbot of St Sabas) *see* Miletus
 Meletios the Cypriot (bishop of Karak) 293
 Meletus (Syrian archbishop of Gaza and Bait Jibrin) 101, 216
 Melisende (wife of King Fulk) 123, 134, 136, 258, 275, 283. II: 32, 86, 95, 104, 105, 153, 260, 348
 Melitene II: 229
 Menas (deacon of Monastery of the Cross) II: 38
 Mensa (M. Domini, M. Iesus Christi) *see* at-Tabgha
 Merle *see* Tantura
 Meschium *see* Misqah, Kh. al-du Mesnil du Buisson, Count 112
 Messabile *see* Monastery of the Cross
 Mezera *see* Mazra'a al-Qibiliya
 Mezera (Mezeraz, Mezerech) *see* Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya
 Mhalia *see* Mi'iliya
 Mibiliya, Kh. (Mobilir, Meblie) II: 40
 Michael Syncellus (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
 tomb II: 259–60
 Michael the Syrian II: 359
 Micheel, casale II: 268
 Michigan University II: 55
 al-Midiya II: 6
 Migdal *see* Magdala
 Migdal Afeq, H. *see* Majdal Yaba
 Migdal Tūtā *see* Umm Tuta, Kh.
 Mi'iliya (Castrum/Castellum Regis, Castellum Novum, Castellum Novum Regis, Chastiau/chastel dou Rei, Ma'alot, Mhalia) 80. II: 339, map 3
 castle II: 30–1, 40, fig. 7
 church of St Mary Magdalene (no. 142) II: 31–2, fig. 7
 courthouse (curia) II: 31
 dragoman and scribanus *see* John of Haifa
 Frankish settlement II: 31
 leper house (no. 143) II: 32
 mill II: 31
 Miles of Plancy 208
 Miletus (Meletios, abbot of St Sabas) II: 260
 Milik, J. T. 19–20, 293
 Mimas, Tall (Amimas, Mimas, Mitmās, Tel Bet ha-'Emeq), church of St Mary (no. 144) II: 32–3, map 3
 al-Mina (Maiumas) 208. II: 373
 bishop *see* Peter the Iberian
 Minzar, H. ha- *see* St Mary of Carmel
 Mirabel (Mirabellum) *see* Majdal Yaba
 Misqah, Kh. al- (Meschium) II: 86
 Mitmās *see* Mimas, Tall
 Mitylene 140
 Moab, mountains of II: 43
 Mobilir *see* Mibiliya, Kh.
 Modein (Modin, Modeim), city and burial place of the Maccabees II: 6
 identified with 'Amwas 53
 Latrun II: 6
 al-Midiya II: 6
 Suba (Belmont) II: 6
 Modestus (Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 202, 259, 271
 Monastery of the Cross (Dair as-Salib, Dair al-Musallaba, ecclesia S. Crucis, Messabile, Monasterium Georgianum ... ad Truncum sive Stipitem), including abbey church (no. 145) 33, 37, 200. II: 17, 33–40, 167, 263, fig. 8, pls. XIX–XXVI, map 8
 abbots *see* George (Prochorus), Nicephorus
 deacon *see* Menas
 monks *see* Dikaïos, Gabriel, Gerasimus, Gregory, John, Moses, Neophytos
 possessions
 Dair Ka'kul II: 35
 Dair Musa II: 35
 Jaljala II: 35
 Maliha II: 35
 Qatamun II: 167
 relic of St Barbara II: 35
 Monastery of the Eunuchs *see* Rujm al-Mugh-aifir
 Monghisart (Mongisart) *see* Jazar, Tall al-Mongisart family 273
 Mongols II: 34, 324
 il-khan *see* Ghazan
 Monjoie *see* Nabi Samwil
 Monreal *see* Shaubak
 Mons Cain *see* Qaimun, Tall
 Mons excelsus ualde *see* Mount of Precipitation
 Mons Gaudii *see* Mount Joy, Nabi Samwil
 Mons Gisardi (Mons gisart), *see* Jazar, Tall al-Mons Or *see* Jabal Harun
 Mons Realis *see* Shaubak
 mons Silo *see* Nabi Samwil
 Mons Synai *see* Mount Sinai
 Mons temptacionis in deserto *see* Jabal Quruntul
 Montana (Moitana), village near Jerusalem 30–1
 Montjoie *see* Nabi Samwil
 Mont Real (Montreal) *see* Shaubak
 Mont Synay *see* Mount Sinai
 Montefiore, Sir Moses II: 177
 Montfort Castle (Frans Castiaus, Qal'at al-Qurain, Qal'at al-Qarn, Starkenberg) 80, 110, 250. II: 30, 31, 40–42, 324, fig. 9, pl. XXVII, map 3
 castellan *see* Peter de Convenientia
 chapel (no. 146) II: 42–3, 162, fig. 9, pl. XXVIII
 Montreal *see* Shaubak
 Monza II: 141
 Morone da Milano, P. Mariano II: 6
 Morosini, Fr B. II: 287
 Moses (prophet) 251. II: 43, 49, 52, 53, 58, 63, 66, 373, *see also* St Moses
 Moses (monk of Monastery of the Cross) II: 38
 Mount Abarim (Abarum mons, Mons Abarim), monastery church (no. 147) II: 43
 Mount Berenice II: 356
 Mount Carmel 222. II: 150, 205, 226, 368–9, 370, fig. 44
 Stella Maris Convent II: 226
see also St Elias of Carmel (no. 203), St Margaret of Carmel (no. 211), St Mary of Carmel (no. 213)
 Mount Ebal II: 95
 Mount Garizim 259. II: 95, 98, 114, 115
 Mount Hermon 108, *see also* Little Mount Hermon
 Mount Hor *see* Jabal Harun
 Mount Horeb, associated with Mount Sinai II: 49, 59
 Mount Joy (Mons Gaudii) church of St Mary (?) (no. 148) II: 43–5, 316, map 8

- Mount Joy of Jerusalem, Order of St Mary of II: 43-5
 possessions
 Acre II: 44
 Ascalon 64. II: 44
 near Jerusalem II: 44
 Nasba, Tall an- (*Toanasaba*) II: 44
Palmarium, near Iskandaruna II: 44
 see also Nabi Samwil
- Mount Nebo II: 43
- Mount of Olives 122, 157
 church of see Jerusalem
- Mount of Precipitation (Har Qedumim, Jabal al-Qafza, The Lord's Leap, *Mons excelsus ualde*, *Precipitium*, *Saltus Domini*, *le Saut*), chapel of St Mary (?) (no. 149) II: 45-8, 144, fig. 10, pls. XXIX-XXX, map 5
- Mount of Quarantine (Temptation) see Jabal Quruntul
- Mount Scopus see Ras Masharif
- Mount Sinai (*Mons Synai*, *Mont Synay*, *Thursin*, *Tür Sina*) 293. II: 49, 304
 abbey and church of St Mary, or St Catherine (*Dayr Tür Sina*, *Kanišat al-Tür* (no. 150) 18, 275. II: 49-58, 62, 262, figs. 11-13, pls. XXXI-XXXII
 abbots (from AD 869 also bishops (later archbishops) of Firan) 287. II: 50, 51, 53, 54, see also Elias, Gabriel, George, John Climacus, John I of Athens, John II, Longinus, Macarius III, Simeon, Solomon, Zacharias
 chapels of St James the Less, the Bush, Forty Martyrs (formerly St John the Baptist) II: 56
 deacon see John
 dedication transferred to St Catherine II: 53
 mosque II: 51, 57
 possessions
 Acre, including church II: 52
 Alexandria, including church II: 52
 Antioch, including houses II: 52
 Constantinople II: 52
 Crete II: 52
 Damascus, including houses and church II: 52
 Firan II: 52
Fucra II: 52
 Jaffa, including houses 266 II: 52
 Jerusalem, including church II: 52
 Karak, including houses 293 II: 52
 Lajja II: 52
 Lattakia, including hospital II: 52
 Rabba II: 52
 Shaubak, including houses II: 52, 305
 at-Tur II: 52
 Wadi Musa II: 52
- chapels
 of the Franks II: 54
 St Mary of the Pledge (or Apparition) (no. 151) II: 53, 58, fig. 13, pl. XXXIV
 St Moses (no. 153) II: 53, 59-61, figs. 13-14, pls. XXXV-XXXVI
- churches
 of 'Elisha', identified with chapel of St Mary (no. 151) II: 58
 St Catherine on Jabal Katarina II: 62-3, fig. 13
 St Elias (no. 152) II: 53, 58, 59, fig. 13
 monasteries
- Forty Martyrs (Dair al-Arba'in, Dair al-Lajah), including church of St Mary (no. 154) II: 61-2, fig. 13
 Holy Bush (no. 150) II: 50
 mosque on Jabal Musa II: 60, 61, fig. 14
- Mount Tabor (Har Tavor, *Itabyrion*, Jabal at-Tur) 192. II: 163, map 6
 abbey church of St Elias (Greek) (no. 157). II: 65, 66, 79, 81-3, 227, figs. 15, 20, pl. L
 abbey church of the Saviour (or Transfiguration), incorporating chapels of St Moses and St Elias (no. 155) 3. II: 63-80, 83, 118, 154, 354, figs. 15-18, pls. XXXVIII-XLVII
 abbots II: 64-8, 81, 118, see also Andrew, Bernard, Garinus, Geoffrey (Gaufridus), Gerard (Gerald), John I, John II, Pons, Raymond
 cellarer II: 66
 chapel (no. 156) 250. II: 79, 80-1, figs. 15, 18-19, pls. XLVIII-XLIX
 lay brothers II: 66, see also Radulph de Turcopoliis
 monks II: 66, see also Martin, Raynald
 possessions
 Dabburiya, including church (no. 81) 192
 Dair al-Fiqya, tithes 196. II: 330
 Mount Carmel II: 227-8
 Na'im II: 115
Palmaria II: 154-6
 Qaimun, including church (no. 179) II: 159
 Sinjil, church 196. II: 330
 Sulam II: 155
 Tiberias, tithes and market proceeds II: 352, 354
 Turmus 'Aiya, tithes 196. II: 330
 'Ulam, tithes II: 372
 precentor II: 66
 prior II: 65, 66
 sub-prior II: 66
 treasurer II: 66
 bishops see Gerard (Gerald), Prestutus, Theophanes
 castle II: 66-8, 78, figs. 15, 18
 Hospitaller castellan see Jocelmus of Tornell
 cave church of St Melchizedek (no. 158) II: 83-5, figs. 15, 21, pl. LI
 cave of 'Nemini dixeritis' II: 85
 see of Scythopolis transferred to 93. II: 64, 118
 al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (Ayyubid) 70, 120-1, 155, 166, 179, 192, 287. II: 66-7, 206, 220, 367
 Müller-Wiener, W. M. 287
 Mughairif, Kh. (and Tall Mughairif) see Rujm al-Mughairif
 Muhallal, Tall II: 268
 Muḥammad (Prophet) II: 50
 al-Muhraqa II: 226
 Mujir al-Din 229. II: 13, 177, 184, 185-6, 188, 203, 261
 Multiplication, church of the see at-Tabgha, churches, Feeding of the Five Thousand
 al-Muqaddasi 62, 194, 208, 224, 267. II: 10, 86, 95, 98, 182, 185, 351, 354
 al-Muqtadir (Abbasid caliph) II: 196
 Murano II: 57
 Mūsā al-Jifnāwī (of Jifna) 184, 191, 279
- Muscera see Jabal Harun
- Musil, A. 287
- Mutasallim, Tall al- (Megiddo) II: 3
- mutatio Calamon see Old Haifa (Tall Abu Hawam)
- al-Muzaffar Ḥājji (Mamluk sultan) II: 34
- Muzairib (*Medan*, *Meddan*) II: 238
- Muzio, G. (architect) II: 123
- Nabi Harun see St Aaron
- Nabi Lut, mashhad, at Bani Na'im 107
- Nabi Musa II: 230
- Nabi Samwil (*Armathem*, *Bersamul*, *Dayr Shamwil*, *Mār Samwil*, *Mons Gaudii*, *Monjoie*, *mons Silo*, *Montjoie*, *Rama*, *St Samuel*) 7, 8. II: 12, 44, 168, 224, map 8
 abbey church of St Samuel (no. 159) 2, 248, 283, 284. II: 44, 85-94, figs. 22-3, pls. LII-LVIX
 abbot II: 86, see also Hugh, R[...], Theodoric
 possessions
 Nablus, church (no. 164) II: 104
Torasdis II: 104
 identified as
 Rama (Ramathaim-Zophim) II: 85-6
 Shiloh II: 87
 Nabi Yaqin 107
 an-Nabi Yusuf (Qabr Yusuf, Tomb of Joseph) 224. II: 94, map 5
- Nablus (*Naples*, *Neapolis*, *Sichem*, *Sychar*) 39, 50, 69, 161, 258, 259, 279. II: 29, 32, 181, 329, fig. 24, map 5
 castle (*Turris Neapolitana*, *castrum Fontis Tancredi*) II: 94-5
 churches 2
 Dair al-Bunduq (no. 167) II: 103, 110-11, 296, figs. 24, 29
 Lord's Passion and Resurrection (no. 162) II: 101-3, 110, 111
 of the Templum Domini (no. 160) II: 97, 101, 110
 dean of Nablus see Guiricus
 St John (Armenian) (no. 163) II: 103-4
 St John the Evangelist (no. 164) II: 104
 possessions: Kafr Haris II: 105; Majdal Yaba II: 105; *Marescalcie* II: 105; *Torasdis* II: 104; Rantiya II: 105; Susya. Kh. II: 105
 church and hospital of St John the Baptist (Jami' al-Masakin) (no. 165). II: 101, 104-7, 110, figs. 24, 26, pls. LXX-LXXIV
 priests and chaplains see Hymbertus, James
 council of (1120) II: 95, 97
 mausoleum of Shaykh Badrān II: 115
 mosques
 great mosque (former church) (no. 161) 262. II: 97-101, 103, 196, 331, figs. 24, 25, pls. LX-LXIX
 Jami' al-Anbiya II: 106
 Jami' al-Khadra (Jami' Hizn Sidna Ya'qub) II: 111-15, figs. 24, 30, pls. LXXVII-LXXIX
 Jami' an-Nasr (former church) (no. 166). II: 97, 98, 103, 107-10, figs. 24, 27-8, pls. LXXV-LXXVI
 Orthodox see 194. II: 97, 102
 Prison of Jesus II: 110
 Samaritan synagogues II: 111, 113-15

- springs
 'Ain al-Masakin **II**: 107
 'Ain al-Qasab **II**: 110
 viscount **II**: 305
see also Shechem
- Naboth 277
 al-Nabulusi **II**: 288
 Nahal Remey *see* Wadi Rushmiya
 Nahal Sorek *see* Wadi as-Siqqa
 Nahr al-'Amud **II**: 153
 Nahr al-Faliq 166
 Nahr al-Hamar (Nahal Kesalon) 239
 Nahr al-Limun (Nahal Zalmon) **II**: 153
 Nahr al-Matna *see* Wadi Rushmiya
 Nahr al-Mukata *see* Kishon, River
 Nahr al-Musrara *see* Ayalon, River
 Nahr Amis **II**: 153
 Nahr az-Zarqa (Crocodile River) **II**: 257, 314
 Nahr Jibrin 95
 Nahr Nughl 120
 Na'im (Kafr Na'im, *Naim*, Na'in, *Naym*)
 church (of St Batholomew?) (**no. 168**) **II**:
 115-16, map 6
 maqam Sayidna **II**: 116
Naples *see* Nablus
 Napoleon I Buonaparte (emperor of France)
 II: 55, 198
 Nasba, Tall an- (*Toanasaba*) **II**: 44, map 8
 al-Nāṣir Faraj (Mamluk sultan) 107
 al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (Mamluk sultan) 229
 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (Mamluk
 sultan) 228, 251. **II**: 34, 167, 185,
 188, 194, 195
 al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Faraj (Mamluk sultan)
 II: 220
 al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, al-Malik (Ayyubid) 277
 an-Nasira (*al-Nāṣira*) *see* Nazareth
 Nāsir-i Khusrāw 7, 62, 166, 225, 239. **II**:
 182, 318, 351, 352, 365
Nativity *see* Holy Nativity
al-Natrūn *see* Latrun
 Nau, M. 32. **II**: 6, 169, 174, 262, 350, 360
Naym *see* Na'im
 Nazareth (an-Nasira, *al-Nāṣira*, Nazeret) 192,
 283. **II**: 45, 47, 68, 163, 364, fig. 31,
 map 5
 archbishops **II**: 64-5, 118, 153, 154, 155,
 156, 210, *see also* Bernard, Henry,
 Hugh, Lethard II, Robert I, William I,
 William II of St John
 bailiff of Saffuriya *see* John Semes
 house **II**: 138
 possessions
 in the Battāuf **II**: 210
 Mi'iliya, including house **II**: 30
 Saffuriya **II**: 210
 steward of *see* Henry
 cathedral church of the Annunciation, or
 St Mary (**no. 169**) **II**: 4, 64, 68,
 116-40, 148, 336, 354, figs. 31-9, pls.
 LXXX-XC
 cemetery **II**: 120, 139, fig. 124
 chapter **II**: 118, 120, 141
 hospital **II**: 118
 possessions in
 Acre, including church **II**: 119
 Italy **II**: 119
 priors *see* William
 subdeacon *see* Basil
 cave of the Annunciation and house of the
 Virgin (containing altars of St Mary,
 St Joseph, St Gabriel, St Anne) **II**:
 118-23, 129-33, figs. 32, 37-9, pl.
 LXXXIII-LXXXIV
 churches 2, 3
 St Gabriel (**no. 170**). **II**: 140-4, 146,
 148, figs. 31, 40, pl. XCI
 ?St Gabriel (now St Joseph, or the Nutrition)
 (**no. 173**). **II**: 141, 146, 147-50, figs.
 31, 43, pl. XCII
 priors *see* William
 St Zacharias (or St Mary of the Fear, St
 Anne) (**no. 171**). **II**: 144-5, 146, figs.
 31, 41
 synagogue-church (**no. 172**). **II**: 145-7,
 figs. 31, 42
 diocese **II**: 155, 354
 Franciscans of **II**: 302
 father guardian *see* Lorenzo, Giovanni
 museum **II**: 129, 135
 house of Joseph **II**: 118, 120, 142, 147-8
 St Mary's well or fountain **II**: 141, 146,
 fig. 31
 see of Scythopolis transferred to 93. **II**: 64,
 118, 354
 Sisters of **II**: 303
 tomb of St Joseph **II**: 118, 119
Neapolis *see* Nablus
 Nectarios (Greek Orthodox patriarch of Jeru-
 salem) **II**: 262
 Negev **II**: 17
 Negev, Avraham 178
 Nemours, church of **II**: 286
 Neophytos (monk of Monastery of the Cross)
 II: 38
 Neophytos *see* St Neophytos
 Nestorians
 erroneously identified at Monastery of the
 Cross (**no. 145**) **II**: 34
 possible presence in Nazareth (**no. 170**) **II**:
 142
 presence in Bethlehem (**no. 61**) 140
 Neumann, G.-A. 7
 Neuville, Fr Marcello **II**: 70
 New Laura of St Sabas (Bir al-Wa'ar) **II**: 348
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art **II**: 41
 Newton, F. G. 62
 Nicaea
 First Council of (325) **II**: 9
 Second Council of (787) 141
 Nicephorus (Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem)
 II: 10, 51
 Nicephorus (abbot of Monastery of the Cross)
 II: 35, 38
 Nicolas IV (pope) **II**: 333
 Nicolas V (pope) 140
 Nicolas (abbot of St Theodosius) **II**: 272
 Nicolas (chaplain of lord of Karak) 289
 Nicolas (prior of the Holy Sepulchre) 104. **II**:
 260
 Nicolas Bergsson (abbot of Thvera) 109
 Nicolas de Martoni 39, 117, 254. **II**: 62, 242
 Nicolas of Poggibonsi 31, 124-5, 156, 254,
 259. **II**: 6, 13, 34, 37, 53-4, 59, 60,
 69, 76, 116, 121, 142, 144, 158, 163,
 177, 185, 196, 203, 211, 220, 224,
 241, 287, 297, 345, 364
 Nicolas Scriba **II**: 44
 de Nicolay, Marquise Pauline **II**: 170, 175
 Nicolle, David 26
Nicopolis **II**: 9, *see also* 'Amwas
 Nile, River 202
 Nîmes **II**: 329
 Nimr Bay **II**: 371
 an-Nitla, Kh.
 church 222
 erroneous identification with Gilgal 221-2
 Nitowski, Dr Eugenia (Sister Damian of the
 Cross OCD) **II**: 251
Nobe *see* Bait Nuba
 Normandy **II**: 101
 North Africa, pottery from 266
 Norwegians **II**: 317
Nostre Dame de Mareys (de Marreis/dou Marais)
 see St Mary of the Marshes
 Nubian Christians, presence at Nazareth
 (**no. 171**). **II**: 144
 Nūr al-Dīn 26, 108, 286. **II**: 372
 Nutrition, church of *see* Nazareth
- Oak of Mamre, identified with
 Ramat al-Khalil **II**: 201-2
 as-Sibta **II**: 204
 Tall ar-Rumaida **II**: 201-4
 Obadiah (Abdias, prophet), supposed tomb in
 Sebaste **II**: 283, 286-7
 Obicini of Novara, Thomas (custos) 32
 Ode[...] (mason's mark) 263
 Oderic of Friuli 254, 284. **II**: 13
 Odo (canon of Hebron) 225-6
 Odo of Châteauroux (bishop of Tusculum,
 papal legate) 266. **II**: 121
 Odo of Montbéliard (prince of Galilee) **II**: 351,
 355
 Ogier (mason) **II**: 139
 Old Haifa (*Cayphas Vetusta*, *Salmonah*, Tall
 Abu Hawam, *Vetus Caypha*) 222. **II**:
 155-6, 205, fig. 44, map 3
 priory church (**no. 174**) 222n. **II**: 150-2,
 155
 Old Laura *see* St Chariton, monastery of
 Oliver of Paderborn 69
 Ophrah (Ephron) *see* at-Taiyiba
 Ory, J. 277, 279
 Otto of Henneberg **II**: 30, 40
 Ottoman Turks 141, 162, 229
 Our Lady *see* St Mary
 Ovadia, A. 65. **II**: 159
 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum **II**: 237
- Pacher of Brunnecken, Frederick (painter) **II**:
 363
*Pain Perdu (Pan Perdu, Peine Perdue, tur de
 Seynt Lazare)* **II**: 152, 257
 church of St Lawrence (**no. 175**) 167. **II**:
 152
 possible identification with *casale S. Petri
 Cesaree* **II**: 152
 Palestine
 Department of Antiquities 82
 see also Filastin
 Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) **II**: 21
 Palm Sunday procession 122, 123
*Palmarea (lucus palmarum, Palmaria, la
 Paumere, near Haifa)* **II**: 150, 153,
 155-6, fig. 44
*Palmaria (Palmarea, Palmaereia, Palmaria,
 Palmerium, Solinum)* (beside Sea of
 Galilee) 192. **II**: 153, map 4
 abbey church (**no. 176**) **II**: 150, 153-6
 abbots *see* Elias, John
 lady of *see* Ahuhisa
Palmarium (near Iskandaruna) **II**: 44
 Pamproux (Deux-Sèvres), church **II**: 329
Paneas *see* Banyas
 Papatheodorou, Paris (architect) **II**: 16

- Paris **II**: 320
 Bibliothèque Nationale **II**: 336
 cathedral church of Notre-Dame 74. **II**: 43
 Musée du Louvre **II**: 295
- Parthians **II**: 278
- Parva Mahomeria* see al-Qubaiba
- Parva Palmeria* (near Tiberias) **II**: 153
- Parvum Gerinum* see Jezreel
- Pasarion, tomb in monastery of St Euthymius **II**: 230
- Paschal **II** (pope) 63, 138. **II**: 64, 68, 118, 155, 159, 320
- Paschia de Riveri (mistress of Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem) **II**: 95
- Passion and Resurrection, church of the see Nablus (**no.** 162)
- Pastors* see Shepherds' Field
- Paul (Georgian monk at Old Laura) **II**: 221
- Paul of Antioch (Orthodox bishop of Sidon) **II**: 321
- Paula (companion of St Jerome) **II**: 282, 345, see also St Paula
- Payen (lord of Haifa) **II**: 3, 150
- Payen the Butler (lord of Montreal) 286
- Pelacius, Brother 124
- Pelagius (papal legate) 202, 203
- Pelagius, Brother **II**: 154
- Perera, Juan (Franciscan friar) **II**: 54, 98, 167, 203, 209, 298
- Persians, occupation of Palestine (AD 614–29) 138, 252
- Petahya of Regensburg, Rabbi **II**: 176
- Peter (archbishop of Caesarea) 167. **II**: 152
- Peter (archbishop of Tyre) **II**: 12
- Peter (bishop of Bethlehem) 155
- Peter (bishop of Hebron) 237
- Peter (bishop of Sidon) **II**: 320, 355
- Peter (abbot of St Mary of Jehoshaphat) 258. **II**: 4
- Peter (prior of St Catherine of the Field of Battle) 274
- Peter (prior of the Holy Sepulchre) **II**: 44, 102. **II**: 330
- Peter (Syriac Priest) 18, 20
- Peter (viscount of Lydda) **II**: 184
- Peter (mason) **II**: 139
- Peter (son-in-law of John the Venetian) **II**: 358
- Peter Aspebet **II**: 229, 268
- Peter da Molino (vicar of St Mark, Beirut) 116
- Peter de Convenientia (castellan of Montfort) **II**: 40
- Peter de Pennis 115. **II**: 350
- Peter Godfrey **II**: 358
- Peter of Avalon (constable of Tiberias) **II**: 328
- Peter of Bethany (*de S. Lazaro*) (monk of 'Askar) 69
- Peter of S. Marcello (cardinal) **II**: 66
- Peter of St Lazarus, Brother 124
- Peter of Tiberias (Hospitalier) **II**: 358
- Peter the Deacon 7, 109, 224, 225, 277. **II**: 94, 115, 146, 334, 358
- Peter the Iberian (Monophysite bishop of *Maiumas*) **II**: 373
- Peter the Seneschal 201
- Peter the Venerable (abbot of Cluny) **II**: 66
- Peter Ziani (doge of Venice) **II**: 52
- Petra 251, 287. **II**: 374
 see transferred to Karak 286, 287. **II**: 51, 310
 archbishops see Guerricus
- Petra Deserti* see Karak
- Petronilla (viscountess of Acre) **II**: 30
- Petrozzi, M.T. 26
- Pfintzing, George 273
- Phagor **II**: 43
- Pharan* see Firan
- Pharaoh's Island see Jazirat Fara'un
- Philadelphia* see 'Amman
- Philip (canon of Sidon) **II**: 320
- Philip I Arabicus (Roman emperor) **II**: 95
- Philip Augustus (king of France) **II**: 286
- Philip of Milly (lord of Montreal/Karak) 286. **II**: 52, 374
- Philip of Savona 284. **II**: 224, 241, 250, 302, 350, 364
- Philip the Good (duke of Burgundy) 140. **II**: 198
- Philippe de la Très Sainte-Trinité **II**: 245, 250
- Philip's Fountain 23–4
- Philistines 208
- Phillips, Capt. H. **II**: 16, 279, 288, 290
- Phocas, John 31, 39, 52–3, 109, 141, 147, 184, 197, 198, 200, 221, 253. **II**: 12, 13, 24, 66, 81, 84, 85, 120, 129–30, 141, 176, 200, 210, 224, 227, 230, 238, 241, 282, 286, 297, 315, 321, fig. 38
- Photios Alexandrides (monk) **II**: 273
- Piacenza Pilgrim 108, 204, 224. **II**: 9, 50, 60, 63, 145, 158, 227, 251, 260, 272, 283
- Picardy **II**: 101
- Piccirillo, Fr Michele 191
- Piellat, Comte de 8, 13
- Pierotti, E. 229
- Pierre d'Aubusson (grand master of the Hospital in Rhodes) **II**: 287
- Pierre dou Desert* see Karak
- Pilgrims' Castle see 'Adlit
- Pipino, Francesco 39
- Piquet* (graffito writer) 201
- Pisans 80, 111, 264, 269. **II**: 30
 possessions in Jaffa, including church (**no.** 118) 272
- Pisellus (viscount of Jerusalem) **II**: 158
- Pisellus of Sinjil **II**: 329
- Pisgar **II**: 43
- Pius II (pope) **II**: 52
- Plaimplied, church of St Martin **II**: 135
- Pococke, Dr Richard (bishop of Meath) 71, 223. **II**: 123, 165, 170, 175, 177, 225, 350, 378
- Poimaneion* (*Poimnion*) see Shepherds' Field
- Poitiers, count of 203
- Poloner, John 1, 39, 101. **II**: 158, 163, 224, 287, 297, 337
- Pons (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 78. **II**: 330
- Pontius (abbot of Cluny) **II**: 65
- Porfyria* see Barfilia
- Porfyria* see Haifa
- Porphyria* see Barfilia
- Porphyreon* see Haifa
- porta Cayre* **II**: 154
 suggested identifications **II**: 155–6
- Posniakov, Basil **II**: 242
- Prawer, J. 62, 81, 203. **II**: 304
- Premonstratensians
 churches and houses
 Beirut, St Michael (**no.** 50) 118–19
 Floreffe 283
 Kafr Jinnis, St Habakkuk (**no.** 127) 104, 283–4
 Nabi Samwil, St Samuel (**no.** 159) 283. **II**: 86–7
- Nablus, St John the Evangelist (**no.** 164) **II**: 104
- Nazareth (**no.** 173) (suggested) **II**: 147
- Rantis, St Joseph of Arimathea (**no.** 190) 104, 283. **II**: 199
 on pilgrimage to Jerusalem 283
- Prémontré, abbey of **II**: 86
 abbots **II**: 86, 199, see also Gervaise
- Prestutus (bishop of Mount Tabor) **II**: 63
- Princeton University **II**: 55
- Prochorus see George
- Procopius of Caesarea (historian) **II**: 10, 33
- Prosper, Fr (Carmelite) **II**: 228–9, 245
- Provence **II**: 135
- Ptolomaida* see Acre
- Puis Jacob* (*Puteus Jacob*) see Jacob's Well
- Qabr Lut see Bani Na'im
- Qabr Yusuf see an-Nabi Yusuf
- al-Qabu (H. Qovi) **II**: 156, map 8
 church (**no.** 177) **II**: 156–7, fig. 45, pls. XCIII–XCIV
- al-Qadismu (Bir al-Qadismu, *Cadichinos*, *Kathisma*)
 chapel of St Mary (**no.** 178) **II**: 157–8, 271, 333, map 8
- Qaimun, Tall **II**: 159, map 5
 castle **II**: 159, 161
 church (**no.** 179) 3. **II**: 159–61, 366, fig. 46, pl. XCV
 lords see Aymar, Joscelin, Walter, William
- Qairawan **II**: 181
- Qaisariya see Caesarea
- Qalansuwa **II**: 100, 161, map 5
- Qal'at ad-Damm see Tal'at ad-Damm
- Qal'at ad-Dubba (Qal'at Dubal) **II**: 161–2, map 4
- Qal'at Jiddin **II**: 162, map 3
 chapel (**no.** 180) **II**: 162
- Qal'at an-Niha see Tirun an-Niha
- Qal'at al-Qarn (Qal'at al-Qurain) see Montfort Castle
- Qal'at ash-Shaqif Arnun see Beaufort Castle
- Qalāwūn (Kalavun) al-Alfi, al-Malik
 al-Manšūr (Mamluk sultan) 223, 224. **II**: 3, 6, 68, 112, 121, 159, 205, 206–9, 228, 230, 245, 250, 318, 333, 367, 369, 370
- al-Qalqashandī **II**: 32, 369
- Qaluniya (?*Saltus Muratus*) 8
- Qana, Kh. (*Cana Galilee*, *Chana Galilee*, H. Qana, *Quane Galilee*) **II**: 163, map 3
 church of the Ruler of the Feast (**no.** 181) **II**: 162–4
 identified with Cana of Galilee 285. **II**: 162–3
- Qa'qa'iya see Qasr Bint al-Malik, Kh.
- Qaqun (Caco, *Caccho*, *Cacho*, *Caço*, *Caque*, *Chaco*, *Quaquo*, Yikon) **II**: 105, 164–5, map 5
 castle **II**: 164
 church (**no.** 182) **II**: 165
 spurious Templar 'convent' **II**: 164
- Qar[...] (mason's mark) 263
- Qara, Kh. **II**: 155, map 6
- Qarn, Wadi al- **II**: 40
- Qaryat al-Inab see Abu Ghosh
- al-Qasr, Kh. 8
- Qasr al-Yahud, see St John the Baptist, monastery of
- Qasr ash-Shaikh Raba **II**: 176
- Qasr 'Antar (Qasr al-'Abd, Juwar al-Qasr).

- church of St Habakkuk (**no. 183**), **II**: 165–6, 348, fig. 47, map 8
- Qasr Bint al-Malik, Kh. (Qa'qa'iya) **II**: 356
- Qasr Hajla *see* Dair Hajla
- Qasr Hayfa *see* Haifa
- Qasr Islayin *see* 'Ain adh-Dhirwa
- Qastal (*Belueer*) 8
- Qatamun (Qatamon, *Katamonas*) **II**: 166–7, map 8
- church of St Simeon **II**: 167
- Qaymāz al-Najmī (amir) 120
- Qaysariya *see* Caesarea
- Qesari, H. *see* Caesarea
- Qever Rahel *see* Rachel's Tomb
- Qovi, H. *see* Qabu, Kh.
- Quadrangrenum *see* Jabal Quruntul
- le Quaimont *see* Qaimun, Tall
- Quaquo *see* Qaqun
- Quarantena (*Quarantaine, la Quarentayne, Quarentina*) *see* Jabal Quruntul
- Quaresmi, Francesco (Franciscan friar) 2, 32, 40, 140, 141, 154. **II**: 6, 13, 28, 35, 46, 54, 60, 63, 69, 122, 129, 142–3, 144–5, 146, 148, 163, 167, 177, 203–4, 211, 242, 262, 287, 333, 350, 360, fig. 38
- Qubbat Rahil *see* Rachel's Tomb
- al-Qubaiba (*Ma(c)homaria Parva, Mahomeria, Mahomeriola, Mahomeria la Petita, Parva Mahomeria*) 7, 103, 160, 161. **II**: 167–8, 180, map 8
- church (**no. 184**) 2, 3, 165. **II**: 168–74, 181, fig. 48, pls. XCVI–XCVIII
- hall (*curia*) **II**: 168, 170, 174–5, fig. 49
- 'house of Cleopas' **II**: 171, 174–5
- identification with Emmaus 8. **II**: 168–70, 174–5
- 'tomb of Cleopas' **II**: 169, 173–4
- al-Qunaitira (*Lacomedia*) **II**: 153, map 4
- al-Quraiya *see* Jazirat Fara'un
- Quruntul *see* Jabal Quruntul
- R[...] (abbot of St Samuel) **II**: 86
- Raba (Kh. Rabin) **II**: 176, map 6
- Rabba (*Roboe*) **II**: 52
- Rabbat *see* 'Amman
- Rabi' Ibn 'Umar al-Ma'rri (writer of graffiti) 154
- Rachel's Tomb (*Chabrata, Kabrata, Qever Rahel, Qubbat Rahil, Sepulcre Rachel, Sepulchrum Rachelis*) 93. **II**: 176–8, 224, fig. 50, map 8
- Radulph de Turcopoliis (lay brother of Mount Tabor) **II**: 66
- Rafidiya
- church (of St George?) (**no. 185**) **II**: 178–9, map 5
- medieval wall **II**: pls. XCIX–CI
- Raimundus de Jafenia (ʔof Jifna) 279
- Rainald (bishop of Hebron) 228, 237
- Rainald (chaplain of lord of Karak) 288
- Rainald of Fleury (master of leper house of St Lazarus) **II**: 152
- Rainaldus (prior of Quarantena) 253
- Raithou *see* at-Tur
- Ralph I (bishop of Bethlehem) 63, 139, 154
- Ralph (bishop of Sebaste) **II**: 285–6, 295
- Ralph (prior of Sebaste) **II**: 285
- Ralph (archdeacon of Lydda) **II**: 188
- Ralph (chaplain of Ramla) **II**: 187–8, 378
- Ralph de Septem Molis **II**: 218
- Ralph of Coggeshall **II**: 87, 224
- Ralph of Merencourt (patriarch of Jerusalem) 167, 284
- Ralph the Englishman **II**: 210
- ar-Ram (*Rama, Ramatha, Ramathes, Ramitta*) 26. **II**: 179–80, map 8
- church (**no. 186**) **II**: 180–1
- curia **II**: 168, 175, 180
- Rama (Ramathain-Zophim), identified as Nabi Samwil **II**: 85–6
- Ramla **II**: 87
- Rantis **II**: 85
- Rama *see* Nabi Samwil, ar-Ram, Ramla, Ramat al-Khalil
- Ramain (*Rimatha*), church of St Joseph of Arimathea (**no. 187**) **II**: 181, 199, map 5
- Ramat al-Khalil (*Terebinthus, Rama*), church at Abraham's Oak **II**: 201–4, map 8
- Ramat Rahel, Kibbutz (Kh. Abu Buraik, Kh. Salih) **II**: 158
- Ramatha *see* ar-Ram, Ramla
- Ramathain-Zophim *see* Rama
- Ramathes (*Ramitta*) *see* ar-Ram
- Ramelie (*Rames, Ramola*) *see* Ramla
- Rameses II, stele of **II**: 240
- Ramla (*Rama, Ramatha, Ramelie, Rames, Ramle, Ramola, Ramula*) 7, 8, 52, 284. **II**: 5, 10, 11, 12, 16, 87, 378, 379, fig. 51, map 7
- Bir al-Anaziya **II**: 185, fig. 51
- bishops *see* Lydda, bishops
- castellans *see* Baldwin, Hugh of Flanders
- castle **II**: 12, 183, 184
- chapel of St Joseph of Arimathea **II**: 198
- chaplain *see* Ralph
- churches
- Forty Martyrs (spurious) **II**: 185, 188
- St Cosmas **II**: 196
- St Cyriacus **II**: 29, 195–6
- St George (Greek) (**no. 189**) **II**: 195–7, figs. 51, 55, pls. CXI–CXII
- St George (Armenian) **II**: fig. 51
- St John (?) (now great mosque) (**no. 188**) 66, 113, 238. **II**: 90, 187–95, 382, figs. 51, 53–4, pls. CII–CX
- chaplain *see* Ralph
- St Nicolas **II**: 196
- see also* St Mary of the Three Shades
- diocese *see* Lydda
- Franciscan hospice 271. **II**: 197–9, fig. 51
- house of St Nicodemus **II**: 198
- House of the Dyers **II**: 182
- identified as Rama (Ramathain-Zophim) **II**: 87
- lords of *see* Hugh of Ibelin
- lordship 264. **II**: 11, 12
- Orthodox *see* 64
- qasr **II**: 182
- synagogue **II**: 87
- tomb of Samuel **II**: 87, 188
- town walls **II**: 182, 183
- White Mosque (*Mahumerie*) 161. **II**: 10, 11–12, 113, 182, 184, 185–7, 188, 195, figs. 51–2
- Ramula *see* Ramla
- Ranerius (prior of Hebron) 225–6
- Ranerius of Tiberias (Hospitalier) **II**: 358
- Ranier (bishop of Sebaste) **II**: 285, 295
- Rantis (*Arimathia, Arimatie, Abarimathie, Remphis, Remfthis*) 20. **II**: map 8
- abbey church of St Joseph of Arimathea (**no. 56**) 104. **II**: 181, 199–200, fig. 56
- abbots 283, *see also* Amalric, Herbert
- possessions
- Baitin including chapel (**no. 36**) 104, 283
- Beze 283
- Ras al-'Ain, lands 104, 283
- identified as Arimathea (Ramathaim-Zophim) **II**: 85, 199
- relics of St Joseph of Arimathea translated to Bethlehem 155. **II**: 199
- Rantiya (*Rentie*) **II**: 104
- Raqat, Tel **II**: 153
- Ras al-'Ain (*Antipatris, Surdi Fontes*) 18, 104, 279
- Ras ad-Dair *see* Dair al-Fiyya, Kh.
- Ras al-Qantara *see* Sarepta
- Ras at-Turfinia *see* Tarafain, Kh.
- Ras at-Tuta (Ras ar-Rab) 40
- Ras Masharif (Mount Scopus) **II**: 44, 316, map 8
- Raymond (marshal of the Hospital, commander of house in Tiberias) **II**: 358
- Raymond (abbot of Mount Tabor) **II**: 65
- Raymond II (count of Tripoli) **II**: 65
- Raymond III (count of Tripoli, prince of Galilee) 106, 286. **II**: 351
- Raymond of Le Puy (master of Hospitaliers) 16, 53, 95. **II**: 105
- Raymond of St-Gilles (count of Tripoli) 61. **II**: 329
- Raymond of Tiberias (preceptor of the Hospital) **II**: 358
- Raymond of Toulouse **II**: 182
- Raynald (monk of Mount Tabor) **II**: 65
- Raython *see* at-Tur
- Razzoli, Fr Roberto (Franciscan custos) **II**: 70
- Rebekah, tomb in Cave of Machpelah *see* Hebron
- Refa'im Valley, *see* Wadi as-Sikka
- Regba *see* as-Sumaiyira
- Reginald (lord of Sidon) **II**: 281, 317
- Reginald Carvana (owner of house in Jaffa) 268
- Reginald of Anjou (owner of house in Jaffa) 270
- Remfthis (*Remphis*) *see* Rantis
- Renier Brus 108
- Renier Calana, house in Jaffa 268
- Rentie *see* Rantiya
- Resurrection of Our Lord, church of the *see* Abu Ghosh (**no. 1**), Nablus (**no. 162**)
- Rey, E. G. 2, 30, 62, 66, 71, 110, 166, 287. **II**: 29, 324
- Reynald of Châtillon (lord of Karak) 201, 275, 286. **II**: 44, 305
- Rheims
- cathedral church **II**: 43
- council of 283
- Rhodes, Hospital of St John 250. **II**: 287
- Rhône Valley **II**: 135
- Ribot, Philip **II**: 336
- Richard (chaplain of Bethany) 124
- Richard I (king of England) 8, 59, 61, 95, 195, 208, 222, 265, 269, 274. **II**: 5, 13, 87, 184, 224, 377
- Richard (count of Calabria) **II**: 65
- Richard, Jean 39, 120. **II**: 205
- Richard of Cornwall 62, 67, 161. **II**: 168, 210, 333, 351, 355, 379
- Richards, D. S. 287
- Richer, abbot of *Saluatio* 49

- Richmond, E. T. 229. **II**: 98
 Richmond, J. C. B. 71
 Ricoldus of Montecroce (Dominican friar) 109, 254. **II**: 28, 46, 69, 87, 121, 146, 163, 168, 302, 315, 337
 ar-Riha (*Riha*) *see* Jericho
 Roardus (archbishop of Jerusalem) 53
 Robert I (archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 4, 139, 354
 Robert (precentor in Tiberias) **II**: 354
 Robert of Nantes (Latin patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 355
 Robert of Rouen (bishop of Lydda), **II**: 11, 182, 187
 Robert of Sinjil 7, 53. **II**: 329
 Robert Cook, house in Jaffa 268
 Roberts, David **II**: 13, 288
 Robinson, E. 2, 95–7, 281, 296. **II**: 13, 181, 288
 Roboe *see* Rabba
 de Rochechouart, Louis 40, 154. **II**: 169, 378
 Rochetta Aquilante, Don 40
 Rodrigo Alvarez of Leon, Count **II**: 43–4
 Röhricht, R. **II**: 268
 Roger (bishop of Lydda) **II**: 11, 25, 218, 316
 Roger (canon of Banyas) 108
 Roger II (king of Sicily) 258
 Roger (duke of Apulia) **II**: 285
 Roger (lord of Haifa) **II**: 150
 Roger de Vere (Hospitalier prior of Clerkenwell) **II**: 163
 Roger des Moulins (master of the Hospitaliers) **II**: 105, 107
 Roger of Howden **II**: 224
 Roger, Eugène 24. **II**: 69–70, 122, 174, 211, 302, 350
 Roland Iubianus (churchwarden of St Mark, Beirut) 116
 Roll, I. 59
 Roma *see* Ruma, Kh. ar-
 Roman of Le Puy (lord of Montreal) **II**: 29, 305, 310
 Romanus the Monophysite **II**: 166
 Rome
 Lateran Palace, chapel of St Lawrence (S. Lorenzo in Laterano) 117. **II**: 76
 S. Maria sopra Minerva 228
 Vatican Library 196. **II**: 320
 H. Rosh Maya/Mayim *see* Rushmiya, Kh.
 Rossellus Buhcerus **II**: 358
 Rostagnus de Candole (bishop of Sidon) **II**: 320–1
 Rothenberg, B. 275
 Rouba, monastery of **II**: 258
 Rouge Cisterne (*Rubea Cisterna*) *see* Tal'at ad-Damm
 Rucellai, Fr Pietro Pagolo 24
 Rudolf of Pfullendorf (count) 228
 Rujm al-Mughafir (Tall al-Kursi, incorporating Kh. Mughafir and Tall Mughafir). **II**: map 9
 monasteries
 St John Chrysostom (formerly St Stephen, or St Zozima the Great) (no. 191) 276. **II**: 200–1
 the Eunuchs **II**: 200
 Rujm Jiz *see* Bait Jiz, Kh.
 Ruler of the Feast (*Architriclinius*), church of the *see* Qana, Kh.
 Ruma, Kh. ar- (*Roma, Ruma*) **II**: 162, 163
 Rumaida, Tall ar- (*Cariatharbe, Mamre, Mambre*, Tel Hebron). **II**: map 8
 churches
 Forty Martyrs (Dair/Mash'had al-Arba'in) **II**: 203–4
 Holy Trinity (no. 192) **II**: 201–4
 Rushmiya, Kh. (*Francheville*, Haifa-Romena, H. Rosh Maya/Mayim) **II**: 205, fig. 44, map 3
 chapel of St Denys (no. 193) **II**: 205–6
 see also Wadi Rushmiya
 Sa'ad al-Dawla, *masjid* of **II**: 247, 248
 Sa'ad Ibn Abd al-Qadar **II**: 240
 Sabastiya *see* Sebaste
 Saewulf (English pilgrim) 123, 223, 225, 252, 258, 265, 267. **II**: 33, 65, 81, 118, 141, 162, 202, 259, 335–6
 Safad (*Saphet, Sapheth*, Zefat) 70, 81. **II**: 40, 206–7, 351, map 4
 castle **II**: 68, 206, 336, fig. 57
 chapel of St George (no. 194), **II**: 207–9, fig. 57
 cave church of Tobias (no. 195) **II**: 209
 church of St James (spurious) **II**: 207
 Red Mosque **II**: 207
 Saffa, identified as Shafa 'Amr **II**: 302
 Saffera *see* Sarepta
 Saffran *see* Shafa 'Amr
 Saffuriya (*Diocaesarea, le Saforie, Sephor, Sephoris, Sephorum, Sepphoris, Zippori*) **II**: 142, 163, 209–10, map 5
 bailiff of the archbishop of Nazareth *see* John Semes
 bishop (Orthodox) *see* Marcellinus
 church (of St Anne?) (no. 196), **II**: 210–18, figs. 58–9, pls. CXIII–CXXII
 Safi, Tall as- (*Saphitha, Blanchegarde*) 204
 as-Safiriya (*Caphyria, casellum de Josaphat, Cephrie, Saphiria, Saphoria, Saphyria, Sephoria, Tohelet*), chapel (no. 197) **II**: 218–19, map 7
 Safran *see* Shafa 'Amr
 Sagitta (*Saget*) *see* Sidon
 as-Saharij, Kh. *see* az-Zarghaniya
 Saida *see* Sidon
 Saidnaiya (Said Nāya, *Sardanai(a)*, Sardenay, *Sardinalli, Saydanea*)
 bishop **II**: 220
 monastery church of Our Lady of Sardenay, or the Rock (no. 198), **II**: 219–21, pl. CXXIII
 Saiete *see* Sidon
 St Aaron, monastery church of *see* Jabal Harun (no. 103)
 saint Abaccu de Quantie (s. *Abacuch de Quantie*, s. *Abacu de Cancie*, s. *Abatut/Abacuc de Cansie*) *see* Kafr Jinnis
 St Abdia the Prophet, church of *see* 'Abud (no. 3)
 St Abraham, cathedral church of *see* Hebron (no. 100)
 St Abraham *see* Hebron
 St Ambrose **II**: 202
 St Amos, church of *see* Tekoa (no. 254)
 St Anastasius, monastery of (near Jerusalem) **II**: 259
 St André-le-Bas **II**: 135
 St Andrew
 church of *see* Tiberias (no. 256)
 relics **II**: 52
 St Anne 183, 190. **II**: 211, 218
 altar of *see* Nazareth, cave of the Annunciation
 church of *see* Jerusalem, Nazareth, Saffuriya (?) (no. 196), Sandahanna, Kh. (no. 223)
 relics **II**: 52
 St Aphroditian, tomb at monastery of St Sabas **II**: 259–60
 St Arcadius (son of Xenophon)
 hermitage chapel of (no. 219) *see* St Sabas, monastery of
 tomb at Monastery of St Chariton **II**: 222–3
 St Athanasius of Alexandria **II**: 83
 St Augustine **II**: 202
 St Barbara
 chapel of *see* Beirut (no. 54)
 church of *see* al-Ba'ina (no. 28)
 relic in Monastery of the Cross (no. 145) **II**: 35
 St Bartholomew **II**: 116
 altar of in cathedral of Damietta (no. 86) 203
 churches of *see* Beirut (no. 52), Na'im (no. 168)
 St Bartholus
 church of *see* Damietta (no. 87)
 St Benedict, Rule of **II**: 78
 St Bernard (abbot of Clairvaux) 49, 283. **II**: 86
 St Bononius 138
 St Catherine of Alexandria
 abbey and church, containing body *see* Mount Sinai (no. 150)
 church of *see* Bethlehem
 church on Jabal Katarina **II**: 62–3
 confraternity of **II**: 54
 priory of *see* Acre, Tall al-Jazar (no. 122)
 relics **II**: 52
 St Chariton 252, 256. **II**: 221
 church of *see* Jerusalem
 Hanging Cave of **II**: 223–4
 monastery of (*Souka*, the Old Laura), including churches (nos. 199–201) 184. **II**: 165, 221–4, 261, 348, pl. CXXIV, map 8
 translation of body to Jerusalem **II**: 222
 St Clare, Sisters of **II**: 145
 St Cornelius, chapel of *see* Caesarea (no. 69)
 St Cosmas, church of *see* Ramla
 St Cosmas of Maiuma (monk of St Sabas) **II**: 259
 tomb **II**: 259–60
 St Crestiene, relics in Jaffa 267
 St Cyriacus (Kerykos)
 church of *see* Ramla
 martyrium in Majdal Yaba **II**: 29
 tomb at monastery of St Chariton (no. 201) **II**: 222, 223
 St Demetrius, church of *see* Lattakia
 St Denys (Dioysius, pope) **II**: 205–6
 church of *see* Rushmiya, Kh. (no. 193)
 St Denys of France (martyr) **II**: 205
 St Elias (Mar Elia)
 churches and chapels of *see* Choziba (no. 79), Dair al-Kaukab (no. 84), Jabal Quruntul (no. 104), Jerusalem, Mount Sinai (no. 152), Mount Tabor (nos. 155–6), Sarepta (no. 224), at-Taiyiba (no. 250)
 monastery of (Mar Elias, *Saint Helye/Elyes, Sanctus Elyas casellum*) (no. 202) **II**: 44–5, 158, 176, 224–6, 227, 333, fig. 60, map 8
 abbot **II**: 87, 224

- possession near Tall al-Ful (?) II: 44–5, 224
 St Elias of Carmel, monastery of (*Dayr Mār labās*, Elijah's Cave, al-Khidr, *mansio Helie*, Ma'arat Eliyahu, Mar Elias, School of the Prophets, *spelunca Helie*, *S. Elias*, *S. Elyas*, *S. Helies dou Carme*) (no. 203) II: 205, 226–9, 244, 248, 250, 369, fig. 61, map 3
 St Elisha
 chapels of II: 58, 59
 laura of II: 205, 227, 251
 St Elizabeth
 chapels of see 'Ain al-Habis, 'Ain Karim
 her concealment of St John 38
 Refuge of 38
 tomb supposedly in Sebaste II: 286
saint Elye see at-Taiyiba
 St Enoch, chapel of II: 59
 St Euphemia, relics at 'Atlit 71
 St Euphrosina (Russian abbess) II: 260, 272
 St Euthymius II: 229, 258, 268
 church of see Jerusalem
 monastery of (Kh. Khan al-Ahmar), including church (no. 204) and cemetery chapel (no. 205) 198. II: 229–37, 260, 268, figs. 62–4, pls. CXXVI–CXXX, map 8
 abbot see Theosterict
 village of (*casale s. Euchimii iuxta Bethleem*) II: 237–8
 St Francis, church of see Beirut (no. 47)
 St Gabriel
 altar of see Nazareth, cave of the Annunciation
 churches of
 Bouches-du-Rhône, France 56
 see also Nazareth (nos. 170, 173)
 fountain of II: 141
 St Gall, abbey 228
 St Gamaliel, tomb II: 181
 St George (Mar Jirjis) II: 9
 cathedral church of see Lydda (no. 137)
 churches and chapels of see al-Ba'ina (no. 29), Beirut (nos. 43–4), Bethlehem, Dair al-Balah (no. 82), Damascus, Rafidiya (no. 185), Ramla (no. 189), Safad (no. 194), as-Salt (no. 222), as-Sumairiya (no. 248), Tabaliya, Kh., at-Taiyiba (no. 250), Tiberias (no. 257), Zaita, Kh. (no. 281)
 feast of II: 333
 relics in Jaffa 268
 tomb see Lydda, cathedral church of St George (no. 137)
 St George de Chaman, village of (*casale S. Georgii*, *S. Georgius de Chaman*; at or near Tall al-Khamman or Tall al-Khidr), including church of St George (no. 206) II: 238, 356, map 6
 St George in the Desert (in *Berria*), 'castle' of, identified with Choziba 184
 St George the Chozibite 183
 chapel of see Choziba (no. 78)
 monastery of see Choziba
 St Gerasimus II: 238
 monastery of (no. 207) 197, 198, 276. II: 200, 238–9, map 9
 present monastery of see Dair Hajla
 St Giles II: 329, church of see Sinjil
 St-Gilles, Hospitaller priory II: 318
 St Habakkuk
 abbey of see Kafr Jinnis (no. 127)
 churches of see Qasr 'Antar (no. 183), Tabaliya, Kh.
 St Helena (mother of Constantine I) 29, 137, 162, 254, 273, 282, 285. II: 28, 63, 69, 245, 335, 354, 360
Saint Helies dou Carme see St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
Saint Helye see St Elias, monastery of (no. 202)
Saint Helyes see at-Taiyiba
 St Hilarion II: 373
 church of see Umm Tuta, Kh. (no. 276)
 St James and St John, churches of see Shafa 'Amr (no. 227), Tiberias (no. 258)
 St James the Apostle
 church (spurious) see Safad
 present at Transfiguration II: 63, 66
 St James the Less
 chapel of see Mount Sinai
 martyrdom and translation of relics to Spain 267
 Order of (Santiago) II: 43
 possessions
 Damietta 202
 stone of in Jaffa 267
 St Jean see St John, monastery of
 St Jeremias
 supposed church of at Abu Ghosh (Anatolia) 8
 St Jerome 24, 52, 101, 138, 221, 258. II: 6, 49, 60, 63, 85–6, 201, 202, 239, 345, 346–7, 373
 mistakenly associated with monastery of Kalamon 198
 tomb of see Bethlehem
 St Joachim, 183–4. II: 211, 218
 cave-chapel of see Choziba (no. 79)
 St Job
 castle and church of see Bal'ama, Kh. (no. 37)
 village of (*casale S. Job*, Shaikh Sa'd, Dair Ayyub), tomb (and church?) of St Job II: 238, 239–40, map 4
Saint Iohan de Tire see at-Tira
 St John Chrysostom II: 33
 monastery church see Rujm al-Mughafir
 monastery of (in Cyprus) 201. II: 261
 St John Damascene II: 259
 tomb in monastery of St Sabas II: 259–60, 263
 St John the Baptist (Mar Hanna) II: 278, 283
 association with Mount Carmel II: 369
 cathedral church of see Ascalon (no. 14), ? Beirut (no. 42), Sebaste (no. 225)
 churches and chapels of
 Mount Sinai II: 56, see also 'Ain al-Ma'mudiya (no. 6), 'Ain Karim (nos. 7–8), Caesarea (no. 70), Haifa (no. 99), Nablus (no. 165), Ramla (?) (no. 188)
 Concealment of 38, 40
 Desert of see 'Ain al-Habis, 'Ain al-Ma'mudiya
 hospitals of see Nablus (no. 165), Tiberias (no. 259)
 monastery of (*ecclesia S. Iohannis*, Mar Yuhanna, Qasr al-Yahud, *Saint Jean*), including church of St John (formerly of the Holy Trinity) (no. 209) 108–9, 197, 276. II: 224, 238, 239, 140–4, fig. 65, map 9, see also Sebaste (no. 226), Taffuh, at-Tira (nos. 272–3)
 Order of St John of Jerusalem see Hospitallers
 relics II: 52, 104, 283–8, 295, 296
 left arm translated from Sebaste (no. 225) to monastery of St John (no. 209) II: 241–2, 287
 St John the Chozibite (John of Thebes) 183
 chapel of see Choziba (no. 78)
 hermitage of see Choziba
 St John the Evangelist
 abbey of, unlikely identification with Kh. Dair al-Qassis 197
 chapel of II: 59
 church (nos. 163–4) see Nablus
 present at Transfiguration II: 63, 66
 priory of (no. 210) II: 244
 St John the Silent (bishop), tomb II: 259–60
 St Jonas, church of (no. 252) see Tall Yunis
Saint Jorge Labane (*Sainte Jorge de la Baene*), see al-Ba'ina
 St Joseph
 altar of see Nazareth, cave of the Annunciation
 chapel of see Bethlehem (no. 63), Ramla
 relics II: 52
 tomb see Nazareth (no. 169)
 St Joseph of Arimathea 166
 abbey of see Rantis
 church see Ramain (no. 187)
 tomb of see Bethlehem, Ramain (no. 187)
 St Julian
 feast of II: 333
 hospital of see Tiberias (no. 259)
 St Junien de Condom, church of 227
 St Lawrence, churches and chapels of see Beirut (no. 53), Caesarea (no. 71) 180, Jaffa (no. 112), *Pain Perdu* (no. 175)
 St Lazarus, Order of 181
 brethren (knights) of see Arnald Gala, Eustace
 churches and houses
 Caesarea (no. 72) 180
 Damietta 202, 203
Pain Perdu 167. II: 152
 possessions
 Sinjil II: 329
 Tiberias, church and hospital (no. 260) II: 359
 Tibnin, rents II: 367–8
 Tower of (*tur de Seynt Lazare*) see *Pain Perdu*
 St Lazarus of Bethany 157
 abbey of see Bethany (nos. 59–60)
 church and hospital of see Tiberias (no. 260)
 tomb of 123–5, 130, 135–6, 282, fig. 42, pl. LXXV
 St Louis see Louis IX
 St Luke, icon attributed to 197–8. II: 219–20
 St Macharius II: 144
 St Margaret (Marina) II: 245
 chapel of II: 59
 St Margaret of Carmel (Stella Maris, *S. Marguerite dou Carme*, *S. Margaretha Graecorum, Marina*), abbey and church (no. 211) 81. II: 205, 227, 228, 244–8, 249, 250, fig. 66, map 3
 St Margaret's Castle (*Cava Templi (castrum)*, *S. Margareta cast(ellum)*) (no. 212) II: 227, 245, 247, 248–9, 371, pl. CXXXI, map 3

- St Mark, churches of *see* Beirut (no. 45), Tiberias (no. 266)
- St Martin, feast of II: 333
- St Mary (Our Lady) II: 58
 altar of *see* Nazareth, cave of the Annunciation
- Annunciation of II: 116–22, 140–2
 church of *see* Nazareth (no. 169)
- birthplace II: 211
- cathedral church of *see* Bethlehem (no. 61), Damietta (no. 86)
- chapels of *see* Jabal Quruntul (no. 104), Mount of Precipitation (no. 149), Mount Sinai (no. 151), al-Qadismu (no. 178)
- churches of
 Monastery of the Cross (no. 145) II: 33, *see also* 'Abud (no. 2), Arsuf (no. 11), Ascalon (no. 16, 19), ? Beirut (no. 46), Bethlehem (no. 62), Haifa (nos. 96–7), Jaffa (no. 113), Jerusalem, Lydda (no. 138), Mount Joy (no. 148), Mount Sinai (no. 150, 154), Nazareth (nos. 169, 171), Saidnaiya (no. 198), St Sabas (no. 217), St Theodosius (no. 221), Tiberias (no. 261), Yazur (no. 279)
- house of
 in Lydda II: 27, *see also* Nazareth (no. 169)
- monastery of *see* Constantinople
- Order of St Mary of the Germans *see* Teutonic knights
- Purification of II: 111
- village of *see* 'Abud
- Visitation of II: 144, *see also* 'Ain Karim *see also* Mount Joy, Order of St Mary of
- St Mary in Choziba, church and monastery of *see* Choziba (no. 77)
- St Mary of Carmel (Kh. ad-Dair, *S. Maria de Carmelo*, *Dayr al-Siyah*, H. ha-Minzar), priory and church (no. 213) 3. II: 228, 245, 249–57, figs. 67–8, pls. CXXXII–CXLII, map 3
- St Mary of Kalamon, church and monastery of *see* Dair Hajla (no. 85)
- St Mary of the Marshes (*Nostre Dame de Mareys/de Marreis/dou Marais*, *Camera Beate Virginis Marie*, *Domina Nostra majoris*), chapel of (no. 214) 181. II: 257–8
- St Mary of the Three Shades (*monasterium S. Marie Trium Umbrarum*, *Treis Ombres*), abbey of (no. 215) II: 27, 258
- St Mary Magdalene
 birthplace II: 28
 churches and chapels of
 Caesarea (no. 73) 181
see also Bethany (no. 59), Magdala (no. 139), Mi'iliya (no. 142), Tiberias (no. 262)
- relics II: 104
- St Mary the Egyptian
 association with St John the Baptist (no. 209) II: 241
 burial at Nabi Samwil II: 86
 chapel II: 59
- Sts Mary and Martha of Bethany, churches of al-Junaina 282, fig. 82
see also Bethany (no. 59), Tiberias (no. 262)
- St Melchizedek, church of *see* Mount Tabor (no. 158)
- St Michael
 chapel of II: 61
 church of *see* Alexandria, Ascalon (no. 21), Belueir (no. 56), Tiberias (no. 263)
 hospital of *see* Belueir (no. 56)
 monastery of *see* Beirut (no. 50), Gilgal (no. 95)
 village of (*S. Michaelis*) 120
- St Moses
 chapel of II: 59, *see also* Mount Sinai (no. 153), Mount Tabor (no. 155)
 churches of *see* Jerusalem, Wadi Musa (no. 278)
 hill of *see* Jeham
- St Neophytos II: 66, 230, 260
- St Nicodemus II: 377
 house of *see* Ramla
- St Nicolas, churches of *see* Bait Jala (no. 30), Beirut (no. 51), Bethlehem (no. 62), Jaffa (no. 110), Ramla, St Sabas (no. 217), Tekoa (no. 254), Tiberias (no. 264)
- St Onuphrius, chapel of II: 62
- St Paul
 churches of *see* Ascalon (no. 14), Caesarea (no. 76)
 monastery of *see* Antioch
- St Paul (hermit), Hungarian order of II: 69
- Sts Paula and Eustochium 138
 church of *see* Bethlehem (no. 62)
 tomb of *see* Bethlehem
- St Peter
 altar of in cathedral of Damietta (no. 86) 203
 baptizes Cornelius 167, 179
 cathedral churches of *see* Caesarea (no. 68), Tiberias (no. 255)
 church of *see* Jaffa (no. 109), at-Tabgha (no. 249), Tiberias (no. 264)
 present at Transfiguration II: 63, 65, 66
 raises Tabitha (Dorcas) 267
 vision of unclean foods 267, 271
- St Philip 23. II: 163
- St Phocas, churches of *see* Shafa 'Amr (no. 228), Sidon
- St Pilgrinus (?Elpidius), tomb of 253, 256
- St Porphyrius of Gaza 216
 church of *see* Gaza (no. 93)
- St Sabas (Mar Saba) II: 258–9, map 8
 monastery of (Dair Mar Saba, Dair as-Siq), including churches of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no. 216) and of St Mary, or St Nicolas (no. 217) 152, 165, 184. II: 230, 258–68, 272, 273, fig. 69, pls. CXLIII–CXLVI
 abbots *see* Arsenius, Basil, Joachim, Miletus, Solomon
 dependent houses
 St John Chrysostom (Cyprus) II: 261
see also Acre, St George; Jerusalem, St Sabas
 hermitages
 St Arcadius (no. 219), II: 267–8, fig. 71
 St Sophia (no. 218), II: 266–7, fig. 70
 possessions
 Bait Sahur (?) II: 260
 Bait 'Ur al-Fauqa II: 260
 Duraish, Kh. ad- (?) II: 260
 Kafr Rush, Kh. II: 260
 Thora II: 260
- translation of body to Venice II: 261, 265
- St Samuel, abbey church of *see* Nabi Samwil (no. 159)
- St Saviour *see* Saviour
- St Sergius
 church of *see* Gaza
 monastery in Moscow II: 261
- St Simeon, church of *see* Qatamun
- St Simon, chapel of *see* Beirut (no. 48)
- St Simon and St Jude, chapel of *see* Beirut (no. 48)
- St Sophia (Holy Wisdom), dedication attributed to abbey church of Mount Sinai II: 53
- St Sophia (mother of St Sabas) II: 266
 hermitage chapel of (no. 218) *see* St Sabas, monastery of
- tomb II: 272, 277
- St Stephen
 churches of *see* Choziba (no. 78), Jerusalem, Umm ar-Rasas
 monastery of *see* Rujm al-Mughafir
 relics in Yibna II: 378
- St Stephen of Hungary *see* Stephen (king of Hungary)
- St Stephen the Sabaite II: 268
- St Thecla II: 284
- St Theoctistus, monastery of (Dair Mukallik, Magharat al-Mukallik), including cave-church (no. 220) II: 229, 230, 258, 261, 268–71, figs. 72–3, map 8
- St Theodore (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
 tomb II: 259–60
- St Theodosius II: 271
 monastery of (Dair Dausi, Dair Ibn 'Ubaid, *Dayr al-Dawakis*), including church of St Mary (no. 221) 184, 282. II: 260, 266, 271–8, figs. 74–6, pls. CXLVII–CXLVIII, map 8
 abbot *see* Nicolas
 cave of the Wise Men II: 271, 272, 276–7, fig. 75
 possessions
 Ascalon, hospital (no. 20) 67. II: 272
 Cyprus II: 272
 Jaffa, hospital (no. 120) 272–3. II: 272
 Jerusalem, including church and hospital II: 272
 Jubail, including church II: 272
 Ramla II: 184
 Tall Yunis, church of St Jonas (no. 252) 272. II: 272, 347
 tomb II: 277
- St Thomas, relics II: 52, (in Yibna) 378
- St Willibald 52, 108, 204, 221, 267. II: 64, 116, 230, 240, 283, 348, 352
- St Zacharias (Zechariah the prophet), churches of *see* Dayr Dakariya (no. 88)
- St Zacharias (Zechariah, father of St John the Baptist)
 church of *see* 'Ain Karim, Nazareth (no. 171)
 tomb supposedly in Sebaste II: 286
- St Zozima the Great, monastery of *see* Rujm al-Mughafir
- de Sainte-Marie, M. 253
- Sainz Jehanz du Boiz* *see* 'Ain Karim
- Sajur (*Saor*), fief 80
- Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Ayyūb) 8, 31, 50, 59, 61, 63, 67, 93, 95, 106, 110, 111, 120, 124, 139, 157, 161, 162, 166, 167, 179, 184, 192, 195, 208, 222,

- 228, 259, 265, 269, 273, 274, 275, 277, 286. **II**: 5, 9, 12–13, 25, 30, 34, 45, 66, 87, 104, 119, 120, 136, 139, 154, 159, 184, 188, 224, 227, 230, 239, 281, 286, 302, 305, 317, 332, 339, 351, 355, 367, 374, 377–8
- Salbit (Sha'alavim) **II**: 114
- Salet, F. **II**: 135
- Salih, Kh. *see* Ramat Rahel, Kibbutz al-Šālih Ayyūb (Ayyubid sultan) 39
- Šālih Ibn Yahyā (Druze historian) 114, 117
- Saller, Fr S. J. 125–6, 130–1. **II**: 333
- Sallust (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 258–9, 271
- as-Salt, church of St George (**no. 222**) **II**: 278, map 9
- Saltus Domini* *see* Mount of Precipitation
- Saltus Muratus* *see* Qaluniya
- Saluatio* *see* 'Allar as-Sufia
- Samak, Tall as (*Sicaminos*, *Sycaminum*, Tel Shiqmona) **II**: 150, 368–9
- Samara, Kh. **II**: 115
- Samaria 50, 258, 273, 277. **II**: 3, 283
- Samaria (city) *see* Sebaste
- Samaritans 138. **II**: 94, 95, 98
- living in
- Nablus **II**: 95, 114
- Yibna **II**: 378
- synagogues
- Mount Garizim **II**: 114
- Nablus **II**: 113–15
- Salbit **II**: 114
- Samara, Kh. **II**: 115
- al-Samīriyah al-Bayḍā' *see* as-Sumairiya
- Samuel (prophet)
- burial at Nabi Samwil **II**: 85–7
- relics translated to Thrace **II**: 86
- see also* St Samuel
- Samuel Bar Samson (rabbi) 228
- San Gimignano 203
- S(ancta). *Margaretha Graecorum* *see* St Margaret of Carmel
- S(ancta). *Maria in Coziba* *see* Choziba
- S(ancti). *Charitonis, ecclesia* *see* St Chariton, monastery of
- S(ancti). *Georgii*
- casale *see* al-Ba'ina, al-Khidr
- uallis *see* Bet Kerem valley
- uilla *see* Lydda
- S(ancti). *Karitoth (Karioth), ecclesia* *see* St Chariton, monastery of
- Sanctus Elias (Elyas) *see* St Elias of Carmel (**no. 203**)
- Sanctus Elyas casellum *see* St Elias, monastery of (**no. 202**)
- S(anctus). *Georgius in Berria* *see* Choziba
- S. *Iohannis* *see* 'Ain Karim
- S. *Lazarus* *see* Bethany
- S. *Zacharias* *see* 'Ain Karim
- Sandahanna, Kh. (Kh. Mar Hanna, Mareshah) **II**: 237, map 8
- church of St Anne (**no. 223**) **II**: 278–81, fig. 77, pls. CXLIX–CLII
- Sandahanna, Tall (Mareshah) **II**: 278
- de Sandoli, Fr Sabino 159
- Sangeor* *see* al-Ba'ina
- Sanhedrin **II**: 301
- Sanudo, Marino 118, 139. **II**: 97, 142, 206, 282, 324
- Saor *see* Sajur
- Saphar castrum *see* Shafa 'Amr
- Sapharanum *see* Shafa 'Amr
- Saphet (Sapheth) *see* Safad
- Saphiria (Saphoria, Saphyria) *see* as-Safiriya
- Saphitha *see* Safi, Tall as-
- Sarafand *see* Sarepta
- Sarah, tomb in Cave of Machpelah *see* Hebron
- Saraphtha *see* Sarepta
- Sardanai (Sardanaia, Sardenay, Sardinalli) *see* Saidnaiya
- Sarepta (Sarafand, Saraphtha, Sarepta Sidoniorum/Sydoniae, Ras al-Qantara, Saffera, Sarfente, Sarphen, Sarphet, Serphent, Zarephath) **II**: 281–2, map 2
- chapel of St Elias (**no. 224**) **II**: 282
- Orthodox *see* **II**: 320
- Šārim al-Dīn Abū Nāṣir Buzqush al-Ādili (amir) 287
- Šārim al-Dīn Qaymāz al-Najmī (amir) 165
- Sarphen (Sarphet) *see* Sarepta
- Saulcy, F. de 2, 287
- le Saut* *see* Mount of Precipitation
- Sauvaire 289–90
- Sava (Serbian benefactor of monastery of St Sabas) **II**: 261
- Savignac, Fr R. 229, 275. **II**: 87
- Saviour, the
- chapels and churches of *see* Abu Ghosh (**no. 1**), Beirut (**no. 47**), Bethphage (**no. 64**), Jacob's Well (**no. 108**), Jerusalem, Mount Tabor (**no. 155**)
- dedication attributed to abbey church of Mount Sinai (**no. 150**) **II**: 54
- Saydā' *see* Sidon
- Saydaneia *see* Saidnaiya
- Sayette *see* Sidon
- Sayf al-Dīn (amir) 120
- Sayf al-Dīn Bashṭāk al-Nāṣirī (amir) **II**: 384
- Scandalion (Scandalium) *see* Iskandaruna
- Schick, Conrad (architect) 2. **II**: 170, 273, 317, 347
- Schneider, A. M. 18, 21, 198, 280. **II**: 334, 340
- School of the Prophets *see* St Elias of Carmel (**no. 203**)
- Schuf, lordship **II**: 317, 318, 328, 372
- lord *see* John
- Schumacher, G. 26. **II**: 3
- Scobach *see* Shaubak
- Scythopolis
- see* of 93. **II**: 64, 354
- see also* Baisan
- Sea of Galilee (Lake of Tiberias, Kinneret) 81. **II**: 28, 153, 154, 156, 238, 334
- Sebaste (Sabastiya, Sabasta, Samaria, Sebastopolis) 106. **II**: 99, 110, 181, fig. 78, map 5
- bishop **II**: 283–7, *see also* Baldwin, Basil, Hugh of Nissun, Ralph, Ranier
- cathedral church of St John (**no. 225**) 238, 261. **II**: 99, 100, 114, 241–2, 283–97, figs. 78–9, pls. CLIII–CLXIII
- possessions
- casale S. *Iohannis Sebaste* **II**: 284
- southern Italy **II**: 227, 284
- prior *see* Ralph
- Greek church of St John (**no. 226**) 3, 18, 68. **II**: 283, 297–301, figs. 78, 80, pls. CLXIV–CLXVI
- Seda (Sēdat) (Armenian pilgrim) **II**: 57
- Seete *see* Sidon
- Seham (Sehan) *see* Jeham
- seint Iohan de Boys *see* 'Ain Karim
- Selīm I Yavuz (Ottoman sultan) **II**: 104
- Seljuk Turks **II**: 10
- la *Semerrie* *see* as-Sumairiya
- Sens
- archbishop *see* William
- cathedral **II**: 296
- Sephor (Sephoris, Sephorum) *see* Saffuriya
- Sephoria *see* as-Safiriya
- Sepphoris *see* Saffuriya
- sepulchrum Loth (sepultura Loth) *see* Bani Na'im
- Sepulchrum Rachelis (sepulcre Rahel) *see* Rachel's Tomb
- Serbian monks at monastery of St Sabas (**nos. 216–17**) **II**: 262
- Serphent *see* Sarepta
- Seynt Iohan de Tyr *see* at-Tira
- Sha'alavim *see* Salbit
- Shafa 'Amr (Castrum, Castrum Zafetanum, le Saffran, Safran, Saphar castrum, Sapharanum, Shafr'amm, Shefam'am) **II**: 210, 301–2, map 3
- churches
- St James and St John (**no. 227**) **II**: 302
- St Phocas (**no. 228**) **II**: 302–4, fig. 81, pl. CLXVII
- Templar castle (Burj al-Dīwiya) **II**: 301–2
- Shāhin al-Dhahiri **II**: 185
- Shaikh Ibrahim, Kh. *see* Dair al-Kaukab
- Shaikh Sa'd *see* St Job, village of
- Shaqif Tīrūn *see* Tirun an-Niha
- Sharon, M. 30
- Sharon Plain 166
- Shaubak (Castrum Saboach, Mons Realis, Monreal, Mont Real, Montreal, Scobach, al-Shawbak)
- castle and village 3, 286. **II**: 51, 52, 304–7, 374, fig. 82, pl. CLXVIII, map 10
- chapel (**no. 230**) **II**: 311–14, 375–6, figs. 82, 85–6, pls. CLXXVI–CLXXVIII
- church (or St Mary?) (**no. 229**) 90, 195. **II**: 307–11, figs. 82–4, pls. CLXIX–CLXXV
- lords of **II**: 52, 305, *see also* Maurice, Payen the Butler, Philip of Milly, Roman of Le Puy
- viscount *see* Hugh
- ash-Shaumariya, Kh. (castrum/castellum Feniculi), church of (**no. 231**) **II**: 152, 314, map 5
- possible identification with Surie **II**: 314
- Shaykh Abū Talal, wely of 160
- Shaykh Badrān (Badr al-Rafiya), mausoleum of **II**: 115
- Shaykh Hasayn, maqām of **II**: 181
- Shaykh 'Imād al-Dīn **II**: 115
- Shaykh Maṣṣūr al-'Aqqab, maqām of **II**: 257–8
- Shaykh Murād, wely of 268
- Shaykh Mūsā Talī'a, wely of 274
- Shechem (Sichem, Tall Ballata) **II**: 94, 95
- Mahallat al-Khadra (Halkat ha-Sadi) **II**: 114
- tomb of Joseph *see* an-Nabi Yusuf
- Shefar'am *see* Shafa 'Amr
- Shepherds' Field (Gloria in Excelsis Deo, Kanisat ar-Rawat, Pastors, Poimaneion, Poimnion) **II**: 158, 260, map 8
- church of the Shepherds (**no. 232**) 18. **II**: 315–16
- Shifaya **II**: 162
- Shilta (Capharscylta, Kefrescilta, Kephrecylta, Tel Shilat) 101. **II**: map 8

- parish church (no. 233) II: 316
 Shiqmona, Tel see Samak, Tall as-Shir ar-Rahib, hermitage (no. 234) II: 316, map 2
 Shirkūh (amir) II: 372
 Shouta Roustaveli (Georgian poet) II: 34
 Shu'fat (*Dersophath*, *Dersophach*) chapel (no. 235) II: 316–17, map 8
 suggested identification with *Montjoie* II: 44, 316
 Shunem see Sulam
 Shuqba 21
 as-Sibta, Russian chapel of the Holy Trinity II: 204
 Sibylla see Isabella (countess of Ascalon and Jaffa)
 Sicaminos see Shiqmona
 Sichar see 'Askar
 Sichem see Nablus, Shechem
 Sidon (Saida, *Sagitta*, *Saget*, *Saiete*, *Sayette*, *Seete*, *Sydon*, *Saydā*) II: 281, 282, 317–20, 351, 372, fig. 87, map 2
 bishopric II: 281, 320
 bishops (Latin) see Bernard, Peter, Rostagnus de Candole
 bishop (Orthodox) see Paul of Antioch
 cathedral (no. 236) II: 320–1, 329
 chapter II: 320
 churches
 St Michael (spurious) II: 329
 St Phocas II: 321
 Saviour (no. 238) II: 321–2
 (former mosque) (no. 239) II: 322
 houses
 of the Franciscans (no. 243) II: 238
 of the Order of St John (no. 240) II: 320, 322–3, 329
 of the Templars (no. 241) II: 323
 commendator see William of Montaigne
 preceptors see Adhémar of Peyrusse, Matthew le Sarmage
 of the Teutonic Order (no. 244) II: 323, 328, 329
 commander see Walter
 Land Castle (Qal'at al-Mu'azzam) II: 318, 322–3, fig. 87
 lords see Balian of Ibelin, Eustace I Garnier, Eustace II Garnier, Gerard, Julian Garnier, Reginald
 lordship II: 281, 317–18
 mosques
 great mosque (formerly church) (no. 245) II: 320, 323, 328–9, fig. 87
 Jami' Abu Nakhla II: 329
 Orthodox cathedral (no. 237) II: 321
 Sea Castle II: 317, 318, 324–5, figs. 87–8, pl. CLXXIX
 chapel (no. 242) 3. II: 323–8, figs. 88–9
 town walls and barbican II: 318, 322–3
 Tuscan consul see Francesco da Varrazzano
 Sigoli, Simone 125
 Sigor see Bani Na'im, Zoar
 as-Sikka, Wadi (Refa'im Valley) 24
 Silenus II: 43
Silvestris (*locus*) see 'Ain Karim
 Silwan II: 231
 Simeon (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) II: 52
 Simon (high priest) 252
 Simon of Monceliard (master of crossbowmen) II: 318
 Simon the Just, house identified at Qatamun II: 166–7
 Simon the Leper, house of identified in Bethany 124, 136
 Jerusalem II: 359
 Tiberias II: 359
 Simon the Tanner, house of see Jaffa
 Sinjil II: 329, map 8
 church (of St Giles? – now mosque) (no. 246) 196. II: 329–32, figs. 91–2, pls. CLXXX–CLXXXII
 inhabitants or family (of Sinjil) see Pisellus, Robert
 lord see Baldwin
 Sinn an-Nabra II: 65
 Siph see az-Zib
 Sisters of St Anne, at Saffuriya II: 211
 Sitti Mariam, church of see 'Abud
 Sivan, R. II: 353
 Siyagha, Kh. II: 43
 Slavs (*Bessi*) in monastery of St Theodosius II: 271
 Smail, R. C. 287
 Smith, George Adam 30
 Soffred (patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 286
 Solar, G. II: 353
 Solem see Sulam
 de Solerio, Bruno (Franciscan father guardian of Nazareth) II: 146
 Solinum see Palmaria
 Solomon (king) II: 34
 supposed tomb II: 352
 Solomon (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) II: 56
 Solomon (abbot of St Sabas) II: 259
 Somelaria see as-Sumairiya
 Sophronius I (abbot of St Theodosius) II: 271
 Sophronius II (abbot of St Theodosius, and patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 271
 Sophronius (Russian monk of St Sabas) II: 262
 Sosembre (*Sesambre*), identified as Shafa 'Amr II: 302
 Souka see St Chariton, monastery of
 Sourdel-Thomine, Janine II: 27
 Sozomen 52, 204
 spelunca Helie see St Elias of Carmel (no. 203)
 spelunca Odollae see Wadi Khuraitun
 Springs of Cresson ('Ain Kasyun, *ruissel dou Cresson*) 106. II: 67, 68, 210, 286, 336, map 6
 Spyronidis, C. K. 260
 Stager, L. 68
 Starkenberg see Montfort Castle
 Stella Maris II: 248, 253, see also St Margaret of Carmel
 Stephanie (daughter of Philip of Milly) 286–7
 Stephanie (lady of Sinjil) II: 329
 Stephen (king of Hungary, saint) II: 10
 Stephen Ibn Hakam of Ramla (monk) II: 221
 Stephen Nemanji (Serbian ruler) II: 261
 Stephen of Aila (Aqaba) II: 56
 Stephen of Chartres (patriarch of Jerusalem) II: 97
 Stephen of Turneham II: 219
 Stephen Ortal (brother of the Holy Sepulchre) 165
 Sternberg, G. 104
 Steve, A. M. 15
 Stewart, Aubrey II: 176
 Storrs, Sir Ronald 146
 Suba (*Belmont*, *Zova*), village and castle 7, 53, 248, 250. II: map 8
 castellan 15, 239. II: 6
 chapel (no. 247) II: 332
 identified as Modein, II: 6
 Subeita see Isbaita
 Suet, *Caua* de see 'Ain al-Habis
 Suete (*Sueth*), terre de 26. II: 238, 239
 Suhite/*Suita*, regione see 'Ain al-Habis
 Sukayna (daughter of al-Husayn) II: 352
 Sulam (Shunem, *Solem*, *Sulem*, *Sunem*) II: 155, map 6
 Sulaybī (son of Iḥāhir al-'Umar) II: 353
 Sulaymān Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph) II: 181–2
 Sulaymān II Qānūnī (the Magnificent) (Ottoman sultan) II: 122, 198, 261, 355
 as-Sumairiya (*Lasaumalaria*, *Regba*, *al-Samīriyah al-Baydā*, *la Semerrie*, *Somelaria*) II: 332–3, map 3
 chapel of St George (no. 248) II: 333
 Sunam see Sulam
 Sunqur al-Dawawī (mamluk of Saladin) II: 367
 Surdi *Fontes* see Ras al-'Ain
 Suriani see Syrian Orthodox Church
 Suriano, Francesco 24, 29, 31, 40, 109, 254. II: 54, 69, 116, 121, 142, 165, 167, 169, 177, 185, 196, 198, 203, 224, 242, 245, 287, 297, 320, 333, 350, 373
 Surie, castle II: 314
 Surlus, B. II: 298
 Surur (Syriac deacon) 18
 Survey of Western Palestine 2, 24, 27, 47, 59, 62, 64, 66, 71, 82, 95–7, 110, 162, 165, 166, 181, 185, 187–9, 195, 196, 198–200, 207, 209, 246, 249, 254–7, 279. II: 13, 47, 87, 100, 150, 156, 170, 176, 180, 202, 207, 222, 231, 242–3, 268, 278, 288, 303–4, 324, 340
 Susya, Kh. (*Luceri*) II: 104, 105
 al-Suyūṭī II: 224
 Sybil (countess of Jaffa-Ascalon) see Isabella
 Sybil (daughter of King Amalric) 259
 Sycaminum see Samak, Tall as-
 Sychar see 'Askar
 Sychar see Nablus
 Sychem see Shechem
 Sydon see Sidon
 Syrian Orthodox (*Suriani*) Church
 archbishop of Gaza and Bait Jibrin see Meletus
 churches
 Bait Jibrin (no. 32) 101
 Bethlehem (no. 61) 139
 Gaza (no. 93) 216
 Monastery of the Cross (no. 145) II: 33–4
 St Job (no. 208) II: 241
 St Margaret of Carmel (no. 211) II: 244
 suggested presence in Fahma 206
 Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church
 churches
 'Abud (no. 2) 18
 Jerusalem, St Mark 204
 Jerusalem, St Mary Magdalene 204
 Tiberias (no. 262) II: 359
 Tabaliya, Kh. (*Tablie*, *Tyberie*) II: 165, 333–4, map 8
 supposed church of St George, or
 St Habakkuk (Bait Yanun an-Nabi) II: 333
 Tabatha see Umm Tuta, Kh.

- at-Tabgha ('En Sheva', *Heptapegon, Mensa, M. Domini, M. Iesus Christi, la Table Nostre Seigneur, Taboga, Tabula, T. Domini*) 283. II: 28, 334, map 4
churches and monasteries
Feeding of the Five Thousand (Multiplication) II: 334, 336–7, fig. 93
St Peter, or the Holy Apostles (no. 249), II: 68, 334–9, 360, figs. 93–4, pls. CLXXXIII–CLXXXV
Sermon on the Mount II: 334–5, fig. 93
identified mistakenly as Magdala II: 337
tower II: 338
Tabitha (Dorcas) 266
Tablie see Tabaliya, Kh.
Tabula (*la Table Nostre Seigneur, Taboga*) see at-Tabgha
Taffuh (*Tephoe, Tephul*)
presumed 'monastery' at 29
Taisun, Wadi see al-Makkuk, Wadi
at-Taiyiba (al-'Afrā, *castrum sancti Helye, castiel St Elyes/Helyes, Effraim, Effraon, Ophrah*) 279. II: 339–40, fig. 95, map 8
castle II: 339, fig. 95
churches
of the Latins and Greek Catholics II: 339
St Elias, or St George (al-Khidr, Mar Jirjis) (no. 250) II: 276, 340–4, figs. 95–7, pls. CLXXXVI–CXCI
St George (Greek) II: 340, fig. 95
Tal'at ad-Damm (*Adumim, Castrum Dumi, Ma'ale Adumim, Maledoim, Qal'at ad-Damm, Rouge Cisterne, Rubea Cisterna, Turris Rubea*) 26. II: 345, map 8
chapel (no. 251) II: 345–6
Inn of the Good Samaritan (Khan al-Hathrura) II: 345–6
Tall al-Ahmar, possible identification with Tal'at ad-Damm II: 345
Tall Yunis (Tel Yona), church of St Jonas (no. 252) 272. II: 272, 346–7, map 7
Tamānīn see Tibnin
Tancred (prince of Galilee) 93, 137, 192, 223. II: 64, 94, 118, 351, 354, 360, 368
Tantura (Dor, Merle) II: 152, 257
Tantura, Kh. see al-Burj
Tāqī al-Dīn (amir) II: 301, 367
Tarafain, Kh. (*Dalfin, Dalphyim, Daltim, Ras at-Turfina, Tarfin, Tarphin, Tarphyn*) II: 29, map 8
church (no. 253) II: 347
Taret see Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya
Tarfin see Tarafain, Kh.
Tarphile see Manhata, Kh.
Tarphin (Tarphyn) see Tarafain, Kh.
Tarshiha (Terschia) II: 31
Tartus (Tortosa)
cathedral church of St Mary 175, 179. II: 121, 139
defences 70, 112
Tayda, port of Gaza 208
Taylor, J. J. S. II: 380
Tekoa (Kh. at-Tuqu', *Tecua, Thecua*) 123, 124. II: 165, 221, 333, 347–8, fig. 98, map 8
Byzantine churches II: 350
castle II: 348, 350, fig. 98
church of St Amos, later St Nicolas (no. 254) II: 348–50
Tel Aviv, University of 279
Templars 69, 80, 109, 155. II: 45, 87, 96, 98, 114, 220, 354
brothers see Julian, Thomas
convent at Caco unlikely to be Qaqun II: 164
fortification of Jaffa 266
inquest 118
marshal see Hugh of Quiliugo
masters II: 67, see also Armand of Périgord, Gerard of Ridefort, Thomas Berard
possessions
'Amwas, church (no. 10), presumed but unlikely 59
'Atlit, castle and churches (nos. 26–7) 69–80
Beaufort Castle including chapel (no. 41) 110. II: 323
al-Bira (?) 161
Damietta 202
Dustray, Kh. 69. II: 371
al-Fula, castle and chapel (no. 90) 207
Gaza, castle 208. II: 5
Jabal Quruntul, arms store 253, 257
Jaffa 266
Jericho 253, 276
Jericho (near Jordan), castle II: 241
Jezreel 277
Latrun, castle 59. II: 5
Mazra'a ash-Sharqiya, including church (no. 141) II: 30
Safad, castle 70. II: 206
Saffuriya (spurious) II: 210
St Margaret's Castle (no. 212) II: 245, 248–9, 371
Shafa 'Amr, castle II: 210, 301–2
Sidon, town and lordship, including chapels (nos. 241–2) II: 318, 323–8
as-Sumairiya, including chapel (no. 248) II: 332–3
Tal'at ad-Damm, including chapel (no. 251) II: 345
Tarafain, Kh., including church (no. 253) II: 30, 347
Tartus 70
at-Tira (?) II: 371–2
Yazur II: 377–8
preceptor in England II: 5
Templars, Spring of the see 'Ain al-Haramiya
Temptation of Our Lord, chapels of, see Jabal Quruntul (nos. 106–7)
Teofan (Romanian monk) II: 270
Tephoe (*Tephul*) see Taffuh
Terebinthus see Ramat al-Khalil
terra de Emmaus see 'Amwas
Terschia see Tarshiha
Teruel, hospital of the Holy Redeemer II: 45
Testa, E. II: 148, 163
Teutonic Order 69, 80. II: 367, 371
grand masters II: 67, see also Anno of Sangerhusen, Hermann of Salza
hospitals see Acre, Jerusalem
possessions
Caesarea, including house (no. 75) 181
Damietta 202
Jaffa 266
Mi'iliya II: 30–2
Montfort Castle, including chapel (no. 146) II: 40
Qal'at Jiddin II: 162
Ramla II: 184
Schuf, lordship of II: 318
Shifaya II: 162
Sidon, house (no. 244) II: 328
Tirun an-Niha, including chapel (no. 274) II: 372
az-Zib II: 384–5
Thabata see Umm Tuta, Kh.
Thamar (queen of Georgia) II: 34
Thanis see Ti'innik
Tharfila, Kh. see Manhata, Kh.
Thauatha see Umm Tuta, Kh.
Thecua see at-Tuqu', Kh.
Thenaud, Jean II: 169
Theobald of Vermandois (abbot of Cluny) II: 153–4
Theodora (Byzantine empress) II: 56
Theodore (bishop of Tiberias) II: 354
Theodore (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
Theodore of Petra II: 157
Theodore of Studium II: 221
Theodoric (abbot of St Samuel) II: 86
Theodoric (pilgrim) 7, 31, 109, 114, 124, 146–7, 157, 159, 162, 208, 222, 253, 254, 256, 258, 261. II: 6, 33–4, 44, 66, 87, 119, 129–30, 141, 158, 185, 210, 241, 285, 301, 316–17, 336, 345, fig. 38
Theodosius (pilgrim) 108, 204. II: 9, 347
Theodosius III Chrysoverghis (patriarch of Antioch) 18, 20
Theodosius I (Byzantine emperor) II: 203
Theodulus of Isauria II: 259
Theophanes (bishop of Tabor) II: 64
Theophanes (historian) II: 271
Theophanes the Branded (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
Theosteric (abbot of St Euthymius) II: 230
de Thévenot, Jean 219. II: 47
Thietmar (pilgrim) 101, 109, 139, 167, 221, 251, 265, 275, 284, 293. II: 43, 45, 48, 52, 59, 62, 67, 163, 220, 222, 227, 241, 304, 336, 351
Thoennessen, Fr Luc 129, 158, 257
Thomas (monk of St Sabas) II: 259
Thomas (Templar) II: 220
Thomas Berard (Templar master) II: 323
Thomas of Lentino (bishop of Bethlehem) 270. II: 4
Thomas of Novara II: 122
Thora (village) II: 260
le Thoron (*li Thorons*) see Tibnin
Thrace II: 86
Thursin see Mount Sinai
Thymini see Tin'ama, Kh. at-
Tibald IV (count of Champagne) 62. II: 285, 351
Tibenin see Tibnin
Tiberias (*Cinereth, Cyneret, Tabarie, Tabariya, Teverya, Thabaria, Tyberias*) 222. II: 4, 28, 153, 156, 181, 209, 351–3, 367, fig. 99, map 4
archdeacons II: 354, see also Adelelmus, Herbert
bishops (Greek) see John, Theodore
bishops (Jacobite) II: 359
bishops (Latin) II: 118, 154, 155, 354–5, see also Elias, Geoffrey, Gerald, William I, William II
castle chapel (no. 267) II: 363, 365
cathedral church of St Peter (no. 255) II: 64, 118, 353–6, 365, 366
precentor see Robert
chaplain see Godfrey
churches

- Byzantine **II**: 354, fig. 99.2
 excavated (**no. 268**) **3. II**: 355, 365–6, figs. 99, 102, pl. CXCIV
 St Andrew (**no. 256**) **II**: 356
 St George (**no. 257**) **II**: 356–7, 364, figs. 99–100
 St James and St John (**no. 258**) **II**: 358, 360
 St Lazarus, with hospital (**no. 260**) **II**: 359
 St Mary (**no. 261**) **II**: 359
 St Mary Magdalene, or Mary of Bethany (**no. 262**) **II**: 359
 St Michael (**no. 263**) **II**: 359–60, 364
 St Nicolas, now St Peter (**no. 264**) **II**: 337, 360–64, figs. 99, 101, pls. CXCII–CXCIII
 the Tree, or St Mark (?) (**no. 266**) **II**: 356, 364
 Twelve Apostles (**no. 265**) **II**: 360, 364
 diocese **II**: 155, 354
 hospital of St Julian, later St John (?) (**no. 259**) **II**: 358–9
 bailiffs **II**: 358
 commander (*magister*) see Raymond
 guardian see Amalric
 lake of see Sea of Galilee
 mosques
 Great Mosque **II**: 355
 Jasmine Mosque **II**: 352
 Sea Mosque (Jami' al-Bahri) **II**: 353, 355, 365, fig. 99
 synagogue **II**: 352
 viscountess see Ermengarde
 Tibnin (*Tamānin*, *le Thoron*, *li Thorons*, *Tibenin*, *Toron*) **II**: 367–8, map 4
 church of St Mary (**no. 269**) **II**: 368
 hospital (of St John?) **II**: 368
 Tī'innik (*Thanis*) **II**: 3–4
 Tin'ama, Kh. at- (*Galgala*, *Galilea*, *Haifa-Ramat Shaul*, Kh. at-Tinani, *Thymini*, *Tymini*) **II**: 368–9, map 3
 church (**no. 271**) **II**: 368–9
 at-Tira (*Saint Iohan de Tire*, *Seynt Iohan de Tyr*, *al-Tīrah*, *Tirat ha-Karmel*), churches associated with the abbey of St John (**nos. 272–3**) **II**: 369–72, fig. 103, pls. CXCVC–CXCVI, map 3
 Tirun an-Niha (*Canan Toruoris*, *Cauea de Tyrnun*, *Cave de Tyron*, *Qal'at an-Niha*, *Shaqif Tīrūn*), rock-cut castle chapel (**no. 274**) **II**: 372, map 2
 Toanasaba see Nasba, Tall an-Tobias, cave church of see Safad
 Tönnemann, C. **II**: 205
 Toghtekin (Tughtigin) (atabeg of Damascus) **26. II**: 65, 95, 351
 Tohelet see as-Safiriya
 tolum patriarche see Ful, Tall al-Tomb of Joseph see an-Nabi Yusuf
 Toron see Tibnin
 Toron de los Caballeros (*le Toron des Chevaliers*, *Toronum*) see Latrun
 T'oros (Armenian at Sebaste) **II**: 301
 Tortiafa **II**: 368
 Tortosa see Tartus
 Tower of the Saltings (Burj al-Malih) **II**: 152, map 5
 Trani (Apulia), bishop of 274
 Transfiguration of the Lord
 church of see Mount Tabor
 feast of **II**: 66, 69
 Trappist monastery of Latrun **II**: 7
 Trefle see Manhata, Kh.
 Treis Ombres see St Mary of the Three Shades
 Tripoli **II**: 96
 counts of see Bertrand of St Gilles, Raymond II, Raymond III
 Tristram, Canon 287
 Tristram, Dr 255–6
 Tubania (springs) see 'Ain Tuba'un
 Tughtigin see Toghtekin
 Tulkarm **II**: 110
 at-Tuqu', Kh. see Tekoa
 at-Tur (*Raython*, *Raithou*) **II**: 52, 53
tur de Seynt Lazare see Pain Perdu
 Tūr Sina see Mount Sinai
 Turbasaim see Turmus 'Aiya
 Turmus 'Aiya (*Turbasaim*) 195
 Turo(nem) Militum (*Turris Militum*) see Latrun
 Turris Neapolitana see Nablus, castle
 Turris Rubea see Tal'at ad-Damm
 Turun as Chivalers see Latrun
 Tuscany, consul of the grand duke in Sidon **II**: 69
 Tusculum (Frascati), bishop see Odo
 Twelve Apostles, church of see Tiberias (**no. 265**)
 Twelve Thrones, church of the **II**: 335
 Tyberie see Tabaliya, Kh.
 Tymini see Tin'ama, Kh. at-
 Tyre 80, 251. **II**: 30, 119, 281, 367, map 3
 archbishopric **II**: 320
 archbishops 108, 111. **II**: 68
 house in Tibnin **II**: 368
 see also Peter, William
 cathedral **II**: 123
 church of St Thomas 3
 la Tyre (village in territory of az-Zib) **II**: 371
 Tzaferis, V. **II**: 315
 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī (Fatimid caliph) 224
 'Ulam ('Aulam, *Heulem*), church (**no. 275**) **II**: 372, map 6
 Ulric (viscount of Nablus) **II**: 374
 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz (Umayyad caliph) **II**: 182
 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb 37
 Umm ar-Rasas (*Mefaa*), church of St Stephen **II**: 10, 283
 Umm Tuta, Kh. (*Tabatha*, *Thabata*, *Thauatha*, Kh. Umm at-Tut, *Migdal Tūtā*), church of St Hilarion (**no. 276**) **II**: 373, map 10
 'Uraima, Kh. al- see Gennasareth
 Urban IV (pope) 124. **II**: 4, 121, 250, 257, 339
 Urfa see Edessa
 Usamah Ibn Munqidh **II**: 95, 285
 Ustinow Collection, University of Oslo 269
 Vachtag (king of Georgia) **II**: 166
 Valentinian (Byzantine emperor) **II**: 200
 Valim (*Valini*), spurious Carmelite house **II**: 336
 della Valle, Pietro **II**: 287
 Valletta, Greek Catholic church **II**: 220
 Vallis Moysis see Wadi Musa
 Van Berchem, Marguerite **II**: 10
 Van Berchem, Max **II**: 380
 Varagine, Cesare 159
 de Vaux, Fr R. 15
 li Vaux Moysi see Wadi Musa
 van de Velde, C. W. M. **II**: 13
 Velos, Ivo 120
 Vendelino of Menden, Brother **II**: 170
 Venetians 222. **II**: 332
 churches in
 Acre, St Mark 116
 Beirut, St Mark (**no. 45**) 116
 Venice **II**: 57
 Vespasian (Roman general and emperor) **II**: 63, 95, 227
 Vetus Caypha see Old Haifa
 Vézelay **II**: 135
 Viaud, Prosper **II**: 123–9, 148, 170, 211–13, 215
 Vienne **II**: 135
 Vifa see Haifa
 de Villamont 24, 32, 40
 Villani, A. (mosaicist) **II**: 70
 Villano (archbishop of Pisa) 272
 Villano, Bernardino 203
 Vincent, Fr L.-H. 2, 53, 56, 93, 95, 154, 223, 229, 235–7, 238, 260–1. **II**: 35–7, 87, 90, 92–3, 170–1, 273
 Virolleaud, M. 13
 Vivian (lord of Haifa) **II**: 150, 156
 Vlamink, B. **II**: 148
 de Vogüé, Count Melchior 2, 8, 114–15, 154. **II**: 13, 21, 25, 70, 82–3, 87, 98, 112, 288
 Vulcano della Padula, Luigi **II**: 142
 Wadi 'Ain as-Siyah **II**: 249–53
 Wadi 'Ara **II**: 3
 Wadi Arabah 107
 Wadi al-Hajj (Valley of the Pilgrims, Nazareth) **II**: 47
 Wadi al-Jindi (Nahal 'Ezyona) 27
 Wadi al-Lajah **II**: 61–2, fig. 13
 Wadi al-Makkuk (Wadi Taisun) 252, 255
 Wadi al-Qilt 102, 183, 185
 Wadi as-Siqqa (Nahal Soreq) 47. **II**: 156
 Wadi Ghazzah **II**: 373
 Wadi Hajjaj (Sinai) **II**: 57
 Wadi Hamam **II**: 153
 Wadi Jiddin **II**: 162
 Wadi Khuraitun (*spelunca Odollae*) **II**: 221–4, 348, pl. CXXIV
 Wadi Mukallik **II**: 268
 Wadi Musa (*Castellum Vallis Moysis*, *li Vaux Moysi*, *al-Wu'aira*, *al-Wu'ayra*), castle and settlement 251. **II**: 373–5, fig. 104, pl. CXC VII, map 10
 castle chapel (**no. 277**) 196. **II**: 52, 307, 313, 275–6, figs. 86, 104–5, pls. CXC VII–CXC IX
 church of St Moses (**no. 278**) **II**: 376–7
 Wadi Nablus 259
 Wadi Rushmiya (Nahr al-Matna, Nahal Remey) **II**: 150, 205, fig. 44
 Wadi Salman **II**: 155
 al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad caliph). **II**: 10, 181
 Walter (commander of Teutonic Order in Sidon) **II**: 328
 Walter II (prince of Galilee) **II**: 352, 358, 359
 Walter (lord of Qaimun) **II**: 159
 Walter of Avesnes (knight) 69
 Walter of Brienne (count of Jaffa) 266, 270
 Walter Garnier see Garnier, Walter
 Warmund (patriarch of Jerusalem) 226. **II**: 95, 97
 Warmund of Tiberias **II**: 153
 Weigand, E. **II**: 273

- Weyl, William I
Weyl-Carr, Anne-Marie 13
Wilbrand of Oldenburg 102, 109, 112, 117, 124, 157. **II**: 13, 184, 227, 281, 282, 317, 369
Wilderness of Judaea **II**: 221, 259
Wilhelm II (German Kaiser) 2
Wilkinson, J. **II**: 358
William I (patriarch of Jerusalem) 53, 196, 253, 275. **II**: 4, 32, 97, 227, 284, 330
William I (archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 4, 118
William (archbishop of Sens) **II**: 285, 296
William (archbishop of Tyre) 26, 52, 102, 108, 123, 166, 167, 192, 194, 195–6, 208, 209, 228. **II**: 9–11, 66, 81, 95, 118, 119, 182, 304, 354
William I (bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 355
William II (bishop of Tiberias) **II**: 355
William (prior of St Gabriel and of St Mary, Nazareth) **II**: 141
William (chaplain of lord of Karak) 289
William (Latin hermit on Jabal Quruntul) 252
William (monk) **II**: 239
William (count of Ascalon and Jaffa) **II**: 44
William (lord of Qaimun) **II**: 159
William Barlais (count of Jaffa) 268
William Gouët **II**: 285
William Lovelle (chaplain of castle of Jaffa) 270
William Megele **II**: 44
William II of Agen (patriarch of Jerusalem) 266
William of Boldensele **II**: 142, 287
William I of Bures (prince of Galilee) **II**: 3–4, 238, 239, 356, 358, 365
William II of Bures (prince of Galilee) **II**: 358
William of Harlem **II**: 245
William of Malmesbury 225. **II**: 94
William of Montaigne (Templar commendator of Sidon) **II**: 323
William III of Montferrat **II**: 339
William II of St John (archbishop of Nazareth) **II**: 139
William of St Pathus 271
William of Sandwich **II**: 250, 282, 336
William of Sicily (monk of 'Askar) 69
Wilson, Sir Charles W. 229, 277
Woolley, C. L. (Sir Leonard) 275
al-Wu'aira see Wadi Musa
Yafa (Yafo) see Jaffa
Yahya Ibn Sa'id 63–4
Yalu (*Castellum Arnaldi*) 8, 53, 102
Yāqūt 194, 195, 222, 274. **II**: 53, 67, 69, 114, 184, 238, 247, 248, 348
Yarmuq, River 26
Yavne see Yibna
Yazur (*Casale/Casellum Balneorum, Casel des Plains, Casellum de Planis, Casellum de Templo, 'Azor*) 26. **II**: 198, 219, 377–8, map 7
church (of St Mary?) (**no. 279**) **II**: 378
Ybelin *Hospitalariorum* see Bait Jibrin
Yegishus see Eliseus Vardapet
Yibna (*Azotus, castrum de Hybilis, Geth, Gibilinum, Hibelinum, Ibelin, Ibenium, Jabneel, Jabneh, Jamnia, Yavne, Yubnā, Ybelinum*), castle and settlement 274. **II**: 378–9, map 7
bishop **II**: 378
bridge of Baybars **II**: 379
church (**no. 280**) **II**: 379–84, figs. 106–7, pls. CC–CCIII
lord see Balian I
lordship of Ibelin 264. **II**: 184, 379
mausoleum of Abū Hurayra **II**: 379, 382–4
mosque **II**: 378
Yikon see Qaqun
Yizra'el, Tel see Jezreel
Yoqn'eam, Tel see Qaimun, Tall
Yubnā see Yibna
Yudan, son of Tanhum (rabbi) **II**: 213
Yunis, Tall see Tall Yunis
Yveta see Iveta
Zacchaeus, church of the house of see Jericho (**no. 123**)
Zacharias (patriarch of Jerusalem) **II**: 271
Zacharias (abbot-archbishop of Sinai) **II**: 51
al-Zāhir Barkuk (Mamluk sultan) 229
Zaita, Kh. (al-Khirba), church (of St George?) (**no. 281**) **II**: 384, map 5
Zakariya (Kefer Zechariya) 204. **II**: map 8
Zakariya, Kh. Tall (*Bethzachar*) 204. **II**: map 8
Zakariya, Kh. 204. **II**: map 8
Zangī, 'Imād al-Dīn **II**: 241
Zara'in (*Zarain, Zaraym*) see Jezreel
Zarephath see Sarepta
az-Zarghaniya (Kh. as-Saharij), possibly identifiable as *S. Michaelis* 120
az-Zarqa, Nahr (Crocodile River) 122
Zechariah (prophet)
tomb 204
see also St Zacharias
Zechariah (father of St John the Baptist)
House of see 'Ain Karim
see also St Zacharias
Zefat see Safad
az-Zib (Akhziv, *Casale Huberti de Paceo/Patci/Pazi, Casale Imbert, Casalimbert, Casal Ymbert, Siph*) **II**: 371, 377, 384–5, map 3
church (**no. 282**) **II**: 384–5
steward (*locator*) see Gerard of Valence
Zikrin, Kh. see Dhikrin
Zimmermann, C. **II**: 307
Zippori see Saffuriya
Zir'in see Jezreel
Zoar (*Sigor*) 107
Zorzi, Marsilio **II**: 121
Zova see Suba
Zozimos (Russian deacon) **II**: 177, 261
Zvallart, J. 1, 24, 32, 40. **II**: 6, 69, 360
Zwinner, E. **II**: 6

